

48

1 – 30 April 1959

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 – 30 April 1959

Second Series

48



The *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* has established its position as the single most important, authoritative, and reliable source on Nehru's life, work, and thought. It is indispensable to the scholar, fascinating to the layperson, and at times something of a primer in politics, democracy, and world affairs, as Nehru intended his periodic letters to his chief ministers to be. It provides a panorama of home and the world as seen from the centre of power in India by an acutely sensitive observer and skilful player. Given the literary talent, creative urge, and singular position of the author, it is a continuous source of pleasure, sometimes of amusement, and always of enlightenment.

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**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



WITH THE DALAI LAMA AT BIRLA HOUSE, MUSSOORIE, 24 APRIL 1959

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

SECOND SERIES

Volume Forty Eight (1 – 30 April 1959)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Jawaharlal Nehru, positioned above the publisher's name.

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

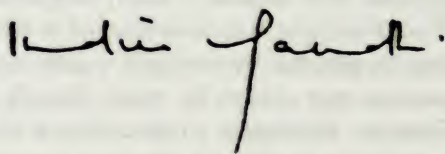
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume deals with the month of April 1959, when most of the issues of March spilled over. Amid much excitement in India and vituperation from China, the Dalai Lama arrived in India. The impact on relations with China and on domestic politics is reflected in the large number of documents on these and allied questions like Tibetan refugees. But other issues engage Nehru's attention as before, especially the Punjabi Suba, Kashmir, and the North East, while Pakistan remains something like a permanent hum in the background. During this month he toured extensively, to which we owe the large number of freewheeling public speeches where he communicates directly with the public on all the issues exercising him at the moment. This volume also contains a remarkable interview to the French journalist, Serge Groussard of *Le Figaro*.

Many of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Unless otherwise noted, all items are from Delhi or New Delhi. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and

China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons. I am also grateful to *Le Figaro* for permission to reproduce the text of Nehru's interview and especially to Marie-France Calle, the South Asia Bureau Chief of *Le Figaro*, for having been so helpful in securing a copy of the interview and facilitating permissions. Let me also thank Balveer Arora for help with the translation of certain passages of this interview, but the responsibility for the final version is entirely mine.

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Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL
(a) Speeches
(i) Allahabad District

1. At Pratappur: Public Meeting¹

...अब आप देखो एक माने में इसके क्या अर्थ हैं, क्या माने हैं। ये है कि गाँव वाले एक तरह से एक बड़ा परिवार हो के अपना काम करें। उनकी, उनकी ज़मीन उनसे कोई नहीं लेता है। ये आप समझ लो। लोग बहका देते हैं। ज़मीन कोई उनसे नहीं लेता और ज़मीन तो उनकी रहती है। पहले तो अलग-अलग खेती करें, फिर जब तैयार हो जायें तो मिल के खेती करें, लेकिन ज़मीन फिर भी उनकी है, ज़मीन का हिस्सा उनका रहेगा। इससे आप देखो कि एक-एक किसान की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है और वो नयी-नयी बातें कर सकेगा, उसको अच्छा बीज मिलेगा, उसको यह नहीं कि जा के एक अफ़सरों की खुशामद करनी पड़े, दौड़-धूप करनी पड़े। वो अपने घर में रहेगा। उसकी...सहकारी संघ ये सब काम उसकी तरफ़ से करेगा। और अगर सहकारी संघ को लाभ होता है, जैसे कि होना चाहिए तो उसका बँटवारा उन्हीं किसानों में होगा। कोई दूसरा नहीं ले जायेगा। कोई बीच का बनिया या साहूकार। [...] तो इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि किसानों को बहुत लाभ होगा। जिन-जिन, देशों में ये काम हुआ है, किसानों ने बहुत तरक्की की है। वहाँ आप जाओ, देखो तो उनके बड़े ज़ोर के सहकारी संघ हैं और फिर सहकारी संघ की शक्ति इत्ती बन जाती है कि वहाँ वो किसानों के लिए स्कूल बनाता है, पाठशाला बनाता है, दवाख़ाने बनाता है, उनके बच्चों की देख-भाल होती है। ये सब बातें अपने आप वो लोग करते हैं। तो ये तो बड़ी क्रान्ति की बात है। एक क्रान्ति जो शान्ति से आ जाती है।

तो इसके तरफ़ काँग्रेस ने ध्यान दिलाया है। और ख़ाली काँग्रेस ने नहीं, दिल्ली में जो बड़ी, भारत की सरकार है उसने भी इस बात का निश्चय किया है। और हम अब लोगों को सिखायेंगे, क्योंकि सहकारी संघ, सहकारी संघ चलाने के लिए कुछ सीखना पड़ता है। तो हम बहुतों को सिखायेंगे। गाँव के पंच-सरपंच को सिखायेंगे। औरों को सिखायेंगे और और लोगों को भी। सीखे हुए लोगों को भेजेंगे। तो ये आप समझ लें। मैं आपसे सहकारी संघ का इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि इस समय किसानों के सामने ये एक बड़ी बात उठी है और बड़ी ये...इसके पंच

1. Speech, 6 April 1959. AIR tapes. NMML.

The tape is incomplete and only this part of the speech is available.

Nehru arrived in the morning of 6 April 1959, reached Anand Bhawan, his family home, attended the inauguration of the cancer wing of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, and visited several villages in the Phulpur and Handia tehsils of his constituency. Phulpur.

के अन्दर बड़ी क्रान्ति है। अगर ठीक-ठीक करें और परिश्रम से करें और इससे हम सारे अपने ग्रामों का संगठन बदल देंगे किसानों का और उनकी भलाई होगी।

कुछ लोग आजकल भारत में कहते हैं, बड़ी बुरी बात है सहकारी संघ। और अजीब-अजीब उसके सिलसिले में बातें कहते हैं। तो मैं इस बहस में तो पड़ता नहीं। वो उनसे बहस अलग हो जाय। लेकिन मैं आपसे इत्ता कहता हूँ कि दुनिया भर में जहाँ-जहाँ किसानों ने तरक्की की है सब सहकारी संघ द्वारा की है। और मुझे ये विश्वास है कि हमारे देश में भी सहकारी संघ द्वारा तरक्की आपकी होगी, आपकी पैदावार बहुत बढ़ेगी, आपका लाभ होगा और देश का होगा। इसलिए इस बात को आप तो न कर सकेंगे? आपको बताने वाले आयें, समझाने वाले आयें, तब आप करेंगे। और आप उससे डरें नहीं कि उसमें आपकी हानि होगी। हमारे लोग तो बड़ी जल्दी डर जाते हैं। कोई कहे आ के कि तुम्हारी ज़मीन छीन ली जायेगी तो आप डर जायें। कोई कह दे कि यहाँ कोई सुई ले के आया है, सब औरतें भागने लगें।² क्या अजीब तमाशा है। ये कोई ऐसे डर-डर के काम होता है किसी बात में? डर-डर के हमने स्वराज्य लिया क्या? ऐसे ही होता तो अंग्रेज़ लोगों को एक सुई से हम सबको भगा दिये होते कि हम सुई लाये हैं। अरे, ये कोई तमाशा है? ये बात नहीं है। सोच-समझ के काम करना है और सहकारी संघ में कौन काम करेगा? कौन होंगे उसमें? कोई अफ़सर थोड़े होंगे बाहर के? आप ही लोग के चुने हुए पंच होंगे। वो होंगे जो आपके गाँव वाले निश्चय करेंगे, वो बात होवेगी। हाँ, आपको सलाह करनी है, सलाह करने वाले होंगे, बाहर से आने वाले।

इसलिए अब ये सब जो बड़ा चर्चा है जनराज्य का, जनराज्य को हम मज़बूती से गाँवों में जमाना चाहते हैं। ऊपर से तो बहुत कुछ हो गया। पंचायत...मज़बूत पंचायत हो, मज़बूत सहकारी संघ गाँव का हो, फिर उसके ऊपर और होंगे। जब वो एक दफ़े मज़बूत हो जाता है तब सारे देश की जड़ मज़बूत हो जाती है, बुनियाद मज़बूत हो जाती है। ऊपर कुछ गड़बड़ भी हो तो कुछ हरज नहीं। और हर गाँव में स्कूल होना चाहिए, क्योंकि ये सब बातें बग़ैर सबों को पढ़ाये-लिखाये नहीं होतीं और जो लोग अनपढ़ होते हैं, वही लोग घबरा जाते हैं, डर जाते हैं, भागने लगते हैं। जो क्रिस्ता-कहानी सुना, उससे घबरा जाते हैं, इसलिए पढ़ना आवश्यक है। और देश हैं, अंग्रेज़ों का देश, अमरीका का देश, रूस का देश। कैसे बढ़ें, इस तरह से एक-एक बच्चे को, लड़के को, लड़की को उन्होंने पढ़ाया अच्छी तरह से। पढ़ने से सब लोग अधिक अच्छा काम करते हैं। पढ़ने के माने नहीं हैं कि जो आपके लड़के हों, वो सब भाग-भाग के

2. A PTI report, carried in the *Pioneer* on 7 April 1959, said: "As soon as the cameramen accompanying Prime Minister Nehru on his tour of his constituency clicked their cameras [at Pratappur on 6 April], the women stood up and tried to run away from the meeting, shouting 'blood extractors have come'. Confusion prevailed for a few minutes but the local Congressmen ultimately succeeded in restoring order." The PTI also reported Nehru as saying: "What is this tamasha? Why are they running away? I have not come here to give them injection." [They were afraid of vaccination.]

अपने गाँव छोड़ के शहर में रहें जा के। ये नहीं है माने, लेकिन ये माने है कि वो अपने गाँव को सुन्दर बनायें, मेहनत करें, सुन्दर बनायें, जो शहर में जो लाभ है, वो गाँव में आ जाय। वहीं काम करें। तो ये हमारे सामने बातें हैं। अब ये बातें कोई जादू से तो नहीं हो जातीं चटपट, ताली बजायी हो गयीं। परिश्रम से होती हैं और अपने दिल से डर निकाल के और संगठन से मिल कर काम करने से ये छोटे-मोटे झगड़े का।

अब मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारी पंचायतों में अक्सर बहुत झगड़ा हुआ करता है। कभी एक दलबन्दी होती है, कोई इधर खींचे, कोई उधर खींचे, तरफ़दारी होती है। ये सब बुरी बातें हैं। लेकिन अब उसको हम सँभालें कैसे? सँभालें...ये तो नहीं कि कोई उनसे कह दे पंचायत न बनाओ, वहाँ तो लोग लड़ते हैं, इस तरह से तो नहीं। उनको बना के हमें उन्हें सँभालना है।

तो ये आपके सामने काम हैं और अब आपको सोचना है कि अब हमारे देश में एक नयी हवा फिर से उठी है, जैसे पहले स्वराज्य की हवा उठी थी। अब और एक नयी हवा उठी है। ये ही सहकारी संघ...पंचायत राज जो कहते हैं, किसानों का राज्य और पंचायत राज...वो कैसे हैं? उसी तरह से हैं कि आपका सहकारी संघ हो। जब वो अपनी जड़ नहीं मज़बूत करेंगे तो किसान ऊपर क्या करेगा? ये नयी हवा निकली है। इसको आप समझें। इससे आप लाभ उठायें, आप। बहुत दिन बाद दो-तीन बरस बड़ी ख़राब फ़सलें हुई। अब अच्छी फ़सलें दो-एक हो रही हैं। ये अच्छा एक शुभ निशान है, चिन्ह है और इससे हमें लाभ उठाना है हर तरह से, कि हम अब ज़ोर लगायें, कि अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा करें। अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा करें, चाहे बाद में कुछ थोड़ी फ़सल कभी ख़राब हो तब भी हमें उससे हानि न हो। ऐसे हमें उपाय ढूँढ़ने हैं और ढूँढ़े जा रहे हैं। और मज़बूती से पंचायत और सहकारी संघ बनायें, बनायें और स्कूल को चलायें। जब आपका सहकारी संघ हो जाये तो कितने काम आपके गाँव में मिल-जुल के होते हैं। आजकल बैठे देखते हैं कि आओ, सरकार कुछ कर दे आ के। सरकार...विचार करो, सरकारी काम के तरीक़े ऐसे होते हैं कि जो काम दस दिन में हो, उसको वो पचास दिन में करेंगे। ये सरकारी काम है। मैं भी तो सरकारी हूँ, मैं तो जानता हूँ, आपसे कह देता हूँ, क्या किया जाय? इस ढंग से, क्योंकि इत्ते पचों पे दस्तखत करना होता है कि एक कभी एक दफ़्तर से दूसरे दफ़्तर, दूसरे से तीसरे दफ़्तर और तब कहीं मुश्किल से काम शुरू होता है, आरम्भ होता है। क्यों, इत्ते क़ायदे-क़ानून क्यों सरकारी काम में हैं?

माना मैंने कि कुछ उसको सरल कर देना है, लेकिन एक बात और भी है उसमें, कि सरकारी काम जनता के रुपये से होता है। अगर उसकी देख-भाल ठीक न हो तो बीच में ग़ायब हो जाय। इसीलिए सब रोकथाम बहुत हैं। एक दफ़्तर से दूसरा दफ़्तर, दूसरे से तीसरा, पर्चा दस्तखत करो, नक्कशा बनाओ तो रोक-थाम तो कुछ होनी चाहिए, लेकिन जब वो अधिक हो जाती है रोक-थाम तो काम नहीं होता है। वो भी ठीक नहीं। इसलिए अगर आपके, आप खुद काम उठायें अपने गाँव में और पचास काम और आप गाँव में कर सकते हैं अपने लाभ के लिए तो आपके गाँव का रूप बदल जाय। हाँ, उसमें सरकार की सहायता हो। बात ठीक है, सहायता हो, बतायें आपको आदमी, इंजीनियर लोग बतायें आ के, कैसे उसकी सहायता हो, वो तो ठीक

है, लेकिन असल में आप ही इसको बदल सकते हैं और जो-जो आप अपने गाँव को बदलेंगे उन्ही आपकी शक्ति बढ़ेगी। आपको अपने ऊपर भरोसा बढ़ेगा, आप एक सुन्दर साफ़ जगह रहेंगे। काम करने से शक्ति भी बढ़ जायेगी और उससे उत्पादन आपका अधिक होगा। तो इस ढंग से हमें इस देश को सँभालना है और मज़बूत करना है। और असल में किसानों का राज्य बनाना है। न तो ये कहने की बातें हैं, न नारों की बातें हैं, लेकिन किसानों का राज्य जब बनायेंगे जब मज़बूती से वो अपनी पंचायत चलायें, सहकारी संघ चलायें, स्कूल चलें। पढ़ाई-लिखाई उनकी हो, तब सारे देश का बोझा उठाये जा के। लेकिन ख़ाली गुल मचा के तो नहीं होता। देश चलता है जित्ती देश में विद्या हो, पढ़ाई हो, अक़ल हो और शक्ति हो, उन्ही दूर तक देश जा सकता है, अनपढ़ लोग नहीं देश को चला सकते, इसलिए ये सब बातें करनी हैं।

और इसमें हमारी बहनों का काम है, ख़ाली भाइयों का नहीं। बहनों का अधिक काम है, क्योंकि सारी जनता को उठना है। तो दो बातें आप याद रखें। दो-तीन बातें। एक तो ख़ैर, सबमें बड़ी बात, इस समय आप याद रखें कि हमें भूमि से अधिक पैदा करना है और जित्ता अधिक हम पैदा करेंगे, उन्ता ही देश का भला है और हमारा भला है। और उसके साथ ये कि हम पैदा कर सकते हैं, क्योंकि जहाँ लोगों ने निश्चय किया, वहाँ पैदा हुआ। अभी मैं इनसे कहूँगा आपको सुनायेंगे यहाँ कुछ हमारे भाई किसान हैं जिन्होंने...कुछ इनाम मिला है, क्योंकि अधिक पैदा किया है...कहीं, कहीं, एक, चालीस मन एक एकड़ में गेहूँ, कहीं पचास मन और धान भी इस तरह से अधिक। जहाँ कोशिश हुई, उन्ता किया है न? तो आप सब लोग क्यों न करें? तो पहली बात तो यह कि अधिक पैदा करें।

अच्छा, इसके लिए उपाय हो और अपनी उन्नति के लिए गाँव का एक नया संगठन हो, पंचायत मज़बूत करना, सहकारी संघ करना और स्कूल हों, तीन बातें। और स्कूल के लिए भी मैं आपसे कहूँ, हम इस बात के लिए भी नहीं ठहरा चाहते कि स्कूल के लिए बड़े मकान बनें। मकान बनें तो अच्छा है, लेकिन मकान बनें या न बनें, स्कूल होना चाहिए। पेड़ के नीचे बैठ के पढ़ाई हो, कहीं हों, क्योंकि पढ़ाई आवश्यक है। मुझे सबमें बड़ा दुख होता है देश में, जब मैं अपने छोटे-छोटे बच्चों को गाँवों में देखता हूँ। सुन्दर बच्चे होते हैं, अच्छे, प्यारे होते हैं और उनकी कोई देख-भाल नहीं, पढ़ाई नहीं, कपड़ा-वस्त्र भी पहनने को ठीक नहीं, शायद खाने का प्रबन्ध ठीक नहीं, तब मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है, क्योंकि ये बालक ख़ाली आपके बच्चे नहीं हैं, ये देश के बच्चे हैं, ये देश का धन हैं। बड़े हो के देश को चलायेंगे ये। इसलिए उनकी देख-भाल अच्छी तरह से करनी है।

तो ये अब नयी लहर आयी है देश में, नयी हवा चल रही है, उसको आप भी अच्छी तरह से साँस लें उस नयी हवा में, उससे शक्ति करे [बढ़े] और इन नये कामों में पड़े। बस जय हिन्द, अब ज़रा इनसे कहता हूँ कि आपको नाम पढ़ के सुनायें किसानों के।

अब आप मेरे साथ तीन बार जय हिन्द कहो—जय हिन्द!

भैया, ज़ोर से कहो—जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!।

[Translation begins:

...³ Now, see, in a way, what it means. What it means is that the people of a village must work together as one large family. Nobody can take away land from them. This you must understand. Some people try to mislead the villagers. Initially, they may till the land separately; then when they are ready, they can farm jointly; but, still, the land is their land. Cooperatives can be formed without taking up joint cultivation which can come later. In any case, their title will remain intact. Cooperative farming strengthens the farmers and enables them to adopt new and improved techniques of agriculture and buy good seeds, etc. They will not have to run after the officials to get their work done. The cooperative society will take care of everything for him. The profits will be shared by the farmers. The role of the middlemen will be finished. So there is no doubt about it that the farmers will stand to gain. Wherever cooperative farming has been taken up, the farmers have made great progress. They have been able to start their own school, hospital, etc. It can be a revolutionary step, a peaceful revolution in the making. This is what the Congress has been striving for.

Not only the Congress but the Central Government has also decided upon this. We shall take up training programmes for villagers to run the cooperative societies. Training will be given to the village panch and sarpanch who in turn can teach the others. I am talking about cooperative societies because the farmers are agitated because of this issue. It contains the seeds of a great revolution. If you work well and change the existing structure of society in the rural areas the farmers and others are bound to benefit a great deal.

Some people are strongly opposed to the idea of cooperatives and say really strange things against it. I shall not get into that debate. But I would like to tell you that all over the world, wherever the farmers have progressed, it has been through cooperative societies. I am convinced that in India, also, we can make great progress through the cooperative societies; production will go up and you and the country at large will stand to gain. Therefore, you must take it up in your villages. There will be people to explain things to you and train you. You must not be afraid that you will suffer losses. Our people panic very easily. If someone comes and tells you that your land will be taken away, you get scared. If someone says that somebody has come with injections, the women run away.⁴ What strange goings-on! Can anything be achieved by being scared like this?

3. See fn 1 in this section.

4. See fn 2 in this section.

Did we take swaraj through such a fearful attitude? Had it been thus the British would have routed us with just one injection. You must try to understand what cooperatives mean. They will be run by your own panchayats, elected by you, not by officials from above. The decisions will be taken by your own village people. There will be officials to guide and advise you.

We want to give a firm base to democracy, to people's rule in the rural areas. Once the village panchayats and cooperative societies start functioning effectively, democracy will have a strong base in the villages, which in turn will strengthen it for the whole country. Even if there are problems at the top, nothing can affect these foundations. There should be a school in every village. We cannot achieve anything without education and training. Illiteracy is responsible for the unnecessary fear and ignorance among the people. Education is very essential. The West has progressed so far because every single child in those countries is given good education. Education helps people to do better work. At the same time we do not want that the educated youth should leave their homes and run to the cities. They must go back to their villages and help to make them beautiful and try and get the amenities available in cities for the rural areas too. But none of these things can be done by magic. It requires hard work, organisation and rooting out fear from our hearts.

I am aware that there are often quarrels in the panchayats and factionalism, partisanship and people pull in different directions. These things are bad. But how are we to put an end to them? We cannot give up the panchayats for these reasons. The people must be made to understand the new atmosphere prevailing in the country. It happened once before during the freedom struggle and it is happening again. We want to lay the firm foundations of people's rule through the cooperatives and panchayati raj. Unless that is done, the people in the rural areas cannot progress. We have had a spell of bad crops for the last two-three years. Now the situation is improving which is a good sign. We must take advantage of it in every way and try to increase production so that in future, failures of crops need not set us back. We are trying to find the means of doing all this. We want that cooperatives, panchayats and schools function effectively in the rural areas. You will be able to do a great deal for yourselves instead of waiting for the government to do it for you. It is in the nature of functioning of any government to procrastinate. You will find that a task which should take ten days will be done in fifty in a government office. I too belong to the government. So I know. There are so many papers and documents to be signed and files move through so many different offices that it takes a very long time to get anything done.

I agree that we have to simplify government procedures. But at the same time since the government deals with public money, it has to take great care

that there is no misappropriation. So there are various controls and checks and balances. They are necessary, no doubt. But when there is too much proliferation of rules and vigilance, work suffers. That is not right either. Therefore, if the villagers take on the responsibilities of running their own affairs, you can transform the face of your village in no time at all. The government must certainly help and train people. But ultimately it is only the villagers themselves who can change their condition for the better. The more you do so, the more your strength will increase. Your self-confidence will grow and your surroundings will become clean and beautiful. If you work hard, production will go up. This is the only way in which we can make this country strong and establish real peoples' rule. It is not enough to shout slogans or make speeches. It is only when the people in the villages learn to run their own panchayats, cooperatives and schools that the country's burdens will be shared by the people. There is no point in making a noise about it. A nation can go as far as the education, training and skills of the people permit. An illiterate people cannot run their country.

And, our sisters have a major role to play in all this, not just our brothers. I want you to remember two or three things. We must increase production since the more we produce the better it will be for the country and the people. It can be done if the people are determined as it has been proved in many places. I would like you to hear about some farmers who have managed to produce forty and even fifty maunds of wheat per acre of land. It shows that it can be done if there is a will. So, the first thing is to increase production.

The only way to do so is to improve the organisation of the village by strengthening the panchayats, cooperatives and schools. We do not want to wait for buildings to come up before we have a school. There must be a school in every village with or without a building. It can be held even under a tree because education is essential. I feel very unhappy when I see the beautiful little children in the villages who do not get enough to eat, proper clothes to wear or the opportunity for education. Children are a national treasure and it is our responsibility to look after them well.

There is a new wave in India today, a new atmosphere in which you can take on great tasks and succeed in them. That's all. Jai Hind!

Now I shall ask someone to read out the names of the prize-winning farmers.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind!

Brothers, a little louder. Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

2. At Allahabad: Public Meeting⁵

बहनो और भाइयो,

क्या आपसे कहूँ आज, इस सोच में मैं हूँ। अब इतनी दूर से आपसे मशविरा तो कर नहीं सकता, क्योंकि दिमाग में भी एक खलबली रहती है हमारे सवाल की, हमारे कामों की, हमारी मुश्किलों की और यक़ीनन देश के सामने ज़बरदस्त सवाल हैं। कुछ देर के लिए, हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि हम एक दूर की निगाह से इन सवालों की तरफ़ देखें। मुश्किल है ये, क्योंकि हम इन सवालों के बीच में हैं या कहिए कि हम खुद सवाल हैं, और हैं ही। जैसे कि मैंने शायद आपसे पहले भी कहा था, एक दफ़े मुझसे एक अंग्रेज़ ने पूछा लन्दन में कि तुम्हारे मुल्क में कितने सवाल हैं। मैंने कहा करीब उन्तीस करोड़ हैं। यानी उन्तीस से कुछ ज़्यादा कह दिया मैंने, सैंतीस करोड़। यानी जिते लोग हैं, सब सवाल हैं, क्योंकि हमेशा हमें सोचना है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सवाल कोई हवा नहीं हैं। वो सम्बन्ध रखते हैं हिन्दुस्तान के रहने वालों से। यानी हमें सोचना पड़ता है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी है, उस सबका क्या असर होने वाला है, क्या होना चाहिए? यों हम सोचें कि कहीं एक बात कर दें, कहीं दूसरी बात, वो भले ही बात कोई हो, लेकिन उससे पूरे गिरफ़्त नहीं होते, हम सवाल को पकड़ते नहीं।

फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि हम सोचें जैसे कि आजकल हम सोच रहे हैं कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में क्या करना है और किस ढंग से करना है। तो पहली बात हमें यह सोचनी चाहिए होती है कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त में, जिसके माने हैं आज से सात बरस में, क्योंकि दूसरी योजना आजकल चल रही है, दो बरस और हैं और उसके बाद पाँच बरस तीसरी योजना के हैं। सात बरस बाद, कितने लोग हमारे देश में होंगे? क्या गिनती होगी यहाँ की जनता की, क्योंकि उसी समय हमारे सामने सवाल पूरी तौर से आता है कि जो बात हमें करनी है वो सारी जनता के लिए करनी है। ये नहीं सवाल है कि कुछ लोगों के लिए नौकरी का प्रबन्ध हो जाये, दस हज़ार, पन्द्रह हज़ार या कुछ और इधर-उधर हो जाये। जब, पहले सवाल की बुनियाद आनी चाहिए कि सारे देश की आबादी क्या हो, क्या होगी उस समय तो जब हम उसको देखते हैं कि क्या उस समय होगी तो ज़रा दिल दहल जाता है, क्योंकि इस तेज़ी से आबादी हमारी बढ़ रही है और ख़ास वजह उसके बढ़ने का यह है, ये नहीं कि ज़्यादा लोग पैदा हो रहे हैं.. कुछ तो ज़्यादा होते ही हैं ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा...लेकिन असली वजह यह है कि इस दस-बारह बरस में हमारे देश का स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध बहुत ज़्यादा हो गया और बीमारी से जिस तरह से पहले मरते थे लोग, उते नहीं मरते। खुशी की बात है। जैसे मलेरिया बीमारी रही, क़ाबू में बहुत आ गयी है और आशा है कि दो-चार बरस में बिलकुल क़ाबू में हो जायेगी देश भर में। एक माने में करीब-करीब जड़ से निकाल दी गयी। इसी तरह से और जो बड़ी बीमारियाँ हैं, ये मैं

5. Speech at K. P. Intermediate College Grounds, Allahabad. 6 April 1959. AIR tapes. NMML.

नहीं कहता कि पूरी तौर से काबू में आ गयीं, लेकिन आती जाती हैं। और नतीजा यह है कि साल में अगर आप गिनती देखिए कि कितने लोग पैदा हुए और कितने मरे तो पहले के मुकाबले में मरने वाले कम हो जाते हैं। नतीजा यह है कि आबादी बढ़ती जाती है। अब ज़ाहिर है मरने वालों का कम होना अच्छा है, स्वास्थ्य होना अच्छा, उम्र ज़्यादा होनी, यह अच्छी बात है। इसकी कोशिश होयेगी, होती जायेगी, क्योंकि ख़ाली मरने का सवाल यह नहीं है, बल्कि सवाल यह है कि उनका स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होता है, कुछ तगड़े ज़्यादा होते हैं, वो काम कर सकते हैं ज़्यादा, और काम से देश चलता है, परिश्रम से।

तो अजीब हालत यह है कि जिती हमें कामयाबी मिल रही है देश के स्वास्थ्य को अच्छा करने में, बीमारियों को रोकने में और आम सैनिटेशन वगैरह को बढ़ाने में, पब्लिक हेल्थ को, उतने ही दूसरी तरफ़ से हमारा सवाल पेचीदा होता जाता है, क्योंकि आबादी उता बढ़ती है और उते लोग खाने वाले, उते लोग वस्त्र पहनने वाले, घर में रहने वाले, उनके लिए स्कूल, उनके लिए हस्पताल, ये सब बढ़ जाता है। इसका एक पहलू तो यही है कि आबादी का बढ़ना इत्ता; कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि इस तेज़ी से न बढ़े। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम बीमारी को बढ़ने दें, वो तो हम रोकेंगे। इसके माने ये हैं कि कोशिश की जाये कि पैदा होने वालों की गिनती कम हो जाये।

जब ये ज़िक्र होता है तो लोग कुछ हँसने लगते हैं, मज़ाक की बात समझते हैं। लेकिन ये मज़ाक बढ़ते-बढ़ते बहुत ही गहरा हो गया है और इसीलिए एक हमारा जो पहला काम हो गया है कि इसका प्रबन्ध करें और उसमें आप एक और पहलू से देखिए कि विशेषकर स्त्रियों को, हमारी बहनों को कि जिनके चार-चार, पाँच-पाँच, छै-छै, सात-सात बच्चे हों, उनके ऊपर बड़ी मुसीबत पड़ती है, बड़ा बोझा है, बड़ी ज़्यादती हैं मर्दों के लिए नहीं, जिती औरतों के लिए है। बच्चे तो ज़रूर हों, बच्चे होना बहुत अच्छी बात है परिवार के लिए अच्छा है, देश के लिए अच्छा है, धन है देश का, वो तो ठीक है। लेकिन अगर अधिक हो जाते हैं तो उनकी देख-भाल भी ठीक नहीं होती। माँ बीमार, बच्चे बीमार, फ़ाक्रेमस्ती ज़्यादा हो जाती है, हज़ार दिक्कतें होती हैं। परिवार एक कुछ गिर-सा जाता है समझिए, कम-से-कम उता अच्छा नहीं रहता।

तो ये बात तो मैंने आपसे शुरू में ही कह दी, क़ब्ल इसके कि मैं और बातें कहूँ कि इस वक्त्र के हिसाब से अगर आबादी बढ़ती जाये तो आजकल शायद पिछली, पिछली मर्दुमशुमारी में तो सैंतीस करोड़ थी कि कित्ती थी, छत्तीस-सैंतीस करोड़ थी। अब शायद वो चालीस तक पहुँच गयी होगी और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक वो शायद अड़तालीस तक पहुँच जाय। इसके माने हैं, ये होते हैं कि हमारा सब प्लैन करना, योजना बनाना, बहुत मुश्किल हो जाता है। हर चीज़ हमें एक दस करोड़ और लोगों के लिए प्रबन्ध करना है। दस करोड़ थोड़े नहीं हैं, बहुत हैं। दस करोड़ का खाना ज़्यादा पैदा हो, उनके लिए कपड़े पैदा हों, उनके लिए स्वास्थ्य का इन्तज़ाम हो, स्कूल नये बनें, कहीं वो अस्पताल हों और आखिर में काम करने को हो, रोज़गार हो। इसीलिए बहुत ज़रूरी है और इसमें तरीक़े भी हैं जिसको फ़ैमिली प्लैनिंग कहते हैं यानी परिवार का प्रबन्ध ठीक किया जाये। वे भी काफ़ी तरीक़े आजकल हैं। कोई बहुत

पेचीदा बात नहीं है। और मैं समझता हूँ और आइन्दा और भी इस मामले में भी आपको मालूम होगा लेकिन अब भी काफ़ी हैं। और ऐसे फ़ैमिली प्लैनिंग ट्रेनिंग सैन्टर्स वगैरह भी अक्सर जगह खुले हैं, खुलते जाते हैं। तो इस बात को हमें समझना है, क्योंकि ये हमारे लिए और हमारे परिवार के लिए और देश के लिए काफ़ी पेचीदा बात हो गयी है। हम अगर हमारे परिवार में जिते हम उचित समझते हों, उतने बच्चे हों, परिवार की खुशी हो, अच्छे ढंग से रहें, उनकी देख-भाल अच्छी हो और देश इस तरह से, एक उसका हाल, हालत अच्छी होती जाय। देख-भाल अच्छी हो उसकी।

खैर, तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि पहली बात जो हमें सोचनी पड़ती है कोई प्लैन बनाने में, वो ये है कि कितने लोगों के लिए एक योजना बने। यानी योजना बनाना ये काम नहीं होता कि हम एक फ़ेहरिस्त बनायें कि इलाहाबाद ज़िले में क्या-क्या हमें बातें करनी हैं और लखनऊ में क्या और और प्रदेशों में क्या? हमें यहाँ सड़क बनानी है, यहाँ अस्पताल बनाना है, यहाँ कॉलेज बनाना है, यहाँ पुल बनाना है। एक फ़ेहरिस्त बना दें और जहाँ तक बन पड़े करें। ये योजना बनाना नहीं है। वो सब चीज़ें, जो आवश्यक हैं, उनकी तो फ़ेहरिस्त हमें बनानी पड़ती है और उस पर विचार करना पड़ता है, लेकिन जो बुनियादी बात है, हमें देखनी है कि किस ढंग से हम देश की जो शक्ति है, देश के जो पैसे हैं, किस ढंग से उसे लगायें कि जिससे आमदनी हमारे देश की बढ़ती जाये।

क्योंकि एक धनी देश के माने क्या हैं? धनी देश के माने तो ये नहीं है कि बड़ा कहीं खज़ाने में सोना-चाँदी जमा है। धनी देश के माने हैं कि उसकी पैदावार हो, उसका उत्पादन ज़्यादा होता है, ज़मीन से और कारखानों से, इण्डस्ट्रीज़ से [...]। उत्पादन ज़्यादा होता है, हिसाब ज़्यादा होता है, हिसाब खर्च होता है, लोगों की हालत अच्छी होती है। तो हमारे लिए चाहिए, हमारे लिए प्रश्न हो जाता है कि कैसे हमारे देश का प्रोडक्शन, उत्पादन बढ़े, बहुत बढ़े? अगर आप मुकाबला करें और देशों से तो हम करीब-करीब नीचे हैं फ़ेहरिस्त के। दो-तीन छोटे देश हमसे नीचे हैं और हम बहुत नीचे हैं। हमारी, यानी, फ़्री आदमी के हिसाब से गिना जाता है, देखा जाता है कि फ़्री आदमी की क्या इनकम है, पर-कैपिटा इनकम क्या है? ये नहीं कि कुछ लखपति नज़र आ जायें आपको, कुछ अमीर आदमी दिख जायें, वो हिन्दुस्तान की ग़रीबी के समुन्दर में खो जाते हैं। और हिसाब लगता है कि एक आदमी जैसे आप हिसाब लगायें तो एक शहर का हिसाब लगायें तो दो-चार महल शहर में हों, उससे शहर की हैसियत नहीं मालूम होती है। लेकिन शहर का ग़रीब मकान कैसे खड़ा होता है, उससे मालूम होती है। तो इस हिसाब से हिन्दुस्तान बहुत नीचा है और उसको ऊँचा करने का बुनियादी तरीका एक ही है कि हिन्दुस्तान में ज़्यादा चीज़ें पैदा हों और धन हो। और बाक़ी जो हों, वो हों। ज़्यादा चीज़ें पैदा हों, ज़मीन से पैदा हों, कारखानों से, इण्डस्ट्री से, ग्रामोद्योग से, कारीगरी से, जो तरीके हैं, उससे अधिक पैदा हो। अमरीका धनी है इसलिए कि अमरीका में हर साल अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा होता है।

अब ये बातें हैं। इसमें चाहे आप अमरीका की नक़ल करें, पूँजीवाद या रूस की साम्यवाद

या कोई बीच के मुल्क हैं जैसे स्वीडन, नॉर्वे वगैरह हैं, उनकी करें। कोई बात भी आप लें। उसका पहला क़दम ये है कि देश में अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा हो। क्योंकि जब पैदा होता है तब दूसरा सवाल निकलता है कि जो पैदा हुआ वो कहाँ जायेगा? अगर पैदा नहीं हुआ तब तो बाँटने को अधिक है नहीं। फ़ाक़ेमस्ती को बाँटना कोई बाँटना नहीं है या ग़रीबी को बाँटना। वो कोई समाजवाद, साम्यवाद, पूँजीवाद और गाँधीवाद, जो कोई वाद हो, उसमें पैदा करना अधिक होता है। उसमें बहस हो सकती है कि क्या चीज़ पैदा करें। लेकिन उसमें भी बहुत बहस की गुंजाइश नहीं है। जब मैं कहता हूँ पैदा अधिक करें तो ज़ाहिर है कि सबसे पहली चीज़ जो पैदा होती है वो आवश्यक वस्तु है। यानी सबसे पहले आवश्यक वस्तुओं में खाने का सामान है, हर एक को आवश्यक है, हर एक के लिए है। वो होने ही हैं, कपड़ा है, होना ही है, जो वस्त्र पहनते हैं। हो सकता है कि हम रेशम-वेशम कम पैदा करें, उसके बगैर रहें, कोई ख़ास ज़रूरत नहीं है, लेकिन कोई-न-कोई कपड़ा आपको पैदा करना है न? तो वो हो जाता है। इस तरह से जो अपनी, हमारी ज़रूरी चीज़ें हैं, उनकी हम फ़ेहरिस्त बनायें। उसे हम पैदा करें। बहुत सारी ज़रूरी चीज़ें हो जाती हैं।

अच्छा, पैदा कैसे करें? ज़मीन से पैदा होता है और कारख़ाने से होता है, ग्रामोद्योग वगैरह से। दोनों में आप देखिए कि जो यूरोप-अमरीका में तरक्की हुई है, जिससे उनकी दौलत बढ़ गयी है, वो इस बात से कि उन्होंने नये-नये पैदा करने के तरीक़े निकाले हैं ज़मीन से और ख़ासकर मशीन वगैरह से। बहुत ज़्यादा पैदा करने लगे हैं। हज़ारों आदमी का काम आसानी से हो गया। तो ज़मीन पे ज़्यादा, ज़्यादा अच्छे हल हुए, ज़्यादा अच्छे बीज हुए, ज़्यादा अच्छी खाद हुई, ज़्यादा इस तरह की बातें, अलावा मैं बड़ी- बड़ी मशीन का नहीं कहता, ट्रैक्टर वगैरह का नहीं है, उसको छोड़ो। इन बातों से उन्होंने अपने ज़मीन की पैदावार चौगुनी कर दी, तिगुनी-चौगुनी कर दी, अधिक धन हो गया और कारख़ानों से जो पैदा किया वो तो सौ गुनी कर दी उन्होंने। तो हमें भी अपने मुल्क की हालत देखते हुए कुछ-न-कुछ विज्ञान से फ़ायदा उठाना है। साइन्स से और टेक्नॉलोजी से लाभ उठाना है। आजकल की विद्या से दुनिया को लाभ उठाना है, ज़ाहिर है। नहीं तो इल्म और विद्या के माने क्या हैं? ये तो नहीं है कि हमेशा के लिए वो एक बन्द हो गयी ताले में, फिर बढ़ नहीं सकती। वो हमेशा बढ़ती जाती है और अगर हम उसके साथ बढ़ें नहीं तो आप पिछड़ जाते हैं, जैसे कि हिन्दुस्तान का हुआ था कि और दुनिया की विद्या बढ़ती गयी, विज्ञान, साइन्स, टेक्नॉलोजी, आगे बढ़ते गये और हम पिछड़ गये। वाद में अंग्रेज़ों के आने के, अंग्रेज़ों ने हमें बढ़ने भी नहीं दिया। जो कुछ वजह हो। हम पिछड़े इसलिए कि [...] दुनिया में जो नया इल्म और नयी विद्या, ज्ञान हुआ वो उसको हम पूरे तौर से नहीं बढ़ा सके, पिछड़े रहे। उसको हमें पकड़ना है अगर बढ़ें, और उससे लाभ उठायें।

अच्छा, लाभ उठाने के माने हैं कि हम चाहे ज़मीन पर, चाहे कारख़ानों में, वो बातें कर सकें जो आजकल की टेक्नॉलोजी कहती है। मशीन को आप लें। मशीन से हम कोई कारख़ाना खोलें तो अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश में बहुत सारी मशीनें हो जायें छोटी-बड़ी बहुत बड़ी, हर तरह की तो एक ही तरह से हो सकती है कि हम मशीन को अपने घर में बनायें। अगर

हमें हर दफ़े विलायत जाना हो, अमरीका जायें, मशीन ख़रीदने के लिए तो एक तो हमारा बड़ा रुपया चला जाता है, दूसरे हम कभी ज़म के उसे चला नहीं सकते। उसका एक पुर्ज़ा टूट गया, रुक गयी मशीन और वो अमरीका से ला दी गयी। लेकिन फिर भी ये बढ़ नहीं सकता जब तक कि अपने घर में उस चीज़ को न बनायें। तो इसलिए कारख़ाने बनाने के माने ये नहीं है कि हम एक मशीन अमरीका से मँगा लें। कारख़ाना बनाने के, इण्डस्ट्री बढ़ाने के, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने के माने ये हैं कि हमारे घर में मशीन बनाने के कारख़ाने हों, बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन जो बने, छोटी भी काफ़ी बनने लगें, बड़ी भी बनें।

और देखिए, अगर हम इण्डस्ट्री चाहें तो हर इण्डस्ट्री के पीछे और खेती के पीछे भी एक वस्तु है—लोहा। अगर देश में लोहा काफ़ी नहीं है तो काम नहीं होता या हमें बाहर से ख़रीदना पड़ता है। बड़ा ख़र्चा पड़ता है। अब हमारे देश में लोहा एक माने में तो बहुत है। आयरन बहुत है ज़मीन के नीचे, लेकिन उसको स्टील बनाना काफ़ी कठिन बात है। कम-से-कम, ख़र्चा बहुत होता है, लेकिन उसके बग़ैर काम नहीं चलता। तो हमें फिर लोहे के, स्टील के, कारख़ाने बनाने पड़ते हैं। इस समय हमारे चार नये बन रहे हैं। एक तो पुराने को बढ़ाया और तीन नये।⁶ अब इन तीन-चार में हमारे चार-पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये ख़र्च हो रहे हैं, आप सोचें, कितनी बड़ी रकम है हमारे सारे देश की एक साल की आमदनी हो जाती है सब मिला के देश भर की। तो इत्ता बहुत है। तब क्या करें हम? ग़रीब देश है फिर भी हमने किया, क्योंकि बग़ैर लोहा पैदा किये हम बहुत बढ़ ही नहीं सकते। इसलिए पेट काट-काट के हमें करना पड़ता है। एक दफ़े जब वो चलने लगता है सिलसिला, तब ज़ोरों से हमारी आमदनी होगी। तो जो बुनियाद है एक देश की कि इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने के लिए उसमें क्या-क्या चीज़ें हमें करनी हैं। मैं इस वक़्त खेती को छोड़ता हूँ। इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने के लिए लोहा काफ़ी होना चाहिए; स्टील। तो स्टील के कारख़ाने हों। बड़े-बड़े। बड़ी मशीन बनाने का सामान हो। मशीन-मेकिंग प्लाण्ट्स हों, और उसके माने हैं कि हम लोहे का कारख़ाना बनाना चाहते हैं तो जो लोहे के कारख़ाने के लिए बड़ी मशीनें हैं, उनको हम बनायें। बड़ी चीज़ हो जाती है। और इसी तरह की और मशीनें बनायें। ये हुआ।

तीसरे, हमें शक्ति की ज़रूरत है, पावर की। कारख़ाने पावर से चलते हैं। वो पावर बिजली की हो या थर्मल कहते हैं, ऐसा हो, जो कुछ हो, लेकिन वो भी बिजली में उसको बदल देना पड़ता है। इसके माने हैं कि बिजली पैदा करें चाहे पानी के वेग से, चाहे कोयला जला के, वो हो। चौथे ये कि हम कारख़ाने बनायें, तब फिर उनको जो कच्चा माल उनको चाहिए या कोयला चाहिए, वो लाना पड़ता है दूर से। उसके लिए रेल बनानी पड़ती है या बस, रेल, क्योंकि वहाँ, वहाँ कच्चा माल जाता है, रॉ मैटीरियल, और वहाँ से बनी हुई चीज़ को लाने के लिए। इसके माने ये हैं कि रेल बने और सड़कें बनें और क्या-क्या हो। वो लम्बा इन्तज़ाम हो जाता

6. Nehru is referring to the TISCO at Jamshedpur, and the new steel plants at Bhilai, Bokaro and Rourkela.

है। कोयले की ज़रूरत होती है कारखाने में, इसके माने हैं कि कोयले की माँग ज़्यादा होगी। मैं आपके सामने इशारा कर रहा हूँ, क्योंकि मैं कहता हूँ, आप समझें इस पेचीदा सवाल को कि एक सवाल दूसरे से जुड़ा हुआ है। अगर हम एक कड़ी छोड़ देते हैं तो बात बिगड़ जाती है। हमने लोहे के कारखाने बनाये, उसमें कोयले की ज़रूरत है, कोयला लायें। रेल बनाने की ज़रूरत है। लोहा मिल जाये उसको वहाँ रेल से ले जायें, बाहर।

इस तरह से एक पेचीदा नक्शा हो जाता है और इस सबके पीछे और सबमें ज़रूरी चीज़ एक और है। वो इन्सान है। वो सीखा हुआ इन्सान है। लोहे के कारखाने बनाने में हमें कोई एक पाँच बरस लगते हैं, चार-पाँच बरस लगते हैं अगर जल्दी करें। लेकिन जो आदमी हैं, जो इंजीनियर लोग, जो कारखाने को चलायेगा, उसको बनाने में हमें पन्द्रह-बीस बरस, पन्द्रह बरस लग जाते हैं। देखा आपने? कित्ता मुश्किल है आदमी को तैयार करना, क्योंकि खाली आपके स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ने का काम नहीं है वो। आप स्कूल-कॉलेज में दस-बारह बरस पढ़ें तो पढ़ें और आप इंजीनियर हो जायें उसमें पाँच-छै बरस और लगेंगे। लेकिन इंजीनियरिंग का इम्तहान पास करने के बाद वो कम-से-कम दस बरस और काम करे तब उसको तजुर्बा होता है जो बड़े लोहे के कारखाने को चला सके।

तो आखिर में ये सब घूम-घाम के आ जाता है सीखे हुए लोग देश में कित्ते हैं? अलग-अलग काम करने के लिए। चाहे वो, चाहे वो इंजीनियरिंग का काम हो। और इंजीनियरिंग के काम में भी कित्ते पहलू हैं? सैकड़ों पहलू हैं। चाहे वो डॉक्टरी है, चाहे कुछ है, सीखने में वो बरसों सीखता है। और आखिर में, क्योंकि आखिर में एक मुल्क की हैसियत जो होती है, वो गिनी जाती है कि उस मुल्क में कित्ते सीखे हुए लोग हैं। गिनती से नहीं होती। उजड़ू लोगों की गिनती कोई नहीं करता। वो तो एक बोझा होता है। जाहिल लोगों की नहीं है कुछ। कित्ते सीखे हुए लोग हैं जो कि काम करें, चाहे सीखे हुए के माने ये नहीं हैं, मैं ये नहीं कहता कि हर आदमी बी.ए., एम.ए. हो, ये मेरा मतलब नहीं है। लेकिन जो काम करना, उसके लिए सीखे वो। अगर उसको आयरन स्टील प्लाण्ट बनाना है तो उसको ऊँचे दर्जे का उस क्रिस्म का इंजीनियर होना है। नहीं है तो नहीं कर सकते आप काम। आप कित्ते ही गुल-शोर मचायें, नारे उठायें, नहीं हो सकता। आपको पुल बनाना है, अगर अच्छे इंजीनियर नहीं हैं, पुल बनाना नहीं आये तो पुल नहीं बनेगा। नारे से तो नहीं बनता।

इस तरह से आप आइए खेती में। अब मैं नहीं कहता कि खैर, किसान को बड़े इंजीनियर होना है, ये तो नहीं। हमारे किसान बहुत अच्छे हैं, लेकिन हमारे किसानों को मालूम नहीं। एक तो बेचारों की हैसियत इती कम है यानी उसकी गरीबी इती है कि जो बहुत गरीब आदमी होता है, उसके लिए तरक्की करना बहुत मुश्किल हो जाता है। दूसरे, उनको मालूम नहीं कि नयी-नयी बातें क्या हैं। मैं आपसे कह दूँ मैं नहीं समझता कि आजकल के हिन्दुस्तान में बहुत ज़्यादा ट्रैक्टर वगैरह चलाने की गुंजायश है। ट्रैक्टर चले उससे मेरा कोई विरोध नहीं है, ओर चल भी रहे हैं, लेकिन आम तौर से वो नहीं चल सकते हैं। हमारे यहाँ मैनपावर इतना है कि उसको ज़ाया करना फ़िज़ूल है और ग़लत बात है, क्योंकि आखिर में जो भी कुछ हम करें, वो इन्सान

के लिए करते हैं। मशीन आये तो वो इन्सान के लिए आती है, आदमी मशीन के लिए नहीं है। तो एक ये सिद्धान्त है।

दूसरा ये सिद्धान्त है जो इसका कुछ विरोधी सिद्धान्त है कि दुनिया में नये और ज्यादा अच्छे तरीके होते हैं काम करने के, नये टेक्नीक्स होते हैं, इम्प्रूव्ड टेक्नीक्स, अगर उनको आप इस्तेमाल नहीं करें तो आप पिछड़ जाते हैं। आप रेलगाड़ी न रखें और बैलगाड़ी में जाया करें तो ज़ाहिर है हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की बहुत मुश्किल हो जाये। रेल बनानी पड़ती है। सब हमें करना पड़ता है, क्योंकि नहीं तो आजकल की दुनिया में आप खपते नहीं। तो इसलिए आदमी को सिखाना है। अच्छा, किसानों को क्या सिखाना है? किसान को एक तो किसान हो या कोई हो, उसके लिए ये आवश्यक हो जाना चाहिए कि बुनियादी तालीम हर एक ही हो। बेसिक एजुकेशन कहिए, जो कुछ कहिए, अच्छी तालीम, जो कि एक सेकेण्डरी एजुकेशन तक की, हर एक को हो तालीम, लड़का-लड़की। इससे मुल्क की हैसियत बढ़ेगी, मुल्क में लोगों को मौका मिलेगा, [...] नयी बातें समझने का और नयी बातें निकालने का और मुल्क ज़ोरों से तरक्की करेगा।

महज़ पैसा खींचने से और महज़ बाहर से एक्सपर्ट लाने से और मुल्कों से शुरू में मदद मिल सकती है, लेकिन मुल्क नहीं बढ़ता। मुल्क बढ़ता है अपने लोगों से। अपने लोग पैदा होते हैं दो-तीन बातों से। एक तो बुनियादी तालीम हर एक की हो और अच्छी बुनियादी तालीम। एक बराबर का मौका हरेक को मिले लड़का और लड़की को और फिर उसके बाद जो चुने हुए लड़के-लड़कियाँ हैं, जो तेज़ हैं, उनको मौका मिले और आगे बढ़ के चाहे कॉलेज में पढ़ें, यूनिवर्सिटी में और चाहे स्पेशल इंस्टीट्यूट्स में, जो कुछ हो उनको मौका मिले। आजकल तो नहीं मिलता बहुतों को, न सबों को। हमारे यहाँ शिक्षा बहुत बढ़ी है देश में, बहुत बढ़ी है, लेकिन बहुत बढ़ने पर भी अभी कम है, नहीं पहुँची हर जगह। और जहाँ पहुँची भी है वहाँ कुछ स्कूल अक्सर बहुत अच्छे नहीं हैं। वो तो और बात है। उसको हमें करना है।

तो ये बुनियादी बात हो जाती है। ये सब बातों को साफ़-साफ़ करना होता है। यह तो नहीं है कि हम बैठें कि पहले उन लोगों को पढ़ा लें और सारे मुल्क को, तब कुछ और करेंगे। चलती नहीं बात। पढ़ायें कैसे? पढ़ाने के लिए तो हमारे पास पैसा इत्ता नहीं है। आप हिसाब लगायें कि अगर हम जित्ता चाहते हैं पढ़ाना लोगों को, सब लोगों को स्कूल में, प्राइमरी स्कूल, सेकेण्डरी स्कूल, बेसिक स्कूल और फिर कॉलेज वगैरह में; एक अन्दाज़ा मैंने किया था कुछ रोज़ हुए, सब मिला के कॉलेज, यूनिवर्सिटी स्कूल पढ़ने वाले, पढ़ाने वाले। तो अगर चालीस करोड़ की आबादी है हमारे देश की तो दस करोड़ पढ़ने वाले और पढ़ाने वाले हो जाते हैं। आजकल नहीं हैं। लेकिन अगर पूरी तरह से करें तो हो जाते हैं। सोचिए दस करोड़ काफ़ी बड़ी तादाद है, इत्ता प्रबन्ध करना, इनका कित्ता खर्च हो? वो सारा खर्च कहाँ से आये? वो दस करोड़ कुछ इस तरह से आमदनी न कुछ पैदा करें, उसका बोझा वो उठाये जो मेहनत करके, परिश्रम करके पैदा करते हैं। वो सारी पढ़ाई, वो बोझा उठाना पड़ता है। तो पढ़ाई का फैलना बँध जाता है और देश के धनी होने से, देश का धनी होना बँध जाता है कित्ते लोग पढ़े-लिखें हों? दोनों बँध

गये न? इस तरह से हर एक चीज़ बँध जाती है, लिंकड हैं, कड़ियाँ हैं, एक कड़ी, दूसरी कड़ी, तीसरी कड़ी।

अब योजना बनने के माने हैं कि इन कड़ियों को इस तरह से हम बनायें कि हल्के-हल्के चारों तरफ़ से तरक्की हो। एक तरफ़ से अधिक हो जाय, दूसरी तरफ़ से नहीं तो देश वहीं-का-वहीं रह जाता है। और उसका एक इम्तहान भी है कि हर साल देश का धन बढ़ता जाय। उसका ठीक बँटवारा नहीं होगा, क्योंकि बँटवारा तो हल्के-हल्के होगा, लेकिन उसको हम नापते हैं पर कैपिटल इनकम से और ये भी याद रखिए, अगर देश का धन जित्ता इस समय बढ़ रहा है उता ही रहे तो देश की आबादी तो बढ़ती जाती है, इसके माने ये हुए कि हर आदमी की आमदनी कम होती जाती है, क्योंकि धन उता ही रहा, आबादी बढ़ गयी। जैसे किसी परिवार में एक परिवार की आमदनी डेढ़ सौ समझो है, एक परिवार की आमदनी सौ रुपये महीना है, तीन बच्चे हैं, माँ-बाप हैं। ख़ैर, काम चलता है। तीन बच्चे के छे बच्चे हो गये, औसत कम हो गयी। पैसे कित्ते कम हो गये। किसी तरह से या तो सौ रुपये हों, आमदनी बढ़ गयी या बच्चे कम हों, खाने वाले कम हों, ये पेचीदा सवाल है। ज़ाहिर-सी बात है।

मैं आपको कोई सारी पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं समझा सकता, लेकिन मैं आपको एक बात समझाने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ, क्योंकि आप बहुत सारे यहाँ इलाहाबाद शहर के रहने वाले शहरी लोग, पढ़े-लिखे लोग, जो इन बातों पर विचार करते हैं, इसलिए मैं आपके सामने ये पहलू रखता हूँ। ये पहलू हमारी पार्टीबाज़ी से अलग है, यानी हर पार्टी के सामने मुल्क का हल करने में कुछ फ़र्क़ हो और उसका हल महज़ गुल-शोर मचाने से नहीं होता, न नारे से होता है। ये बात समझने की है, क्योंकि आप उते ही देश में ख़र्च सकते हैं, जितना देश के पास हो। यानी जित्ता देश कमाता है। हो सकता है कि हम और देशों से सहायता ले लें, क़र्ज़ा ले लें, जैसे हम लेते हैं, और लेंगे हम जब तक मिलेगा। लेकिन जित्ता क़र्ज़ा लेते हैं उसको हमें अदा करना पड़ता है वो भी एक बोझ हो जाता है और फिर क़र्ज़ा हमेशा तो चल नहीं सकता। क़र्ज़ा लिया इसलिए कि उससे आमदनी हो, हम उसको वापस करें, करना पड़ता है। तो इसके पेंच समझिए। ये किस तरह के पेंच है कि हर पहलू पर ग़ौर करना कि किधर बढ़ सकें। किधर पहले बढ़ें, किधर बाद में बढ़ें।

अब, क्योंकि जो हमारे पास रुपया ख़र्चने का है, वो तो गिनती का है, बढ़ता जाये रोज़, मगर गिनती का है। इसलिए बहुत सारी बातें हम करना चाहते हैं जो हमारे क़ाबू के बाहर हैं इस वज़त। हम पसन्द करते हैं, हम चाहते हैं करना, लेकिन नहीं कर सकते और उसको मुल्तवी करना होता है। अच्छा, आज नहीं, कल करेंगे, साल भर बाद करेंगे, पाँच बरस बाद करेंगे, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में करेंगे। ये बात आप समझें, क्योंकि जित्ता हम कर सकते हैं, वो उस पर है कि कित्ता, हम आखिर में कित्ता पैदा करते हैं देश में।

और दूसरा है उसका ये, कित्ता, कित्ता यहाँ की गवर्नमेंट के पास आता है। चाहे वो दिल्ली की गवर्नमेंट हो, केन्द्रीय या आपकी, आपके प्रदेश की हो या आपकी कॉरपोरेशन हो या जो कुछ हो, या आपकी पंचायत हो। तो वो सब, सब देश की काम करने की संस्थाएँ हैं, लोक

सभा से ले के गाँव की पंचायत तक। जित्ती उनकी आमदनी हो, उता ही वो खर्च सकते हैं। जित्ती वो आमदनी बढ़ायेंगे, आमदनी बढ़ाते हैं वो अपना उत्पादन बढ़ा के उसी से। खैर, सरकारी आमदनी क्या होती है? टैक्स की होती है और दूसरी होती है क़र्ज़ा लेने की। जैसे क़र्ज़ होते हैं, लोन्स होते हैं, पोस्ट ऑफ़िस सर्टिफ़िकेट्स होते हैं, स्मॉल सेविंग्स हैं। ये गवर्नमेंट शासन लेता है और उसको आपको, खैर, आपको सूद देता है और आपको वापस करता है बाद में और उससे ऐसे काम करता है जिससे देश की आमदनी बढ़े और उसको बाद में आपको वापस करता है। जित्ता अधिक आप उसको पैसा दें, स्मॉल सेविंग्स वगैरह, वो एक जड़ हो जाती है। वो एक बुनियाद है जिससे काम बढ़ेगा और जिससे देश का काम बढ़े और आपका, आपका रुपया बना-का-बना रहे और उस को सूद भी मिले। इससे माकूल बात तो कोई हो नहीं सकती। अपने रुपये को लगा लीजिए, चाहे कुछ तकलीफ़ भी हो, क्योंकि हम अपने बच्चों का भी प्रबन्ध करने के लिए रुपया उनके लिए रखते, सूद भी मिलता है और उसी के साथ हम देश के बढ़ने में मदद करते हैं।

तो ऐसे बड़े काम जबकि करोड़ों आदमियों को उठाना है, ये कोई सरकारी चालबाज़ी से कुछ नहीं हो सकता या अफ़सर लोग, अफ़सर अच्छे हों या न हों, इसमें जब तक सारी जनता गुंथ नहीं जाये, पिल के काम न करे। पहले समझे कि पिल के काम करे तब तक ये बात होती नहीं करने से। कोई नक्कशा बन नहीं सकता कोई कहे कि हमारे साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव भारत के अच्छे हो जायँ एकदम से। कोई गवर्नमेंट नहीं कर सकती। कुछ-न-कुछ करें। लेकिन वो साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव दो-चार बरस में बदल सकते हैं अगर एक-एक गाँव के लोग निश्चय कर लें कि हम अपने गाँव को बदलेंगे। एक गाँव का बदलना बड़ी बात नहीं है। निश्चय करें वो, ज़रा अपने परिश्रम से, ज़रा श्रमदान से, ज़रा और काम से। सड़कें बनायें, मकान बना लें, स्कूल बना लें। पचासों बातें हैं जो कर सकते हैं वो, बग़ैर कुछ पैसे के खर्च के। थोड़ा पैसा खर्च हो। सारी शक्ल बदल जाये। उनका लाभ हो, उनकी आमदनी बढ़े। लेकिन फिर प्रश्न यह हो जाता है कि साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँवों में लोग ऐसा करें क्यों? ये हो जाता है।

हमारी ये है, क्या नाम है? कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट, विकास योजना, इसके पीछे क्या है? कि हम गाँव वालों का एक ऐसा, एक उनका संगठन हो ओर उनमें एक फुर्ती आये, सहयोग आये, एक-दूसरे के साथ काम करना, उत्साह आये। इस काम को करें और वो काम किसी दूसरे का नहीं है। काम तो उन्हीं का है, उनके गाँव का है, उन्हीं का लाभ होता है। ये बात हो रही है सब जगह, और सब लोग करें तो देश चटपट बदलने लगे। ऊपर से, क़ानून से नहीं ख़ाली। हाँ, ऊपर की भी उसमें सहायता हो।

तो एक ये बहुत ही मुख़्तसर आपके सामने, कि आप सोचें कि ये योजना बनाना, प्लैन बनाना क्या चीज़ है? और इसमें फिर मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि ये सब बातें, इसमें बहुत ज़्यादा कुछ तो है ये पूँजीवाद और समाजवाद और साम्यवाद, कोई भी इस सवाल को उठाये। सवाल एक ही है। और सवाल के हल करने में कहीं-कहीं दो राय हो सकती हैं। होती हैं, लेकिन उसमें भी बहुत कुछ एक ही रास्ते पे चलना है। कुछ फ़र्क़ हो सकता है, उस पर हम बहस करें। ये

न समझिए कि कोई रूस को लीजिए या अमरीका को लीजिए, बहुत फ़र्क है वहाँ के समाज के संगठन में। लेकिन जित्ते उनके कारखाने हैं, जित्ता उनका विज्ञान है, वो एक ही है। कोई, कोई कम्युनिस्ट साइन्स नहीं है, कोई कम्युनिस्ट कैमेस्ट्री नहीं है, कोई साम्यवादी फ़िज़िक्स और ज़ियॉलोजी नहीं है। चाहे वो रूस में हो या अमरीका में हो, उसी साइन्स को पढ़ते हैं। उसी टेक्नॉलोजी को पढ़ाते हैं। उसी रास्ते पे चल के वे तरक्की करते हैं, उसी रास्ते पे हमें चलना पड़ेगा। हाँ, हर देश में कुछ-न-कुछ नया ढंग हो, हम अपने ढंग से चलें वो और बात है। अगर हम सोचें कि हमारा ये पुराना ढंग जो वेदों में लिखा है, उस पे हम आजकल चलें तो ये अक्ल की बात नहीं है। वेदों में बड़ी ऊँचे दर्जे की बातें लिखी हैं। वेद हों, गीता हो, शास्त्र हो, जो कुछ है और उससे हमें बहुत लाभ है, होता है, लेकिन वेदों में आप यह नहीं देखने जाते कि लोहे का कारखाना कैसे बनायें। ये वेदों में नहीं लिखा है। वो ज़माना दूसरा था।

तो आजकल के ज़माने की विद्या आपको सीखनी है। अगर कोई साहब कहें आ के कि साहब, ये हवाई जहाज़ वगैरह, ये उड़न खटोले वगैरह तो हमेशा से चलते थे, किताबों में पढ़ लीजिए। भाई साहब मेरे ऊपर असर तो होता नहीं इसका। अगर हमेशा से, हमेशा से उड़ते थे तो बीच में कैसे, क्यों ग़ायब हो गये? क्यों जहाज़ पड़ी हमारे ऊपर आ के, या क्या। खैर, हो न हो, मुझसे मतलब नहीं। एक सिद्धान्त और उसूलों की बातें हैं, वो एक माने में हमेशा क़ायम रहती हैं। ऊँचा सिद्धान्त। और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि जो हमारी संस्कृति है, हमारे वेद वगैरह किताबें हैं, वो और हमारे जो बड़े और हैं ये एपिक्स हैं, महाभारत, रामायण, भरे हुए हैं कूट-कूट कर ऊँचे सिद्धान्तों से जिससे हम सीखें, जिससे क्रौम सीखे। और हमारे भारत के रहने वालों के रंगों-रेशों में भरी हैं बातें। वो तो ठीक है, लेकिन उससे आप कहें कि हम जा के आजकल के कारखाने चलाने के लिए, उसी ढंग से चलायेंगे, नहीं बात चलती, ज़ाहिर है। अगर आप कहें कि हम उसी ढंग से खेती चलायेंगे जो दो हज़ार बरस का ढंग था, बात नहीं चलती।

एक और बात है, ये मोटी बात है, कि दो हज़ार या तीन हज़ार बरस हुए हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी जो आजकल है, उससे बहुत कम थी यानी सौ गुनी कम थी। और उससे भी अधिक, यानी हिन्दुस्तान में जंगल थे, बड़े-बड़े, ज़मीन खाली पड़ी थी। कुछ लोग, उस समय ज़मीन की कमी नहीं, लोग कम थे, ज़मीन अधिक थी। तो वो सवाल आजकल हमारे सामने है कि ज़मीन कम और लोग ज़्यादा, वो नहीं थी, और सवाल बढ़ते जाते हैं। तो नक्श़ा ही दूसरा था। ऐसी जगह का संगठन दूसरा होता है। अलावा मशीन वगैरह को छोड़िए। अब हमारे सामने चालीस करोड़ आदमी हैं। भरे हुए हैं, बढ़ते जाते हैं। तरीक़े बदल जाते हैं उस सवाल को हल करने में, और समाज बढ़ती है। समाज तरीक़े बनाती है ये सब, चाहे बिजली हो, चाहे भाप से रेल चलती है, चाहे ऐटम, ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी हो। ये समाज बढ़ रही है। नये-नये क्रिस्म की बातें आती हैं। नये-नये पर्दे हटते हैं। प्रकृति के सामने। ये सब बातें कोई नयी तो नहीं हैं? चीज़ें पुरानी हैं। बिजली शुरू से आसमान में कड़कती है, चमकती है, लेकिन हज़ारों बरस गुज़रे जब आदमी ने, कुछ बुद्धिमान आदमियों ने आसमान की बिजली को पहचान के यहाँ पैदा कर दी। आप

उसकी रोशनी में बैठे हैं, उससे कारखाने चलते हैं। भाप हमेशा से निकलती है, हर घर में निकलती है। एक अक्लमन्द आदमी ने सोचा कि भाप में बड़ी शक्ति है उससे हम पहिया घुमायेंगे। पहिया घुमा के हम इंजिन चलायेंगे। देखिए न। चीज़ मामूली थी, लेकिन उसको प्रकृति की शक्ति को पकड़ा। अब ये ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी है। क्या है? एक महान शक्ति है प्रकृति की। हमेशा से है, आज तो नहीं निकाली। लेकिन आदमी के दिमाग ने उसको पहचान लिया और पहचान के उसको पकड़ा और पकड़ के पहला असर यह हुआ, भयानक असर, कि ऐटम बम बना। उससे अच्छे भी असर होते हैं। और अभी तक पता नहीं कि ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी से, बम से, हाइड्रोजन बम से, दुनिया खतम हो जायेगी कि नयी दुनिया बनेगी। एक बड़ी भारी शक्ति है। आदमी पर मुन्हसिर है कैसे उसका प्रयोग करे। तो इस ढंग से आप ज़रा इस दुनिया को देखें।

और एक और भी बात है मैं आपसे कहूँ कि बहुत सारे सवाल हमारे देश के वैसे ही हैं जो और दुनिया के हैं। या कम-से-कम उस दुनिया के हैं जो कि गिनी जाती है इन मामलों में पिछड़े हैं, एशिया के अक्सर देश। यूरोप, अमरीका तो बढ़ गये हैं। हम भी बढ़ेंगे, बढ़ना चाहते हैं, बढ़ेंगे अवश्य और बढ़ रहे हैं। तो कुछ तो हैं ऐसे ही सवाल, लेकिन आखिर में हर देश को अपनी हालत को देखते हुए अपने तरीके, अपने रास्ते निकालने हैं अपनी बुद्धि से, अपने अभ्यास से। औरों से सीखना है और अपना रास्ता ढूँढना है। मुझे हक़ नहीं है और मैं कहता हूँ आपको भी हक़ नहीं है कि हम बैठ के दूसरे देशों की निन्दा करें या दूसरे देशों की निस्वत हम कहें कि, समझें कि वे ग़लत हैं, हम सही हैं। ये तो अभिमान की बात है। दूसरे देशों की हालत है, वो अपनी हालत में ऐसा करते हैं। हम उनकी हालत को नहीं जानते। अपनी हालत को हम जानते हैं तो हमें अधिकार है कि अपनी हालत जान के अपना रास्ता ढूँढ़ें। तो उसमें हम दूसरों का दखल देना बहुत पसन्द नहीं करते। हाँ, एक दोस्त की तरह, मित्र की तरह कोई हमें सलाह दे तो उसको सुनेंगे, हम सीखेंगे उससे। हम बहुत बातें सीख सकते हैं। लेकिन कोई ज़रा भी हमें ज़बरदस्ती कहे कि यह करो या अभिमान से कहे कि बस, जो उसने किया, हम उसकी नक़ल करें तो वो ग़लत बात है।

मुझे नहीं, मैं एक बहुत समझता हूँ, बहुत आदर करता हूँ अमरीका में जो तरक्की हुई है, और बहुत तरक्की हुई है, कोई सन्देह नहीं इसमें, लेकिन मैं इस बात को मानने को नहीं तैयार कि एक तो यह मैं समझूँ मुझे अमरीका की नक़ल करनी है यहाँ, या अमरीका वाले हमें एक तरफ़ ढकेलें, मैं उसको स्वीकार करूँ, मुझे ये नहीं पसन्द है। हाँ, मैं उनसे सीखना चाहता हूँ। इसी तरह से मैं बहुत आदर करता हूँ जो रूस में तरक्की हुई है, बहुत ज़बरदस्त तरक्की हुई है, शानदार तरक्की हुई है, कोई सन्देह नहीं। एक गिरे हुए मुल्क को उन्होंने उठा दिया और उससे हम बहुत सीख सकते हैं और सीखना चाहते हैं। लेकिन मैं हिन्दुस्तान को रूस नहीं समझता। और हर सूत से मैं समझता हूँ एक जाति को, एक देश को अपना रास्ता खुद ढूँढना होता है औरों से सीख कर, औरों को देख कर, औरों से छिप कर अलग हो के नहीं। ये हमें करना है और इस ढंग से चलना है।

और इस समय हमारे सामने एक जो पेचीदा सवाल है, मैं एक-दो फ़िकरे में कहूँ, वो ये है कि हम कितने बरस में ये अपने देश के उत्पादन को इत्ता बढ़ा सकते हैं ज़रूरी-ज़रूरी बातों में कि देश अपने पैरों पे खड़ा हो सके। या दूसरा पहलू उसका यह है कि जो हमारी आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, दो फ़ीसदी बढ़ती है साल में, करीब-करीब दो हो गयी है और दो फ़ीसदी बहुत है, आप हिसाब लगा लीजिएगा घर जा के। दो फ़ीसदी बढ़ती है तो अगर हमारा खाना उत्पादन दो फ़ीसदी देश में बढ़े हर साल तो हम वहीं-के-वहीं रहते हैं, बराबर रहते हैं। जित्ती आबादी बढ़ी, उत्ता खाना बढ़ा। उत्ता ही और सामान बढ़ा। उससे तरक्की नहीं होती। तरक्की करने के लिए उससे हमें ज़्यादा बढ़ना है, क्योंकि जित्ता ज़्यादा हम पैदा करेंगे उतती हम में शक्ति होगी। रुपया लगाने में, देश की तरक्की में, उत्ता ही इन्वेस्ट करने में। उत्ता ही रुपया लगायेंगे हम कारखानों में, ज़मीन को अच्छा करने में, फिर और तरक्की होगी। इसलिए ये देखने के लिए कि देश कित्ता बढ़ रहा है, यह देखा जाता है कि साल में कित्ता पैसा ये नयी तरक्की में लगाता है, कितना इन्वेस्ट करता है, कितनी फ़ीसदी उसकी इन्वेस्टमेंट है, उससे बढ़ना मालूम होता है।

अब आप देखिए, आजकल मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, क्या-क्या है, लेकिन बहुत मुल्कों में अमरीका है, रूस है, अलग-अलग है, पूँजीवादी, साम्यवादी, लेकिन दोनों मुल्कों में तरक्की की रफ़्तार काफ़ी है, बढ़ी है। कहीं पाँच फ़ीसदी, कहीं छे, कहीं सात, कहीं आठ, कहीं नौ, कहीं दस। और इसलिए तेज़ी से बढ़ते जाते हैं आगे। तो हम, मैंने आपको बताया कि हम दो फ़ीसदी तरक्की करते हैं तो उसके माने हैं कि हम तरक्की नहीं करते। हम वहीं-के-वहीं हैं, क्योंकि उत्ता ही हमारी आबादी बढ़ गयी। अगर हम पाँच फ़ीसदी तरक्की करें अपने उत्पादन में तब उसके माने हैं कि तीन फ़ीसदी हमें बचता है। अब तीन फ़ीसदी का हम क्या करें? तीन फ़ीसदी को हम नहीं लगा सकते, इन्वेस्ट नहीं कर सकते, इसलिए कि हमारी जनता गरीब है। कुछ-न-कुछ उस बेचारे को आराम के लिए भी कुछ करना है। उसको कहें कि हमेशा फ़ाक्रेमस्त रहो तो बात चलती नहीं, न उचित है। दो-तीन फ़ीसदी में से भी एक-दो फ़ीसदी चला जाता है उसको कुछ आराम देने में। तो एक या दो फ़ीसदी बच जाता है तरक्की में। ये बहुत कम है। उससे ज़्यादा करना है। हिसाब लगाया गया है कि कम-से-कम हमारी तरक्की जो होनी चाहिए वो छे फ़ीसदी साल में होनी चाहिए। जिसमें दो निकल जाते हैं नयी आबादी के बढ़ने के। तो चार बचते हैं। चार में से डेढ़-दो निकल जायेंगे ऐसी बातें करने में कि जिससे कुछ जनता को लाभ हो। लाभ में सब बातें शामिल हैं, याद रखो। सब बातें, जैसे पढ़ाई-लिखाई सब। फिर आइन्दा की तरक्की के लिए दो फ़ीसदी बचता है। अब ये तो काशज़ पर एक नज़्शा बनाया। लेकिन ये फ़ीसदी वग़ैरह का हिसाब आप लगाइए तो उसमें हज़ारों करोड़ का सिलसिला हो जाता है। यानी हज़ारों करोड़ का।

पिछली, दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में पाँच हज़ार करोड़ का हमने हिसाब लगाया था। पूरा हम कर नहीं सके और उसकी सब में बड़ी वजह ये हुई कि हमारी दो-तीन फ़सलें ख़राब हो गयीं, बड़ा उसका धक्का लगा। तो ये नहीं कि हमारी इच्छा थी। आप कहेंगे, अच्छा भई, छे

फ्रीसदी से भी बढ़ा। यह नहीं, क्योंकि छे फ्रीसदी बढ़ने का बोझा आपको उठाना है, हमको उठाना है। अपने परिश्रम से, मेहनत से। किसान को उठाना है। आप हैं कि अमीरों से लें तो अमीरों से तो हम लें, लेकिन सारे अमीरों का सब ले लें तब भी बहुत नहीं होता। हालत ये है। देखने के लिए कुछ अमीर हैं यहाँ के और उनसे लेना चाहिए जो वो दे सकें। लेकिन कोई ज़रिया देश के बढ़ने का नहीं है बगैर गरीबों से भी अगर न लें, जब इत्ता बड़ा देश है, इत्ती आबादी है। ये मुश्किल हो जाती है, कठिनाई हो जाती है। एक तरफ़ से उनका फ़ायदा सोचें और एक तरफ़ से उनके ऊपर बोझा हो। बिलफ़ेल अगर, क्योंकि हम एक दफ़े इस गरीबी की कमर तोड़ दें तब आसानी से तरक्की होती है। और हमारी आशा ये है कि इस तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अन्त तक यानी आज से सात बरस में हम कुछ इस देश की गरीबी की कमर तोड़ देंगे। इसके माने ये नहीं हैं कि गरीबी दूर हो जायेगी उससे। हल्के-हल्के होगी। लेकिन उसके माने ये हैं कि हम एक, बड़ा क़दम उठा के जो ताक़तें हमारे मुल्क में देश को गरीब करती जाती हैं, उनकी हम दबा देते हैं और फिर ज़रा आसान हो जाता है आगे बढ़ कर देश की तरक्की करने में। ये पहलू है।

अब मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाऊँगा दो बातों पर विशेषकर, जो अभी नागपुर काँग्रेस में तीन महीने हुए निश्चय हुआ। एक तो उसका प्रस्ताव था पंचवर्षीय योजना पर। मैं उसकी निस्वत अधिक नहीं कहता, क्योंकि जो कुछ मैंने अब तक आपसे कहा, वो इसी बात पर, योजना बनाना, प्लैन करना, आगे बढ़ना, किस-किस तरह से बढ़ें। दूसरा विशेषकर उसका था खेती के ऊपर और ग्रामों का संगठन कैसे हो? मेरा विचार है कि हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी दूर नहीं हो सकती, जब तक कि हमारा कारोबार और इण्डस्ट्री बहुत न बढ़े। कोई ज़रिया नहीं है बड़ी इण्डस्ट्री, मँझली इण्डस्ट्री, पावर, ये, वो, बढ़े नहीं। लेकिन अजीब बात ये है। उसी के साथ मेरा यह भी विचार है कि इण्डस्ट्री हमारी नहीं बढ़ती जब तक कि खेती न बढ़े। घूम-फिर कर आप फिर ज़मीन पे आ गये। और ज़मीन हमारे ऐसे मुल्क में तो हमेशा नम्बर एक चीज़ है। एक तो अस्सी फ्रीसदी लोग गाँवों में रहते हैं। ज़मीन पर, यही काफ़ी है, लेकिन अलावा उसके भी, वो नम्बर एक चीज़ है। और सारी हमारी तरक्की और ये जो सरप्लस जिसे कहते हैं। मैं आपसे कह रहा था दो फ्रीसदी और तीन और चार फ्रीसदी, उसमें से तो बहुत दर्जे तो ज़मीन से निकलना है। ज़मीन के उत्पादन बढ़ने से। इसलिए सबसे पहली बात, जड़ की, ये है कि हम अपनी ज़मीन से ग़ल्ला वगैरह कितना पैदा करते हैं। उसको हमें अधिक पैदा करना है और उसको हमें दुगुना करना है और हम कर सकते हैं।

मैं आज इलाहाबाद में फिरा और जहाँ-जहाँ गया ज़िले में, गाँवों में, मुझे एक फ़ेहरिस्त पेश की गयी कि वहाँ के किन-किन किसानों को इनाम मिला है, अधिक पैदा करने के लिए। तो मुझे देख के बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ और खुशी हुई, मामूली इलाहाबाद ज़िले की औसत पैदावार गेहूँ की आप लें तो दस मन की है, मैंने सुना। ग्यारह हो शायद। अब जिन लोगों को इनाम मिला, वो पचास मन से ऊपर एक एकड़ में पैदा किया [गया]। किसी ने पचास किसी ने उन्तालीस किसी ने अड़तालीस किसी ने चालीस। अब आप खयाल करो कि कहाँ तो दस-ग्यारह मन की

औसत, कहाँ उन किसानों ने, मामूली किसान थे, उनके पास कोई ट्रैक्टर-वैक्टर नहीं थे। मामूली किसान थे, मामूली ज़मीन थी। ख़ाली उन्होंने सेवा की, परिश्रम किया, मेहनत की, और उन्होंने पैतालीस मन और पचास मन एक एकड़ में पैदा किया। अब आप सोचें कि अगर हम, जो हमारे देश की औसत है दस-बारह मन की, उसको हम दुगुना कर दें या बीस मन उसे कर दें, सारा देश की काया-पलट हो जाय। देश की। उस समय देश एक कूद कर छलाँग मार कर आगे बढ़े। देश की शक्ति बढ़ जाये। किसानों की हालत तो अच्छी होवेगी ही, पहले से भी अच्छी होवेगी, कहीं ज़्यादा। लेकिन उससे शक्ति मिलेगी हमें अधिक इन्वेस्ट करने की, कारख़ाने बनाने की, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ करने की। तस्वीर बदल जाती है। इत्ता आवश्यक है ज़मीन से पैदा करना।

अब और जो चीन ने बहुत बातों में तरक्की की है, कोई ठीक-ठीक तो मालूम होती नहीं, सब बातें, लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि उन्होंने खेती में तरक्की की है, काफ़ी की है और बेहद मेहनत की है, दिन और रात मेहनत की है, की है। ख़ैर तो ये अब्बल बात है। इसलिए जो ये नागपुर काँग्रेस का रेज़ोल्यूशन ज़मीन के बारे में है, वो बहुत आवश्यक है और आपको समझना है, वो ख़ाली किसान के ही लिए नहीं है। वो जड़ का है, वो हर शहरी या देहाती आदमी हर एक को समझना है।

पहली बात तो ये है कि जैसे हमने ज़मींदारी क़ानून को, ज़मींदारी प्रथा को हटाया, क्योंकि ज़मींदारी प्रथा में देश के किसान की तरक्की नहीं हो सकती थी, देश की नहीं हो सकती थी, मैं इसमें जाता नहीं हूँ, मोटी बात है कि समाज के संगठन ऐसे होते हैं कि समाज के वो एक समय ठीक होते हैं, दूसरे समय वही तरीक़ा संगठन का एक बन्धन हो जाता है, बाँध देता है। समाज को बढ़ने नहीं देता। ज़मींदारी प्रथा हो सकता है, कई सौ बरस में ठीक हो, लेकिन आजकल के ज़माने में वो एक जंजीर से हमारी ज़मीन का और किसान का बढ़ना रोकती थी। उसको हटाना था। तो जागीरदारी, ज़मींदारी, ताल्लुकेदारी हटायी गयी, उससे लाभ हुआ हमें। ख़ाली इस माने में लाभ नहीं, वो तो हुआ, किसानों के ऊपर से बोझा हटता है, वो तो ठीक है। लेकिन उससे रास्ते खुल गये ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करने के। अब भी पूरे तौर से ये ज़मीन के लैण्ड रिफ़ॉर्म जिसे कहते हैं यानी ज़मीन की निस्वत जो संगठन हैं, क़ायदे-क़ानून हैं, पूरे तौर से ठीक नहीं हुए हैं। इसलिए उस सिलसिले में भी विचार सारे देश में हो रहा है, अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में अलग-अलग। उसको हमें पूरा करना है।

और ये भी आपने सुना हो कि ये उसूल निश्चय हुआ है कि कोई आदमी एक हद से अधिक ज़मीन न रखे। क्या हद हो, मैं नहीं कह सकता। उसमें फ़र्क़ हो सकता है अच्छी ज़मीन, बुरी ज़मीन, अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में, लेकिन हद से अधिक न रखे। तो मैं ये कहता हूँ फ़र्क़ करो, जो भी हद हो बीस एकड़ हो पच्चीस एकड़ हो। सच पूछो तो काफ़ी बड़ी हद है हमारे मामूली किसान के पास एक-दो एकड़ होते हैं। अगर आप कोई दस एकड़ की भी हद रखिए तो सौ में निन्धानवे किसान तो उसके नीचे आ जाते हैं। तो असल में आम लोगों को [फ़र्क़] नहीं पड़ा। और अगर दस के बीस रख दो तो और भी कम हो जाते हैं। तो ये बहुत

थोड़े आदमियों पे लगती है। लेकिन ये सिद्धान्त ठीक है। इसके माने ये नहीं हैं, आप ये न समझें कि हम कोई अमीर किसान को नहीं देना चाहते। ये तो ग़लत बात है, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि उसकी बेहतरी हो, ज़्यादा कमायें। और मैं समझता हूँ कि ये होगा, ये बन्धन निकाल के, क्योंकि जहाँ हम इस बन्धन को हटा देते हैं फिर हल्के-हल्के ज़मींदारियाँ बनने लगती हैं। वो हम नहीं चाहते। वो ग़लत बात है, उसूली ग़लत बात है, नुक़सानदेह बात है।

हम चाहते हैं कि फिर इस तरह से ज़मीन का संगठन हो कि...और उसके बारे में मैं अभी आपसे कहता हूँ...कि उसमें ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो; वो ज़मीन पर ग्रामोद्योग हों, तरह-तरह के उद्योग हों, जिससे असल में उनकी आमदनी बढ़े। नहीं तो अगर आप ये बातें न करें और आजकल की हालत रहने दें तब इसके माने ये हैं कि जो बेचारा थोड़े-से लोगों को छोड़ के मामूली किसान कभी अपनी ग़रीबी से निकल नहीं सकता। आप हिसाब लगा लें जिसके पास एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ज़मीन है और कुछ और नहीं है, अच्छी फ़सल हुई तो ज़रा उसको लाभ हो जाता है, नहीं हुई तो फ़ाँके होते हैं। उससे कभी निकल नहीं सकता आजकल की हालत में, जब तक कि दूसरा ढंग न अख़्तियार करे। तो दूसरा ढंग यह है, और यह खासकर किसान की भलाई के लिए है और सब किसानों के लिए और आखिर में उनके लिए भी, जिनके पास शायद ज़मीन ज़रा अधिक है, जो कि पहले भी मैंने आपसे कहा कि अधिक न हो।

फिर दूसरी बात बड़ी आवश्यक बात है कि किसानों के कोऑपरेटिव्ह हों, सहकारी संघ हों। इस पे कुछ बहस भी हुई है और मुझे बहुत आश्चर्य हुआ, कैसी बहस है, क्योंकि दुनिया में हर जगह जहाँ तरक्की हुई है वहाँ किसानों में सहकारी संघ हैं, कोऑपरेटिव्ह हैं। कोऑपरेटिव्ह तरह-तरह के होते हैं। तो क्या बात है, यहाँ वाले क्यों इत्ता गुल-शोर मचाते हैं; बाज़ लोग, शहरी लोग; किसान नहीं; समझने की बात है। ख़ैर, मैं उस बहस में क्यों पढ़ूँ। लेकिन ये मोटी बात आप समझें कि आजकल की हालत में अगर ऐसी ज़मीन की हालत, क़ायदे-क़ानून रहें और कोई और रास्ते न खुलें तो जिन किसान की ज़मीन एक-दो-तीन एकड़ है, कभी वो ग़रीबी से नहीं निकल सकता और उधर आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, वही ज़मीन और बोझ बढ़ता जाता है।

[किसान] क्यों नहीं बढ़ सकता? एक तो यही कि वो पुराने ढंग से चलता है और उसको शक्ति नहीं कि नये ढंग से काम कर सके। उसके पास पैसा नहीं, ताक़त नहीं, हिम्मत नहीं, नहीं कर सकता वो। उधर न उसकी शक्ति है कि वक़्त से वो बीज ले, वक़्त से उसको फ़र्टिलाइज़र मिले या अपना सामान बेचे तो उसमें भी दिक्कतें होती हैं। कहीं बनिये-साहूकार आ जाते हैं कुछ-न-कुछ, और लोगों को लाभ होता है। कैसे वो इस पिंजड़े से निकले? एक ही तरीक़ा है उससे निकलने का। और वो कोऑपरेटिव्ह हैं, सहकारी संघ हैं। सौ किसान एक बेचारे दुर्बल हों, कमज़ोर हों, पैसा न हो, कम पैसा हो, वो कुछ नहीं कर सकते। लेकिन सौ आदमी मिल कर सहकारी संघ अपने गाँवों का बनाते हैं तब उनकी शक्ति बहुत काफ़ी बढ़ जाती है। मैं नहीं कहता कि बहुत ज़्यादा हो जाती है, लेकिन बढ़ जाती है, फिर उनको कोई

दबा नहीं सकता। फिर वो मिल कर अपनी मिली हुई शक्ति से बहुत सारी बातें अपनी ज़मीन पे कर सकते हैं जो अलग-अलग नहीं कर सकते हैं। नये तरीक़े कर सकते हैं, नये हल लगा सकते हैं, नये बीज हैं, नयी खाद हैं, नयी बहुत सारी बातें हैं, कर सकते हैं, आजकल की। ज़मीन के अलग-अलग, छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े हैं [...] जिससे बहुत हानि होती है, समय नष्ट होता है। कितनी बातें वो कर सकते हैं जिससे उनकी पैदावार दुगुनी हो जाय, तिगुनी हो जाय। फ़ौरन उनको लाभ होता है मिल के करने में। और हम तो चाहते हैं, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि मिल के ये... सहकारी संघ हैं, इस समय वो अपनी ज़मीन को अलग रखें लेकिन और बातों में मिल के...करें; लेकिन बाद में मैं चाहता हूँ मिल कर खेती भी करें।

ज़मीन तो उनकी रहेगी, कोई ज़मीन तो उनसे नहीं लेता, लेकिन मिल कर खेती करने में कई लाभ और होते हैं। एक तो जो ज़मीन बहुत ज़ाया होती है, बीच-बीच में, वो आ जाती है। और अगर आपने...मैंने तो खेती की नहीं है, देखा है, पढ़ा है, और रोज़ बहस की है। और मुल्कों में क्या होता है उसको देखा है। कितने लाभ होते हैं उससे कि पैदावार फ़ौरन बढ़ जाती है। इसलिए हर रास्ते, हर सूरत से किसानों के लिए सहकारी संघ आवश्यक हो गये हैं। पहले तो उनको होना चाहिए जिसको हम कहते हैं सर्विस कोऑपरेटिवज़, यानी उनके काम-काज उसके ज़रिये से हों। बाद में जब वो खुद उसको स्वीकार करें तो एक क़दम और उठा लें कि वो मिल के खेती करें, गाँव वाले मिल के अपनी खेती। लेकिन उनका अलग-अलग ज़मीन का हिस्सा उनका अलग-अलग रहे। भूमि उनकी रहे। भूमि कौन लेता है। लेकिन ये ज़रा बाद की बात है। जहाँ ये करते हैं ये सब बातें कोऑपरेटिव तरीक़े से ये करना, ये ज़्यादा ऊँचा दर्जा हो जाता है समाज के संगठन का, किसान समाज के संगठन का। आजकल जो है उसका, वो बहुत नीचा है। आजकल जो हमारी ऐग्रिकल्चरल ऑर्गनाइज़ेशन हैं, बहुत नीची हैं, नीचे ढंग की हैं जो हज़ार बरस हुए, पहले, [...] बढ़ी हुई थीं। तो ये कोऑपरेटिव ढंग आने से आप किसी क्रदर मॉडर्न एज पे आते हैं और आदमियों को, किसान को मौक़ा देते हैं बढ़ने का। तो इससे ज़्यादा पैदा होता है। उससे ज़्यादा पैसे मिलेंगे किसान को, लेकिन उससे भी अधिक फ़ायदा यह है कि ये ज़्यादा ऊँचे ढंग का है जिसमें किसान बढ़ सकता है।

हमारे ऐग्रिकल्चर में, हमारे खेती में बग़ैर कोऑपरेटिवज़ के, सहकारी संघ के, तरक्की नहीं हो सकती। ये आवश्यक है, अति आवश्यक है और कोई चारा नहीं है। और सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव, मैंने कहा। और उसके बाद उसके, जिसको ज़्याइंट कल्टीवेशन कहते हैं, मिल के करना, वो भी एक ज़रूरी क़दम होता है। लेकिन ये बातें हो सकती हैं जभी जब समझ कर, खुश हो कर किसान उसको करे। कोई गर्दनी दे के तो नहीं करा सकते। इस तरह के काम थोड़े होते हैं ऐसे, क्योंकि हम तो खास तौर से...कोऑपरेटिव एक खास चीज़ है जो कि आदमी खुद अपने खुशी से सहयोग दे कर करता है। इसीलिए मुझे पसन्द नहीं है वो कोऑपरेटिव जो आजकल हमारे यहाँ हैं, जो कि बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर चलाते हैं। वो कोऑपरेटिव सिद्धान्त के विरुद्ध है। अफ़सरों का चलाना कोऑपरेटिव नहीं है, वो सरकारी कारख़ाना हो गया। मुझे मंज़ूर है कि कोऑपरेटिव उतना अच्छा न चले, लेकिन खुद किसान चलाये, बजाय इसके कि बाहर के लोग

आ के चलायें उसे। हाँ, अफ़सरों को मदद करनी है, सलाह देनी है हर तरह की, लेकिन दखल नहीं देनी है और मैं नहीं चाहता कि कोऑपरेटिव में एक सरकारी दफ़्तर की तस्वीर हो कि बड़े अफ़सर, छोटे अफ़सर, मध्यम अफ़सर, फिर क्लर्क हैं और फिर मोहर्रिर हैं और फिर चपरासी हैं, बैठे हुए हैं और जो बेचारे किसान आयें वो घबरा जायें उनको देख के। ये ढंग अब तक रहा है।

हम चाहते हैं कोऑपरेटिव विलकुल किसानों का हो, उसमें मदद हो, सलाह हो और हम उन किसानों को, औरों को सिखायेंगे, क्योंकि इसमें सीखने की ज़रूरत है। अपने आप तो हो नहीं जाता। कैसे चलायेंगे सहकारी संघ को? तो हर प्रदेश इसका प्रबन्ध कर रहा है, इसको सिखाने का, ऊँचे दर्जे के लोगों को सिखाने का। प्रदेश में जो अफ़सर हैं, नीचे हों, आपके ब्लॉक में हों, ये हों, कुछ थोड़ा बहुत उसको, क्या नाम है, ग्राम-सेवक को सिखायें और पंचों, सरपंचों को कुछ-न-कुछ सिखाने का प्रबन्ध किया जाय। ये सब बातें हों तो इस तरह चलेंगे, क्योंकि मैंने आपसे कहा था न कि सीखे हुए लोग ये बातें कर सकते हैं, महज़ उस्ताह काफ़ी नहीं है, महज़ नारे काफ़ी नहीं हैं। इस ढंग से हम लाखों आदमियों को सिखाना चाहते हैं, क्योंकि यही रास्ता है।

और जो लोग इसका विरोध करते हैं, अब मैं क्या कहूँ। वो या तो इस बात को समझते नहीं, वे शहरी लोग हैं या, उनको डर क्या है। मैं आपको बता दूँ, उनको डर इस बात का नहीं, उनको डर है कि यही बात कहीं निकाल के, ला के हम उसमें, इण्डस्ट्रीज़ में न लगायें, हम और बातों में न लगायें। तो डरते बहुत हैं। मैं उनसे अभी कहे देता हूँ कि इसमें कोई...कोई शक की बात नहीं है कि लगायेंगे इण्डस्ट्रीज़ में इसको अभी से समझो। हाँ एकदम से नहीं हम लगायें। एकदम से नहीं लगायेंगे, लेकिन वो लगेगी ज़ाहिर है। हम सारे समाज को इस तरह से बढ़ा देंगे।

हमने समाजवाद कहा। तो आखिर कुछ समझ के कहा था, हालाँकि हमारा ढंग काम करने का, काम करने का एक बहुत ज़बरदस्ती का नहीं है। ज़रा समय ज़्यादा लगेगा। हम लोगों को समझा के और उनको अपनी तरफ़ खींच के लाना चाहते हैं। हिंसा और ये और वो, जो हुई है देशों में, वो नहीं है। हम नहीं चाहते किसी की हानि हो, लेकिन उसी के साथ हम...हमारे सामने अब्बल बात ये है कि आम लोगों का भला कैसे होता है। अगर आम लोग के भले होने में किसी को नुक़सान होता है तो वो लाचारी है, हम क्या करें? अगर कोई हमें प्रथा कोई इंस्टीट्यूशन बदलनी पड़ती है तो उसको हमें बदलना है, हम उसको बदलेंगे। तो इसी तरह से ये जो नागपुर काँग्रेस ने निश्चय किया, ये बहुत आवश्यक बात है और अलावा और बातों के जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि उससे लाभ है वो हमारे सोशल ऑर्गनाइज़ेशन में एक ऊँचा, एक ज़्यादा ऊँचा दर्जा है, ये बड़ी बात है। मैं इसको ज़्यादा समझा नहीं सकता आपको, लेकिन इस तरह से दर्जे होते हैं आर्गनाइज़ेशन, समाज के संगठन में, ये ऊँचा दर्जा है क्रदम है। अब हम उसके लिए नाक़ाबिल हों, हम निकम्मे हों, जाहिल हों, कुछ और बात हो तो हम नीचे पड़े रहें। लेकिन ये हमें तसलीम करना है कि ये ऊँचा है, ये क्रदम ऊँचा है और उस पे ही बढ़ के हम

तरक्की कर सकते हैं। या तो हम तरक्की का विचार छोड़ दें और नीचे ही पड़े रहें। ये तो आप करेंगे नहीं, करते नहीं। और मुझे इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है, कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारे लोग उसके क़ाबिल हैं और उसको अच्छी तरह से करेंगे।

तो यानी इसके माने ये हुए कि इस वक्त्र नागपुर काँग्रेस ने एक बड़ा क़दम उठाया। एक नये दरवाज़े, नयी खिड़कियाँ खोली हैं, नयी हवा फैलायी है। अब आप उसको समझें, क्योंकि बड़ी चीज़ है, बड़ी हवा है। कोई नागपुर काँग्रेस का मैं नहीं कहता, और लोगों ने भी कहा है। कोई काँग्रेस की ठेकेदारी थोड़े है कि उन्होंने ही किया है? एक मामूली बात है, सब समझदार आदमी कहेंगे। हाँ, काँग्रेस ने, एक बड़ी संस्था ने उसको पकड़ के एक रास्ते पे रखा। हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने उसको स्वीकार किया। अभी परसों, बड़ी काउन्सिल है हमारी, नेशनल डेवलपमेंट काउन्सिल⁷ जिसमें सब प्रदेश के मुख्यमन्त्री आते हैं और हमारे प्लैनिंग कमिशन और हमारे कुछ केन्द्रीय मन्त्री, उन्होंने विचार करके भी उसको स्वीकार किया। वो करते ही हैं। तो आप सोचें कि एक बड़ा क़दम है जिसके लिए इत्ते रोज़ से तैयार हो के अब हम लेने वाले हैं हम उसको ज़ोरों से लेंगे और उसमें आप सबों की सहायता की ज़रूरत है। आप उसको समझें।

मैं आपको बताऊँ दो बातें। एक तो ये कि मैं समझता हूँ कि हर स्कूल में और हर कॉलेज में कुछ-न-कुछ शिक्षा कोऑपरेशन की होनी चाहिए, बच्चों तक की, और कॉलेज में तो ज़रूर, क्योंकि कोऑपरेटिव से मेरा मतलब नहीं कि आप जा के एक सेक्रेटरी हों कोऑपरेटिव सोसायटी के। हों न हों। कोऑपरेशन से मतलब है कि दुनिया का, आज समाज संगठन का, जो ढंग है उसको आप देखें कोऑपरेटिव तरीक़े से और कोऑपरेटिव तरीक़े से आप देखेंगे तो बहुत जल्दी आप समाजवादी तरीक़े पे आ जायेंगे, क्योंकि आजकल का जो मुझे विरोध है कुछ ये पूँजीवाद तरीक़े से, वो यह है कि या तो...मैं उसकी प्रथा का कह रहा हूँ...वो ये है कि वो एक तरीक़ा है कमोबेश एक-दूसरे के गले काटने का। एक आदमी तरक्की करता है दूसरे के कन्धे पर सवार हो के, उसकी छाती पे बैठ के या ढकेल के अलग करके। यह तरीक़ा है। यानी उसका सिद्धान्त ये है। मैं आदमियों को नहीं कहता, पूँजीवादी लोग अच्छे होते हैं, बुरे होते हैं, ये आदमियों का नहीं। लेकिन सिद्धान्त उसका ये है कि दूसरे को ढकेल कर, उसकी छाती पर बैठ कर और कन्धे पर चढ़ के हम तरक्की करते हैं। ये सिद्धान्त उसका है। अब उल्टा नहीं है, पहले था। अब ज़रा हट गया।

अब ये बात कोई कहने को तैयार नहीं, लेकिन फिर भी पुराने ढंग उसमें हैं। तो मैं चाहता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि स्कूल और कॉलेज में कोऑपरेशन की तालीम हो जिससे हमारा देखने का हमारा दृष्टिकोण बदले दुनिया में। क्योंकि आपको समाजवाद लाना है, समाजवाद में रहना है, उसको सँभालना है। तो स्कूल-कॉलेज तो ज़माने से बदले हैं। समाजवाद के ये माने नहीं हैं कि आप एकाध कुछ फ़िकरेवाज़ी करने लगे, कुछ नारे उठा दें या एकाध किताब भी आप

7. The NDC met on 3 and 4 April 1959. The full text of this meeting is available on the Planning Commission website: planningcommission.nic.in/reports.

समाजवाद की पढ़ लें कि हर एक का भला हो। हर एक का। ये फ़िज़ूल बातें हैं; इससे कुछ नहीं है; आपको उसको समझना है। ये चीज़ बुनियादी है। हर एक का भला तो हर एक चाहता है। उसमें तो कोई बात नहीं होती। इसीलिए कोऑपरेटिव्ज़।

दूसरी ये बात कि मेरी रोज़-ब-रोज़ पक्की राय होती जाती है कि हमारी पढ़ाई में, हमारी शिक्षा में हाथ-पैर का काम ज़्यादा होना चाहिए। मेरा मतलब ये नहीं कि हाथ-पैर चला के लड़ने का एक-दूसरे से। मेरा मतलब ये है—‘मैनूअल लेबर’—हाथ से काम करना। और मैं, ये भी न समझिए मेरा मतलब कि मैं काफ़ी अहमियत नहीं देता दिमागी कामों को। मैं दिमाग को बहुत अहमियत देता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि हर एक की दिमागी तरक्की हो, इण्टेलेक्चुअल तरक्की हो तभी आजकल की दुनिया उठे। लेकिन दिमागी तरक्की के लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि ये ज़रूरी है कि आदमी कुछ हाथ-पैर से काम करे और वो दिमाग हमारे नहीं रहे जैसे अब तक हैं ये बाबूगिरी के दिमाग, हम बाबू हैं, या कुछ और काम करता है, वो किसान है, वो मज़दूर है। ये निकम्मी बात है। और जब तक हमारे दिमाग से ये बातें नहीं निकल जातीं, हम, समाजवाद तो बहुत दूर है, ठीक तौर से जनतन्त्र को भी नहीं समझते।

हाँ, एक बात मैं आपको और बता दूँ, वो सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव के बारे में। उससे समाज की तरक्की इससे भी होती है कि उसमें अलग-अलग लोग, अलग-अलग जाति के लोग, ऊँच-नीच को मिल कर काम करना पड़ता है। ऊँच-नीच इस तरीक़े से भी कुछ-कुछ निकलती हैं तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी पढ़ाई में कुछ-न-कुछ हिस्सा, पक्का हिस्सा, अभी ये कम देशों में होता जाता है और अगर आप साल में एक-दो महीने अपने स्कूल-कॉलेज छोड़ के आप जा के खेत में काम करें तो यक़ीनन आपको बहुत फ़ायदा हो और पढ़ाई को भी फ़ायदा हो, और देश को फ़ायदा हो। आपके शरीर को हो, आपके दिमाग को हो और कुछ आप समझें, इज़्जत करें उस आदमी की जो खेत में काम करता है, और उसी तरह से रहें जैसे खेत वाला रहता है। ये नहीं कि आप शान-बान का कैम्प बना के जा रहे हैं और एक बड़े तपाक से आप थोड़ी देर फ़ावड़ा चला के फिर आ के आराम करते हैं, वो नहीं। उसी तरह से रहें तब पहचान होगी। तब एक हम सवाल को समझेंगे कि एक-दूसरे के। चाहे आप वहाँ करें जा के, चाहे कारख़ाने में। मेरा मतलब ये है कि स्कूल हमारे यहाँ, ये बेसिक एजुकेशन है, वो ठीक है। वो इसी बात की है, ठीक है, अच्छी है। लेकिन एक क़दम मैं उससे बढ़ता हूँ। स्कूल के लिए नहीं तो बढ़ के कॉलेज के लिए कि उसी किस्म का काम आप खेत में या कारख़ाने में कुछ दिन करें। जो मामूली लोग करते हैं तो आपका उनसे फ़ासला जो है, वो हट जाय और ताकि उसकी इज़्जत हो और ताकि ये न हो कि जैसे आजकल ज़रा भी स्कूल-कॉलेज में पढ़ के अपने गाँव को छोड़ के शहर में आ जाते हैं कि हम बाबू बनेंगे। ये ग़लत बात है, नौकरी करेंगे। हमें गाँवों को बढ़ाना है। हमें...अच्छे लोगों को चाहते हैं गाँवों में रहें, काम करें ताकि वो गाँव को ऊँचा करें, शहर के बराबर लायें, न कि गाँव को उजाड़ कर दें।

मैंने आपको, माफ़ करेंगे आप, एक स्कूल मास्टर की तरह से बहुत चीज़ें कहने की कोशिश की या प्रोफ़ेसर की तरह से। तो मैंने ऐसे भाषण तो नहीं दिया कि किसी को बुरा-भला

कहूँ या एक उत्साही भाषण, ये और वो। लेकिन जो मैंने कहा, उसके पीछे मैं चाहता हूँ, आप देखें कि कैसे ज़माने में आप रहते हैं और कैसा क्रान्तिकारी ज़माना है, उलट-पलट, परिवर्तन और उसमें आपको उसकी तरक्की की खुशी हासिल होगी और जो हम कभी-कभी हम ठोकर खा कर गिरें तो उसकी हानि आपको उठानी है। तो उसके लिए आपको तैयार होना है। और एक ज़माना ऐसा है कि जिसमें आपको एक माने में अगर आपमें हिम्मत है तो खुश होना चाहिए, क्योंकि एक इम्तहान, हर एक का इम्तहान उसमें होता है। कौन तगड़ा शख्स है, कौन आगे जाता है? जो डरपोक है वो तो हर ज़माने में अपना सिर पीट के रहेंगे [जब] कोई मुसीबत आवेगी। डरपोक आदमी रोज़ मरता है अपने डर से। लेकिन अगर आप में हिम्मत है, ज़ुरत है तो आपके लिए हजार रास्ते खुले हैं बढ़ने के और मुल्क को बनाने के, अपने बनाने के। तो इसीलिए आपको समझना है ये और समझ के अपने को तैयार करना है या अगर आप तैयार, अगर अपनी पढ़ाई-लिखाई से निकल गये तो और कामों में पड़ना है। और हमेशा खयाल रखना है कि हम या आप एक पुर्जे हैं, एक इस बड़ी भारी मशीन के कहिए जो भारत है, एक हम और एक आप पुर्जे हैं या कहिए कि ये भारत माता है। क्या भारत माता है? भारत माता आप हैं, आप हैं और मैं हूँ। हम सब टुकड़े हैं भारत माता के। भारत माता कोई हमसे अलग थोड़े है। तो इन कामों को इस ढंग से हमें ज़ोरों से करना है इस ज़माने में। और एक बदलती हुई दुनिया में हमें बदलना है और हिन्दुस्तान को बदल कर ऊँचा करना है और खुशहाल करना है और इस सैकड़ों बरस की ग़रीबी को निकालना है।

एक बात मैं आपसे कह दूँ। मैं आज गया था वहाँ तो मुझसे कई लोगों ने दरखास्तें दीं, कहा कि झूँसी पे एक पुल बनना चाहिए। और आप जानते हैं कि एक हादसा हुआ था अभी, कुछ महीने हुए जब पोंपटून का पुल टूट गया था। तो मुझे तो कोई शक नहीं है कि झूँसी पर एक पुल की ज़रूरत है।⁸ कब बने, मैं तो इक़रार नहीं कर सकता, क्योंकि एक बड़ा पुल गंगा पे बनाना एक बड़ी चीज़ होती है, ये करोड़ों रुपये का खर्चा होता है और कैसे उसका प्रबन्ध हो, कौन पहले, कौन बाद में, इन बातों को देखना है। देखनी पड़ेगी, लेकिन कभी-न-कभी मेरी राय में वहाँ पुल बनना चाहिए।⁹ लेकिन एक बात, एक बात तो अजीब है मुझे हमेशा हैरत रही है कि वो जो वहाँ एक पुल है छोटी लाइन पर दारागंज से जाता है, 'आइज़ेट-ब्रिज'¹⁰ कहलाता

8. Nehru told a public meeting at Jhusi on 6 April that the Mandal Congress Committee wanted a proper bridge across the Ganga to connect Jhusi with Allahabad. On his way to Jhusi, some PSP members met him at Daraganj, a suburb of Allahabad, to demand such a bridge across the Ganga and also a judicial inquiry into the collapse of the pontoon bridge there on Basant Panchmi day.
9. Nehru wrote to the Ministers of Railways and of Transport & Communications, Jagjivan Ram and S.K. Patil on 6 April from Allahabad, and again on 19 April to Jagjivan Ram to consider providing a road bridge on the existing Izat bridge between Daraganj and Jhusi as early as possible. See items 47 and 48, pp. 311-313.
10. Built by Bengal and North-Western Railway Company on the Ganga just above its confluence with the Yamuna, the Izat bridge was inaugurated on 31 October 1912.

था, मालूम नहीं अब क्या कहलाता है, जिसको इस अक्लमन्दी से बनाया है। अरे, रेल का पुल जब बनता है उस पे सड़क होती है गाड़ी की और उसमें पैदल चलने की जगह होती है। उस पे एक आदमी के पैदल चलने की भी जगह नहीं रखी। मुझे याद है वो पुल तो मेरे सामने बना है। मैं बच्चा था। और उसके बाद उसका बड़ा चर्चा था, 'आइजेट-ब्रिज' जो कहलाता था। और एक और नाम उसका था 'आइजेट्स-फ़ॉली' यानी आइजेट¹¹ की मूर्खता। आइजेट बड़े इंजीनियर थे। उन्होंने बनाया था। [...] कहानी एक थी उस वक़्त कि वो रेलवे कम्पनी थी, प्राइवेट कम्पनी थी। उसने जान के ज्यादा जगह नहीं रखी कि एक तो ज़रा कम खर्च हो बनाने में, एक ये कि मजबूर करे लोगों को कि रेल पे जायें तो उनका कुछ फ़ायदा हो। लेकिन किसी गवर्नमेंट को इस बात की इजाज़त नहीं देनी चाहिए थी। वो बहुत ही एक इन्तहा दर्जे एक ग़लत बात है कि ज़रा भी पब्लिक का ख़याल न करें।

और एक बात, मैं समझता हूँ, होनी चाहिए और जल्दी होनी चाहिए, झूँसी का पुल बने, जब बन सके बने और वो ये कि इस पुल को ये आइजेट ब्रिज को है उस ख़र, काफ़ी इन्तज़ाम किया जाये, गाड़ी का तो हो नहीं सकता, वो तो पुल बदल जाये, लेकिन पैदल लोगों का इधर-उधर जाने का इन्तज़ाम पूरा होना चाहिए उसमें और मैं समझता हूँ कि वो बहुत दिक्कत की बात नहीं है, हो सकता है। मैं इसको बहुत ज़ोर लगाऊँगा जा के, लेकिन आप जानते हैं (तालियाँ) लेकिन आपको ये समझ लेना चाहिए कि आजकल के शासन चलते कैसे हैं? मैं प्रधानमन्त्री हूँ तो मैं हुकुम तो हर एक को नहीं दे सकता किसी को। हर एक वहाँ ...तो हर एक मिनिस्ट्री की अलग-अलग एक बड़ी...बड़ा राज्य है और उनके प्लैनिंग कमिशन हैं, ये और वो, लेकिन हाँ मैं कोशिश पूरी करूँगा।

बहुत समय आपका लिया, मैंने कोई विदेश की बातें नहीं कहीं आपसे। हालाँकि विदेश में बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हो रही हैं। और एक बात कम-से-कम जिसमें हमारे देश को, ज़ाहिर है, दिलचस्पी बहुत है, होनी है, और फ़िक्र है वो तिब्बत की है जो अभी हुई है। और आपने सुना होगा कि दलाई लामा जी हिन्दुस्तान में तीन-चार दिन हुए, पाँच दिन हुए, दाखिल हुए, घुसे। उनसे, उन्होंने हमसे इजाज़त माँगी आने की। हमने खुशी से उनको दी।¹² और वो बिलकुल हिन्दुस्तान सरहद जो वहाँ है वो बहुत ही, क्या कहूँ आपसे, पहाड़ी है, जंगली है, रास्ते नहीं हैं। कोई गाड़ी घोड़ा नहीं जा सकता। घोड़ा तो जाता है, गाड़ी नहीं जा सकती। पगडण्डियाँ हैं। तो उनको आठ-दस दिन लगेगे उससे निकलने में, उन सड़कों से, उस जगह से। [...]

11. Alexander Izat (1844-1920); joined Indian Public Works Department as Assistant Engineer, 1863-89; transferred to Railway Branch, 1870. and served in various parts of India; Agent and Chief Engineer, Bengal and North-Western Railway Co., 1883-1904. and joined Board of Directors, 1902.

12. On 31 March 1959. See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 455-481 and also in this volume, item 107, pp. 435-437.

उसको नेफ़ा कहते हैं - नॉर्थ ईस्ट फ़्रण्टियर एजेंसी। और खैर, कोई जल्दी नहीं है, वो इत्मीनान से आयें।

लेकिन ये हाल जो तिब्बत वगैरह में पैदा हुए हैं, काफ़ी पेचीदा हैं और काफ़ी हमारा भी एक इम्तहान इसमें है कि हममें किती अक्ल है, किती दानिशमन्दी है, कित्ता सब्र है और किती हिम्मत है। [...] ये बड़ा आसान है कि हम या तो एक तरफ़ से बड़ी शान और शौकत दिखायें, हाथ-पैर फेंकें, बुरा-भला कहें, चीन को बुरा कहें, इसको, उसको, बहुत आसान है। लेकिन आखिर में कुछ करना चाहते हैं। हमारी हमदर्दी है कि...इतनी भी हमने कही। दूसरी तरफ़ से ये भी आसान है कि हम कहें कि भई, पेचीदा मामले हैं, इसमें चुपचाप रहो, कुछ कहो नहीं, अलग बैठे रहो, अपने को बचाये रखो, क्यों फँसो, ये भी आसान है। लेकिन ये भी मुनसिब नहीं है। तो बात ये करनी है कि जो ठीक रास्ता है, उसको सोच-समझ के उस पे हमें चलना है। जिससे कुछ लाभ हो, जिससे अमन हो, जिससे हमारे देश की हानि न हो और जिससे तिब्बत की जनता का लाभ हो। उनकी आज़ादी उनको मिले और उसी के साथ हमारी मित्रता चीन से रहे। बड़े देश हैं, मित्र देश हैं। अब हम ऐसी बातें करें या वो करें जिससे हममें एक-दूसरे में कशमकश बढ़ती जाये तो अच्छी बात न हमारे लिए है, न उनके लिए हैं। हमें इस बात का बड़ा अभिमान था और है कि भारत और चीन का सम्बन्ध दो हज़ार बरस से ऊपर से है। कित्ते लोग भारत से चीन गये, हज़ारों लोग गये हैं उस समय, आज नहीं। और जित्ते वहाँ के लोग यहाँ आये। वो सम्बन्ध असल में कई बातों से हुआ। लेकिन सबमें बड़ा तो बौद्ध धर्म से हुआ, गौतम बुद्ध के नाम से और उनके आदेश से। दो हज़ार बरस का सम्बन्ध।

अब दो हज़ार बरस में, जो महान देश में कभी आपस में लड़े नहीं, और दोनों की बड़ी ज़बरदस्त संस्कृति थी, बड़ी ज़बरदस्त सभ्यता, फैले सारे, हमारा देश फैला, जावा, सुमात्रा, फ़िलीपीन, कहाँ-कहाँ फैला, इण्डोचाइना, हिन्द-चीन। उनका देश भी फैला वहाँ। दोनों के लोग, एक उनमें जान थी, फैलते थे, विद्यार्थी, कलाएँ थीं, फैलीं। लेकिन दो हज़ार बरस से हमारी-उनकी लड़ाई नहीं हुई। अजीब बात है विचार करने की, और अच्छी बात है। तो हमें उनसे मित्रता रखनी है और रखेंगे। लेकिन उसी के साथ जो सही बात हम समझते हों, उसको हमें कहना है। और जो सही बात हम समझते हैं, उसके लिए हमें कोशिश करनी है। तो इन सब बातों को मिला के ज़रा पेचीदा सवाल हो जाते हैं। और खैर, पेचीदा होने से हमें भाग तो नहीं जाना है, लेकिन कम-से-कम ठण्डे दिल से विचार करके इनको हल करने की कोशिश करनी है।

आपने बहुत शान्ति से इतनी देर तक आप रहे और मेरा भाषण सुना। धन्यवाद आपको। मैं तो अब, हस्वमामूल जय हिन्द कहिए मेरे साथ।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द !

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

I wonder what I should talk to you about, today. It is not possible to exchange views with you at this distance, because there is always a great pressure of our work, our problems, our difficulties. The country undoubtedly is facing enormous problems. We must try to look at them objectively. It is difficult because we are right in the midst of them or rather we ourselves constitute the problems. Like, I think I told you once before that when I was asked in London how many problems we have in India my reply was, "twenty nine crores". Probably, I mentioned a little more than twenty-nine; thirty-seven. The number of problems is equal to the number of people in the country. We cannot think of our problems as if they are in the air. They concern the people of the country directly. We have to take into consideration the effect of our projects and schemes on the population of India. There is no point in doing something here and there because we shall not fully come to grips with the problem in this way.

For instance, we are thinking at the moment of what we are going to do in the Third Five Year Plan and how we are going to do it. The first thing that has to be taken into consideration is, at the end of the Third Plan, that is seven years from now, what is likely to be the population of India. That is the only way to get a complete picture because whatever we do is meant for the people. It is not a question of providing employment to a few thousands here and there. When you consider the fundamental question of what the population will be at the end of seven years, the prospect is extremely daunting, because it is increasing very rapidly. It is not that more people are being born, though that is also there. But the real reason is that in the last ten or twelve years, the health care facilities have improved to such an extent that people do not die of diseases as they did in the past which is a very good thing. For example, malaria has been brought under control and it is hoped that it will be eradicated throughout the country within the next few years. Similarly, there are other diseases which are gradually being brought under check with the result that the death rate is rapidly going down, and so, the population increases. Now it is obvious that it is a good thing that the death rate is going down and health care facilities are improving and life expectancy is increasing. We will continue to make efforts in this direction. It is not merely a question of the death rate going down. The health of the people is improving and they are becoming stronger. A country can progress only through hard work.

The strange thing is that our success in improving the health of the nation, controlling diseases and improving general sanitation and public health is complicating our problems still further, because the population increases and

the number of mouths to feed, people to clothe and house, provide schools and hospitals for, proportionately goes up. Therefore, one way of solving this problem is to control population growth. That does not mean that we will let diseases spread. It means making efforts to control the birth rate.

Whenever all this is brought up, some people laugh and make jokes about it, but now it has become too serious to be a joking matter. It has become one of our most important tasks. If you look at this from yet another angle, it casts a great burden on our women who keep producing innumerable children. It is a problem for the women. Having babies is a good thing for the family and the nation and they are the country's wealth. That is all right. But if there are too many, it is not possible to look after them properly. The mother as well as the children has poor health, there is greater poverty and all kinds of difficulties crop up. The standard of living goes down.

So, as I told you right at the beginning, I must stress before I go any further that if the population continues to increase at the present rate, all our planning, etc., will come to naught. The last census revealed that the population stood at thirty six-thirty seven crores, it must have reached forty crores now and by the end of the Third Plan, it will probably stand at forty crores. It means that we will have to provide for ten crores more, which is not a small number. We will have to feed, clothe, provide schools and hospitals and employment for ten crores more. Therefore, it is very essential to follow what is known as family-planning methods. There are many such methods available. There is nothing very complicated about it. I think more techniques will be discovered, but even now a number of devices are available. Family Planning centres have been opened at many places. We must try to understand this because it has become a crucial issue for the whole country. The family should be of a size in which it is possible to maintain a good standard of living and look after the children properly.

Well, anyhow, the first thing that has to be considered in any kind of planning is the size of the population. Planning does not mean drawing up a list of things to be done in Allahabad or Lucknow or elsewhere. It does not mean making a list of the number of roads, hospitals, colleges, bridges, etc., to be made and then doing as much as we are able to. We have to make a list of the things that need to be done. But the basic thing is to plan how best to utilise the country's resources to generate more wealth.

What does a wealthy country imply? It does not mean big store-houses of gold and silver. It means the production of an enormous amount of goods, from land and industries. The more we produce, the better-off the country will be. Therefore, the most important question before us is how to increase production. If you compare India with other countries, we are almost at the bottom of the

list, except for two or three countries. The country's wealth has to be measured in terms of the per capita income of the people. The handful of rich men in the country is lost in the ocean of India's poverty. If you want to gauge the prosperity of a city, it cannot be done by looking at a few palaces or prosperous mansions but the dwellings of the poor people. From this point of view, India is very low on the list and the only fundamental way to improve the situation is to increase the production of goods in India. We must produce more from our land and industries, cottage industries, etc. The United States is a rich country because an enormous amount of goods is produced there every year.

Whether you follow the example of the capitalist United States or the Soviet Union which is a communist country or those in between like Norway or Sweden, etc., the first step entails an increase in the production of goods. Then comes the question of distribution of the wealth which has been generated. If the production is low there is nothing much to distribute. Socialism certainly does not mean distribution of poverty. Therefore, no matter which ideology you may wish to adopt, communism, socialism, capitalism or Gandhism, the main thing is to produce more. A question as to what should be produced may arise. But there is not much room for argument in that. When I say production should increase, it is obvious that it means the production of essential consumer goods. The most important item is food, because everyone needs it. Similarly, they need clothes, at least ordinary clothes; we can do without silks and other such rich fabrics. So a list of essential items has to be drawn up and their production must be increased.

How is production to be increased? You will find that the progress in the West has been due to the fact that they have adopted new methods and techniques of production especially by mechanising everything. It has made their task extremely easy. Apart from using big machines like tractors and what not, they have started using better ploughs, good quality seeds and fertilisers, etc. They have managed to increase the production by four times from land and hundred times as much from industries. So we must also take advantage of science and technology. It is obvious that the world must benefit from this knowledge. Otherwise it will have no value. Knowledge is not meant to be kept locked up. It is constantly increasing and unless we grow with it, we will become backward as it happened in India in the past. The world advanced in the field of science and technology while we were left behind. Later, when the British came, they effectively blocked all progress for their own reasons. Therefore, we became backward because we did not benefit by the advance the world had made in science and technology. So, we must rectify that now.

What does it imply? We must learn to use machines on land and industries. It can be done only in one way and that is by producing the machines ourselves.

If we have to import all the machines from outside every time, it is a drain on our foreign exchange and secondly, we can never have continuity of production. Even if a small part goes out of order, things come to a halt, while we send for a spare from outside. So we cannot progress unless we make the machines ourselves. Industrialisation does not mean importing some machines from the United States and setting up an industry. We must produce all the machines, big as well as small, in the country. Then, industrialisation also requires steel. If the country does not produce enough steel, we will have to import it, which means a great deal of expenditure. Now there is an enormous amount of iron in the country. But it is extremely difficult to convert it into steel; it requires a great deal of money. However, we cannot do without it. So, we are putting up four new steel plants, or rather three, and there is one old plant.¹³ We are spending about four or five hundred crores on these plants and you can imagine what an enormous sum it is. It is almost the entire income of a year in the country. So, what is to be done? Though we are a poor country, we have to undertake this burden, because we cannot progress without producing steel. Once the plants go into production, our income will automatically go up. What are the basic requirements of a country which wishes to become industrialised? I shall leave agriculture aside for the moment. We need steel in large quantities to become industrialised. So we have to put up steel plants. Then we need machine-making industries and this means producing machines to be used in the steel plants and other industries. This is a very big thing.

Thirdly, we need power because industries are run by power, electric or thermal power. So we have to produce electricity from big dams or from coke ovens or whatever it is. Fourthly, we need raw material like coal and other things and trains and trucks to transport it. This means building railway tracks and roads and what not. So the whole thing becomes a long process. Demand for coal goes up. I am merely giving you a hint, because I want you to understand how each problem is linked to the others and so everything becomes extremely complicated. Even if one thing goes wrong in the chain, the whole process grinds to a halt. We have to build steel plants for which coal is needed and so trains are necessary to transport coal and also to carry steel to other places.

Thus, it is a complex picture and behind all this, the most important factor is human beings, trained and skilled human beings. We may require five years or slightly less if we hurry things a bit to put up a steel plant. But the engineers and others, who will run the plant, take fifteen-twenty years to be trained. So, you can see how much more difficult it is to train human beings. It is not merely

13. See fn 6 in this section.

a question of sending them to schools and colleges. After ten-twelve years of schooling, it takes another five or six years to qualify as an engineer. But even after passing the exam, it takes ten or twelve years to gain sufficient experience to run big steel plants.

So, we come round again and again to the number of trained and skilled personnel available to undertake various tasks, of engineering and what not. There are hundreds of angles to engineering. Similarly, it takes years to train a doctor. Ultimately, the stature of a country is determined by the number of trained human beings available. Untrained, illiterate human beings are of no account. They are more of a burden than an asset. It is the educated, trained human beings who count. By educated, I do not mean that every single individual in the country should get a B.A. or an M.A. degree. They should be trained in some profession or the other. If an individual wishes to work in a steel plant, he must qualify himself to be a first rate engineer. Otherwise, you cannot do it, no matter how much noise you make or shout slogans. Similarly, you cannot build a bridge by shouting slogans, if you do not have good engineers.

Then take the question of agriculture. I do not say that every farmer should be an engineer as well. Our farmers are very good. But they are extremely poor and so, it is difficult for them to progress. Secondly, they are not aware of the new improvements that are taking place all the time. Let me tell you that I do not think that there is much scope for having many tractors, etc., in India. I have nothing against tractors and we are using them. But generally, they are not of much use. There is so much of manpower available in the country that it is absurd to waste it. It is also wrong, because ultimately whatever we do is for the good of the human beings. Machines are meant for human beings and not the other way round. This is one thing.

The second principle which is somewhat opposed to the first is that if we do not use the new and improved techniques which are available in the world today, we will become backward. If, instead of building railways, we continue to use bullock-carts, it is obvious that India cannot progress. We need to adopt modern techniques and facilities, otherwise we cannot fit into today's world. So we must train human beings. What are the farmers to be taught? First of all, whether it is a farmer or anyone else, basic education is essential for everyone and should be available for every boy and girl in the country up to the secondary school level. This will increase the stature of the people and open up new avenues and provide opportunities to understand the advance being made in the world and also of making new discoveries ourselves. This is how the country can progress.

It may help a little initially to get experts from other countries, but a country cannot progress by that. A country progresses by its own effort and two or three

things are essential to train people. One is good, basic education. Second, equal opportunities for everyone and higher education in colleges and universities and special institutes or whatever it is, to the more brilliant boys and girls. Education is not available to everyone in the country today and though it has spread a great deal, it is not enough. Even in the places where it has spread, very often the schools are not very good. That is a different matter and we must improve them.

So, all these basic things need to be clarified. We cannot do them one by one. For instance, we cannot wait to do other things until the whole country has been educated. For one thing, we do not have enough money. It has been calculated that of the forty crores of people if we wish to provide primary and secondary school as well as college and university education, the number of teachers and students comes to about ten crores. You can imagine what an enormous amount of money would be required to make arrangements for such a huge number. Where is the money to come from? The entire burden will fall on the people. Therefore, the question of spreading education is linked to the country becoming wealthy and that in turn is tied up with how many educated people are available in the country. Both are closely interlinked. This is how every problem in India is linked to the others.

Now, planning involves doing things in such a way that there is an all-round development gradually in all directions. If the development is uneven, we will not go very far. Another test of uniform development is whether the wealth produced in the country is evenly distributed which is judged by the per capita income. If the amount of wealth continues to remain what it is today and the population keeps growing, the per capita income will go down. For instance, if a family consists of three children and the parents have an income of Rs. 100 per month and later three more are born, the average money available will become less. So, either the income should go up or the mouths to be fed do not increase. It is obvious that this is an extremely complex problem.

I cannot go into all the details of the Five Year Plan but I would like to put one aspect of it before you, because most of you who are citizens of Allahabad are well educated and think about these things. The problems of the country are beyond party politics. There may be different ways of solving a problem but nothing can be achieved by merely shouting slogans or making a noise. It must be understood clearly that you can spend only as much as the resources of the country will permit or as much as the country earns. We may be able to borrow something from other countries or get some aid if it is available. But loans have to be repaid which is a great burden. Moreover, we cannot keep borrowing. So, you must understand these complexities.

We have to take every aspect of the problem into consideration and decide

about our priorities. The resources at our disposal are limited and so many of the things that we wish to do are beyond our means at the moment. We have to postpone them but they will certainly be done, if not today, tomorrow or a year or five years hence. So you must understand quite clearly that what we can do ultimately depends entirely on how much the country produces.

Secondly, how much of that comes to the government, whether it is the government at the centre or in the states or whether it is your corporation or panchayat. All these institutions from the Lok Sabha downwards can spend only as much as they earn. So they must earn more by increasing production. What are the sources of a government's income? One is in the form of taxes and the other is loans or post office certificates or small savings certificates and what not, on which the government pays interest. The capital is returned later. These sums are utilised by the government for tasks of national reconstruction. Therefore, what you contribute in the form of small savings becomes the foundation for development activities. At the same time, you earn interest and the capital remains intact. There can be nothing better than this. So, even if you find it difficult, you must invest in these schemes for the sake of your children's future and help in the task of national development.

At a time like this when we are trying to make millions of people better off, it is not possible to do anything merely with the help of government officials, even if they are good, unless the people themselves devote themselves wholeheartedly to this task. They must first understand the problem and concentrate their entire energy on solving it. No government can uplift all the five and a half lakh villages of India at one stroke. But it can be done very quickly if every single village makes up its mind to transform itself. If the people have the determination, it is not difficult at all. All that is required is determination, hard work and cooperation. They can then build roads, schools, houses, start small industries and do a hundred other things without spending very much and the villages can be transformed. The people will stand to gain and earn more. But it is a question of the people making up their minds to do it.

What is the community development scheme meant for? It aims at organising the villagers into a united force so that they may learn to work towards the development of the villages. After all, they will be doing it for themselves and their own village and it is they who will stand to gain. If people all over the country do it, the country will begin to change in no time at all. It cannot be done by merely passing laws at the top, though they may help a little.

So, this is a brief outline before you, so that you may think about what planning is all concerned with. I would like to point out once again that no matter which "ism" we adopt, whether it is capitalism, communism or socialism, the problem remains the same. There may be different views about the way to

solve it. But even then, to a very large extent, the method is similar. There is a great difference in the social organisation of the Soviet Union and the United States but science, which is the basis of all industries, is the same. There is no communist science or communist chemistry, physics or geology. Whether it is in the United States or the Soviet Union, they learn the same science and technology. That is what we also have to do. Every nation has to modify things to suit their need which is a different matter. It is not, however, very wise to say that we should go back to the Vedic times. The Vedas contain great wisdom and we can benefit a great deal from them and the Gita and the other shastras. But you cannot go to them to learn how to put up steel plants, for those were different times.

So, we must learn things which are relevant in today's world. I am not impressed if somebody tells me that there is mention of airplanes in the ancient books and so they must have been in existence. If they were always known, why did they disappear in between? Why did we suddenly become stupid? Anyhow, I am not bothered about all this. Matters of high principles and ideals always remain the same in a sense. There is no doubt that our ancient texts and epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharata are full of such ideals and values which we must imbibe. But it is obvious that you cannot run modern industries along those lines or continue to do farming by methods which are two or three thousand years old.

For one thing, the population of India was very much less in the old days. Land and jungles were available in abundance. There was no pressure on land then. The problem of a growing population with not enough land was not before the country in the old days. The picture was completely different then and so was the social organisation. Apart from mechanisation and what not, now we have forty crore people in the country and the population is increasing all the time while the amount of land available remains the same. So the picture changes completely, and so do the methods of solving the problems before us. Society has to adapt itself to the changing times and use electricity or steam power and atomic energy or other new things if necessary. New forces are being unveiled before the world, though they are not new by any means, but have always been hidden in nature. Electricity has always been present and could be seen whenever there was lightning. But it was thousands of years before an intelligent person discovered its potential and today you sit under the light produced by it and use it to run industries and what not. Similarly, steam is not something new, but it was only when a person thought that there is great power in steam and wheels can be made to turn by it that you got the railway engine. So, it is an ordinary thing in nature, but is now a big source of power. Now, what is this atomic energy? It is a great force of nature which has always been there. Man recognised

it and harnessed it first of all to produce the terrible atom bomb. But it can be put to good use too. It is a great power and even now, nobody knows whether it will destroy the world or transform it completely. It depends on what use man puts it to. So, you have to look at the world from this angle.

I would like to tell you one thing more. There are innumerable problems before us which are similar to those faced by the rest of the world or at least by the underdeveloped world of the countries of Asia. The West has advanced a greatly and so will we in due course. But ultimately, each country has to evolve a path for itself by taking into consideration its internal condition and through its own experience and skill. It can learn from others, but a path has to be found for ourselves. I have no right and I would say, nor do you, to criticise other countries or to say that they are wrong and we are right. This is mere boastfulness. Every country has to do what it can in accordance with its own needs. We cannot judge from conditions that exist in India. We have the right only to evolve a path to suit our own needs. We do not like others to interfere in our affairs, though we shall welcome any suggestion or advice given in a friendly spirit. We can learn a great deal from others. But it would be wrong if anyone tries to put pressure on us to do something merely because the others have done it.

I respect the United States a great deal for the progress that they have made and there is no doubt that there has been great progress. But I am not prepared to accept that we should copy them or that the United States should try to push us in that direction. I cannot tolerate such a thing. I would certainly like to learn from them. Similarly, I respect the Soviet Union where there has undoubtedly been grand progress. A downtrodden country has been put back on its feet and we can learn a great deal from them. But I do not wish to equate India with the Soviet Union. I feel that every race and every nation must, in all circumstances, evolve its own path, not by isolating itself but by learning from others. This is how we can progress.

To put it in a couple of sentences, the complex problem before us is to ascertain how many years it will take for us to increase production to such an extent that we can become self-sufficient. Another aspect of the same problem is how much we will have to produce in order to keep ahead of the population which is growing at the rate of two per cent per year. If our food production goes up only to the extent that it meets the requirements of this growing population, we will remain where we are and there can be no progress. We will have to produce more, because the more we produce, the more we will be able to save in order to invest in the country's development. The growth rate of the country is gauged by the amount that is invested every year in new tasks of development.

I do not remember the exact figures, but in the United States and the Soviet Union and other countries, capitalist as well as communist countries, the growth rate is very huge, in some cases five, six or even ten per cent. So, they are very advanced. Our growth rate of two per cent is almost negligible in comparison. We are almost stagnant because the population is growing apace. If we increase our production by five per cent, it means a three per cent savings, all of which cannot be invested for development, because the poor people have to be given some relief. We cannot ask an already poor population to starve. So at least one or two per cent is used up in relief measures. What is left over is very little for development. We need much more. It has been calculated that we need a growth rate of at least six per cent in a year. Out of this, two per cent will be set aside for the growth in population. Then, out of the remaining four per cent two per cent will be invested in development—for the welfare of the people, such as education, etc., and two per cent for future progress. This is the plan that has been drawn up. But even this two per cent, when converted into money, amounts to thousands of crores.

In the Second Five Year Plan we had calculated on an amount of five thousand crores. We could not fulfill that target mainly because of the failure of two or three crops in succession which was a big shock. So, it is not a question of merely expressing a desire to increase the growth rate to six per cent per annum. The burden will have to be borne by us, the farmers and others. You may say that we should take it from the wealthy. But the problem is that even if we were to take away everything from the handful of rich men in the country, it will not be enough. When the population of the country is so large, we have to take from the rich as well as the poor. This is the difficulty. On the one hand we have to think of their welfare and on the other an additional burden is imposed upon them. Anyhow, once we are able to break this vicious circle, progress will be easy. We hope that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, that is another seven years from now, we would be able to achieve this goal. That does not mean that poverty will be eradicated. That can only happen gradually. But it does mean that we would have taken a big step towards the suppression of forces which impoverish the country after which progress will be easier.

Now, I would like to specially draw your attention to two things which were decided three months ago in the Nagpur Congress. One resolution was on the Five Year Plan. I will not say much about that because whatever I have said so far was related to that. The second one pertained to agriculture and the village organisation. I feel that India's poverty cannot be eradicated until our industries, heavy as well as small and medium, expand. At the same time I feel that the industries cannot grow until production from land increases. So we come round once again to the question of land. Land is always the number one issue in an

agricultural country like ours, where eighty per cent of the population lives in the rural areas and depends on land for its livelihood. But even otherwise, it is of primary importance. To a large extent, all our progress and the surplus that we talk about have to come out of land and agricultural produce. Therefore, the crucial issue is how much do we produce from land. We have to produce more and then double it. We can do it.

I have been touring all over Allahabad and wherever I went in the district and villages, a list was presented to me of the farmers who had won prizes for increasing production. I was amazed and extremely happy to see that as against the average yield of ten or eleven maunds per acre, the prize winners had produced more than fifty maunds per acre. It ranged between forty and fifty maunds. You can imagine the difference between ten to eleven maunds and this. They were ordinary farmers with ordinary land with no tractors or anything else. They were able to show results merely by working very hard. Now you can imagine what the result would be if we can even double the average yield per acre. The country will be completely transformed and we will progress by leaps and bounds. The country will grow enormously in strength. Apart from the fact that the condition of the farmer will improve we will have the wherewithal to invest in development and to become industrialised. The entire picture will change. So, it is of paramount importance that we increase agricultural production.

We do not know exactly how much progress China has made in other fields, but there is no doubt that they have made tremendous progress in agriculture by working very, very hard day and night. Therefore, it is very essential for you to understand the Nagpur Congress resolution about the land issue for it is not meant only for the farmer. It is a basic thing which every individual in the city as well as the village must understand.

First of all, we removed the zamindari and jagirdari system, because neither the country nor the farmer could progress under it. I will not go into that. The broad fact is that a social organisation which is relevant in one age can easily become an obstacle in the way of social growth in another age. The zamindari system may have been relevant some centuries ago. But in the modern times, it prevented the farmer from growing and so it had to be removed. We stand to gain by the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and taluqdari systems not only because it was a load off the farmer's back but also because it opened up new avenues of increasing agricultural production. Even now the law regarding land reform and land tenure has not been fully implemented. A great deal of thought is being given to it in the different states.

You may have also heard that it has been decided to impose a ceiling on ownership of land. I cannot say what the limit will be and there will be different

yard sticks for good land and bad in different states. But nobody will be allowed to own more than what the ceiling stipulates. Suppose the ceiling on land is twenty or twenty five acres. As a matter of fact, it is a pretty generous limit when the ordinary farmer does not own more than a couple of acres at the most. Even if you impose a ceiling on over ten acres, ninety nine per cent of the farmers will not be affected and between ten and twenty acres, the number of people affected will be very few. So in fact, the common people will not be affected. But it is a good principle. That does not mean that we do not wish to encourage the rich farmer. That is wrong, because we want them to become more prosperous and increase production. I feel that this will come about because once such restrictions are removed, immediately small zamindaris come into being which we do not want. It is wrong on principle and harmful. So this is the organisation of land that we want. That means producing as much as possible from land and village industries, etc., in order to produce more wealth. Otherwise, if you let the present situation continue, it will mean that with the exception of a handful of people, the ordinary farmer can never come out of the mire of poverty. The farmer who has one or two or three acres of land earns something if the crop is good, otherwise he starves. This vicious circle cannot be broken unless we adopt some other methods. The other method is especially for the benefit of all farmers, including those who own more land.

Another thing which is very important is cooperative societies for farmers. I am surprised that there has been some debate over this, because in all the advanced countries of the world, there are cooperatives. Cooperatives are of different types. Why is it that some people, especially in the cities make a noise about it? Anyhow, I do not wish to go into that. But broadly speaking, you must understand that if the existing system of land tenure is allowed to continue and no avenues are opened to improve the lot of the small farmer, he can never get rid of his poverty. Moreover, the population continues to increase and so does the pressure on land. It is bound to happen, because the small farmer does not have the strength to adopt new techniques and so he continues with the old methods. He cannot afford to buy good seeds and fertilizers and when it comes to selling, he falls into the clutches of the money-lenders and other middlemen. How is he to come out of these shackles? The only way is to form cooperatives. A hundred poor farmers may not be able to do very much separately. But if these hundred farmers form a cooperative society, their strength immediately grows. I do not say that it will increase tremendously. But it does to a certain extent and no one can suppress them. They can use their combined strength to do many things like getting better ploughs, good seeds and new fertilizers, etc., which they could not have done on their own. Nowadays, a great deal of land is wasted because of separate farm holdings. A cooperative society will enable

them to increase production and do many new things. So, there is enormous benefit in cooperative societies. At the moment the land ownership can be kept separate.

But I want that later on cooperative farming should be taken up. Nobody will take away the land from the farmers and there are great benefits in farming in a group. For one thing, the land that is now wasted in boundaries will be brought under cultivation. I am not a farmer but from what I have read in books or seen in other countries, I know the great advantages of cooperative farming. Production goes up immediately. Therefore, cooperative societies have become essential in every way. First of all, there should be service cooperatives to handle their affairs. Later on when they accept it themselves, cooperative farming can be taken up. The land will continue to be theirs. But this will come later. Wherever the cooperative method is adopted, the social organisation, especially of the farmers, becomes somewhat superior. Nowadays, the agricultural organisation is very inferior and continues to be what it was a thousand years ago. With the cooperative method, you will modernise the system and give an opportunity to farmers to progress.

There can be no progress in our agriculture unless we adopt the cooperative method of farming. This is extremely important. There is no other way. As I said, joint cultivation is also important to a large extent. But these things can be done only when the farmer does it willingly and on his own initiative. It cannot be done by use of force or compulsion. Cooperatives, especially, are something that people have to take up willingly. That is why I do not like the idea of cooperatives run by our officers. It is against the principle of cooperation. It becomes an official workshop. I would rather accept a badly run cooperative of the farmers than one run by outsiders. Of course, officers should certainly advise and guide in every way, but there should be no interference by them. I do not want a cooperative which looks like a government office with officers, big, small and medium, clerks and peons and what not, the mere sight of which will frighten the poor farmer away. This has been the method so far.

We want that the cooperatives should be managed entirely by the farmers with some guidance from outside and for this, it will be necessary to train farmers and gram sevaks and the members of the panchayat, etc. As I told you, mere enthusiasm or slogan-mongering are not enough. We need trained people to do that. So we want to train millions of people for there is no other way.

There are people, especially in the cities, who oppose this because they are afraid that we will try to do the same thing in industries. I would like to tell them right now that they should be in no doubt whatever that we will apply it to industries, too. It will not be done immediately. But it is obvious that it has to come. This is how the entire society can progress.

We have said after due consideration that we will bring about socialism though it will take time. We do not wish to bring it about by violent methods as it has happened in other countries, but to explain to the people and draw them towards us. We do not wish to cause harm to anyone. But at the same time, the most important thing before us is the good of the common people, if a handful of others get hurt, we are helpless. If we have to change an institution, we shall certainly do so.

Therefore, the Nagpur Congress resolutions are extremely important and apart from everything else as I told you, it will make our social organisation a more superior one. I cannot explain this at length. But there are various strata of social organisations. Now, if we prove ourselves incapable or useless and stupid, we will remain backward. But we will have to accept that this is a good step and only by taking it can we progress. Otherwise, we should give up all thought of progress and stay at the bottom. This you will not do and I have no doubt that our people are very capable and will take this step successfully.

So, it means that the Nagpur Congress has taken a big step. It has opened new doors and windows and created a new atmosphere. You must understand this because it is a big step. It is not only the Nagpur Congress which says these things. Others have said it before as any sensible person would. The Congress as an institution has merely given it a proper form and the government has accepted it. The day before yesterday, the National Development Council in which all the State Chief Ministers, members of the Planning Commission and some of our Central Ministers take part, deliberated over this and accepted the idea.¹⁴ It has taken us long years of preparation to decide upon this step and we need your wholehearted cooperation in it.

Let me tell you a couple of things. One is that I think every school and college must teach students about cooperation especially in colleges, because by cooperative I do not mean that you should become the secretary of some cooperative society. Cooperation is connected with social organisation, and it leads to socialism without great effort. What I am opposed to is the capitalist way of working. I am talking, not of people, but of the system, for it amounts to cutting each other's throats and an individual can progress in it only by pulling the other down or sitting on his chest. It is the way it works though it is not as bad as it was in the past.

People may not say it openly but the old system persists. So, I want that children should be educated in cooperation so that our attitude towards the world changes. If we want to bring about socialism, the thinking should be

14. See fn 7 in this section.

moulded from the school and college level. Socialism does not mean shouting slogans or reading up some books about it. That is absurd. You must learn the fundamental principles. Everyone would be interested in one's individual benefit. Therefore, cooperatives are essential.

Secondly, I am becoming more and more convinced that our education must include some manual work. I do not mean using one's hand and feet to fight with one another. Please do not think that I do not attach importance to mental work. I attach a great deal of importance to it and I want that everyone should make intellectual progress. But I feel that manual labour is very essential for intellectual progress. The mental attitude of a clerk is of no use and it is absurd to look down upon the farmer or labourer who works with his hand. So long as we do not get rid of this attitude, leave alone socialism, we will not understand even democracy properly.

Yes, there is one more thing that I would like to tell you about service cooperatives. It leads to the betterment of all sections of society and since people of all castes and class work together, the disparity between the rich and the poor is reduced automatically. Therefore, I want that we should assign a definite part in our curriculum, as it is done in many countries, to gaining practical experience in the fields. If you were to go and work in the field for a couple of months every year, you will definitely benefit and so will the country and the quality of your education will improve. You must learn to respect a man who works in the fields. You must live with them like they do and not put up beautiful tents or camps, do a symbolic piece of digging and then relax. You can learn something useful only by living like the rest of them and understand some of their problems whether you work on land or industries. What I mean is that basic education may be a good thing. But I wish to extend it a step further and include manual labour or field work in a factory or land up to the college level. The students must live like the ordinary man so that the distance between them is removed and they learn to respect manual labour instead of wanting to leave the villages and go to the cities as clerks after acquiring a little education as they do today. It is wrong. We have to uplift the villages and work and improve them and not make the villages barren.

Please forgive me for giving you a long lecture like a school master or a professor. I have not given a fiery speech to criticise or incite anybody. I have said all this to draw your attention to the revolutionary times that we are living in, the upheavals and changes that are taking place. You will benefit by the progress that is taking place and at the same time bear the consequences if we stumble occasionally and fall. You must be prepared for it. The times are such that in a sense if you have courage and daring, you should be happy because this is a testing time for us. The strong will go ahead, while the timid will be

left behind. A coward dies a hundred deaths. But if you have courage and daring in you, a thousand avenues are open to you for progress and to build a prosperous nation. So, you must understand all this and prepare yourselves for the future. You must always bear in mind that you and I are mere cogs in the large machine that is India. We are all small pieces of Bharat Mata. Bharat Mata is not someone apart from us. So we must look at these things in this way and change with the changing times. We have to build India into a prosperous and great country and remove the poverty which has afflicted India for centuries.

Let me tell you one thing more. Today, when I had gone there, I received a number of applications saying that a bridge should be built in Jhusi. As you know, recently, a mishap occurred there, some months back when the pontoon bridge broke.¹⁵ So, I have no doubt that a bridge needs to be built in Jhusi. I cannot promise when it will be done because it is an enormous project to build a bridge on the Ganges and will involve an expenditure of crores of rupees. We will have to see how to go about it, but I think that a bridge will have to be built some time or the other.¹⁶ However, one thing that has always amazed me is the bridge known as the Izat Bridge¹⁷ on the narrow gauge to Daraganj, I do not know what it is called now. When a railway barrage is built, there has to be space for pedestrians to walk on. There is no space even for a single human being to walk across on this bridge—I remember when the bridge was being built, I was a child—and it led to a great deal of criticism. In fact, the bridge was called Izat's folly. Izat¹⁸ was a great engineer. The story that was current then was that being a private railway company, they deliberately did not wish to leave any space because for one thing, it would cost less and secondly to force people to travel by train so that they may profit. But no government should be permitted to do such things. It is extremely wrong not to think of the public at all.

There is another thing that I feel should be done and done quickly. The Jhusi bridge can be built whenever it is possible. But some arrangement should be made for a pedestrian walk on it. It is too late now to make space for vehicles to cross the bridge because a new bridge will have to be built. But a lane for pedestrians should not be very difficult to make. I shall push the matter when I go back. (Applause) But you know or rather you must understand how administrations function these days. I am the Prime Minister. But I cannot order

15. See fn 8 in this section.

16. See fn 9 in this section.

17. See fn 10 in this section.

18. See fn 11 in this section.

people around. There are separate ministries in every state and there is a Planning Commission and what not. But I shall try my best.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. I have not referred to external affairs though momentous things are happening outside. One thing in which India should obviously be interested in and feel anxious about is the Tibetan affair. You must have heard that four, five days ago the Dalai Lama has crossed over to India and sought asylum here which we have given willingly.¹⁹ He will have to cross the wild border terrain which is completely inaccessible. I think you can travel only on horseback in that area that we call the NEFA, North East Frontier Agency, for there are no roads. Anyhow he can come when he can.

However the problem that has arisen in Tibet is extremely complicated and is a test of our patience and wisdom and courage. It would be easy to try to make a show of strength or criticise China. But we must be able to do something concrete. We have expressed our sympathy towards Tibet. Or, it would be equally easy to keep ourselves aloof from a complicated matter and not get involved in it. But even that is not possible. So, we must choose the right path carefully, so that peace can be maintained, the people of Tibet may benefit and India may come to no harm. Tibet should regain their freedom and at the same time, our friendship with China should remain unbroken. We must not do something which will create tensions between us for it will not be good for either of us. We have prided ourselves on the fact that India and China have had contacts for over two thousand years. Thousands of people have crossed over on both sides in the past. Our relationship was based on many things. But the most important was the message of Gautama Buddha and Buddhism. In these two thousand years of contact, these two great nations have never fought with each other and the great civilisation and culture of India and China spread to various countries, to Java, Sumatra, Philippines, Indo-China, etc. Both the countries were vibrant and alive and so our wisdom and culture spread to the far corners of the continent. But the strange thing is that we have never fought in all these two thousand years. So we must continue to maintain friendly relations with China. But at the same time we must speak out frankly about what we think is right and make an effort to strive for the right thing. Therefore, all these things combine to make the affair extremely complicated. Well, we cannot run away from it but think calmly and try to find a solution.

19. See fn 12 in this section.

I thank you for sitting here patiently for such a long time and listening to my speech. Now according to our normal practice, please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

3. At Kumhiyawan: Public Meeting²⁰

भाइयो और साथियो,

अभी आपने सुना कि मैं कोई नया शस्त्र लाया हूँ। ये तो बात ठीक नहीं है। कोई नयी चीज़ मैं कौन-सी लाया हूँ, लेकिन पुरानी चीज़ को भी कभी-कभी ध्यान देने से उससे लाभ होता है। जब हमारी बड़ी लड़ाई हो रही थी अंग्रेज़ी सरकार से स्वराज्य की तो गाँधीजी ने एक बड़ा हथियार, शस्त्र निकाला था—असहयोग का। यानी हम अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के साथ मिल कर काम नहीं करें तब वो कमज़ोर हो जायेगी। ये तो आप जानते हैं कि महात्माजी सब बातें शान्ति से करते थे और करवाते थे। वो हिंसा को नहीं पसन्द करते थे। तो हमारे स्वराज्य की लड़ाई में भी वो शान्ति और प्रेम से उसको करवाते थे। और हमको यही सबक उन्होंने सिखाया था। लेकिन फिर अंग्रेज़ी सरकार पर एक दवाब कैसे डालें? तो उन्होंने देश का एक संगठन बनाया, देश भर में, सारे देश में सब लोग, चाहे उत्तर हो, चाहे हिमालय हो, चाहे मद्रास में हों, चाहे रामेश्वर में हों, सब लोगों का बड़ा संगठन बना। चाहे किसी धर्म के हों, किसी जाति के हों, सब लोग उस संगठन में आये, क्योंकि सब लोग भारत के नागरिक थे, भारत माता के पुत्र या पुत्री थे। तो एक तो ये किया। और उनसे कहा कि मिल कर शान्ति से अंग्रेज़ी सरकार से असहयोग करो, सत्याग्रह करो। ये उन्होंने एक बड़ा हथियार निकाला था और उससे हमें सफलता मिली थी। हमें स्वराज्य आया किसी के, किसी के दान से नहीं, लेकिन अपनी शक्ति से, जनता की शक्ति से। शक्ति थी, उसमें संगठन था, उसमें एकता थी आपस की, हम सबों की और फिर उसके साथ असहयोग किया।

तो अब उसी सबक को हमें याद रखना है। लेकिन सबक को याद रख के दूसरी तरह से उसको चलाना है, क्योंकि अब कोई बाहर का, बाहर का यहाँ कोई राज्य तो नहीं है, कोई विदेशी राज्य, अब तो अपने देश की जनता के हाथ में है बाग-डोर। और थोड़े-थोड़े दिन बाद आप लोग चुनाव में अपनी राय देते हैं, अपने पंच चुनते हैं, चाहे पंचायत के, चाहे ऊपर की

20. Speech, 7 April 1959. AIR tapes. NMML.

On 7 April 1959, Nehru visited several villages in Chail and Manjhanpur tehsils which also formed a part of his constituency. Besides the places covered here, he also visited Sarai Aqil and Kaushambi but no record of his speeches there is available.

विधान सभा हो लखनऊ की या दिल्ली की लोक सभा हो, जनता उनको चुनती है और जो लोग चुने जाते हैं, उन्हीं लोगों में से फिर प्रान्त की या देश की सरकार बनती है। हमेशा के लिए नहीं? थोड़े बरस के लिए। जब तक फिर चुनाव आवे। तो ये तो प्रबन्ध हुआ है इसलिए कि अन्त में जनता के हाथ में अधिकार हो। अब उसमें कोई खराबी हो, ये तो होता है, वो और बात है, उसको हम सँभालें, लेकिन जनता का राज्य इस तरह से बनाने का यत्न किया गया है।

तब अब उनको यहाँ से कोई निकालने की बात तो है नहीं, विदेशी राज्य, लेकिन फिर भी हमारे प्रश्न बड़े-बड़े हैं। अब हमें निकालना क्या है? अब हमें अपने देश से गरीबी निकालनी है, दरिद्रता निकालनी है, ये निकालनी है, ये बड़ा दुश्मन है, गरीबी और दरिद्रता और उसको निकालना, अंग्रेज़ी सरकार को निकालने के मुकाबले में ज़्यादा कठिन है, क्योंकि हमें बहुत ज़्यादा परिश्रम करना पड़ता है। अपने परिश्रम से हम अपनी गरीबी और दरिद्रता को निकाल सकते हैं। थोड़ी देर की वीरता से नहीं, बड़ी मेहनत से। तो अगर हम महात्माजी का सबक याद करें तो पहली बात तो इसमें एकता थी आपस में, मज़बूत संगठन बनाना। आपस में लड़ना नहीं। आदर करना अलग-अलग धर्म का, अलग-अलग जाति का, सबों को बराबर के अधिकार हों। ये सब बातें थीं जिससे शक्ति बनती है और जो उस वक़्त बात थी असहयोग की, अंग्रेज़ी सरकार से, उसके बजाय उसको हमें उलट देना है। आपस में सहयोग करना है, आपस में मिल-जुल कर, मिल के, काम करना है तो मिल के काम करने में शक्ति ज़्यादा होती है और फल अधिक मिलता है। तो मिल के काम करने के माने क्या हैं? बहुत सारे माने हैं।

आप लोगों की पंचायत होगी। अभी मैं आ रहा था तो एक गाँव में एक वृद्ध, बूढ़े, हमारे भाई थे पुराने कार्यकर्ता, वो कहने लगे कि पंचायतों में तो न्याय का भी मोल हो गया है। ये तो बड़ी बुरी बात है। अगर न्याय और काम मोल-तोल से हो, तब ये तो बहुत लज्जा की बात है, शर्म की बात है। और इससे होय क्या? फिर पंचायत, पंचायत टूट जाये। फिर पंचायत का आदर कोई नहीं करे। इस तरह से तो देश फिर गिर जाय। पंचायत तो आपकी एक गाँव की सबमें ऊँची चीज़ है। उसका आदर करना है और जो पंच हों, उनको न्याय करना है और जो-जो फ़ैसला करें, उनको सच्चाई से और ईमानदारी से करना है, कोई तरफ़दारी नहीं। और तरफ़दारी करें तो पंच होने के क़ाबिल नहीं है और न्याय को कोई बेचे, ये तो बड़ा जुर्म है, गुनाह है। ख़ाली बुरी बात नहीं है, ये तो बहुत बुरी बात है और इसके लिए जो ऐसा काम करे, उसको तो जेल जाना चाहिए। चाहे वो पंच हो, चाहे सरपंच हो, चाहे कोई बड़ा अफ़सर हो, चाहे छोटा अफ़सर हो, क्योंकि इससे ज़्यादा अपराध कोई नहीं है कि आपके पास तो लोग आयें न्याय लेने के लिए और आप पैसे के लिए न्याय दे दें किसी को इधर-उधर। आप पे भरोसा करके कोई आये कि इन्साफ़ करेगा और इन्साफ़ पैसे से दिया जाये? ये बहुत ग़लत चीज़ है और जहाँ ऐसा हो वहाँ की जनता को इसका विरोध करना चाहिए। दबना नहीं चाहिए, विरोध करना चाहिए और मालूम हो जाना चाहिए कि जो आदमी ग़लत रास्ते पे चले, उससे जनता बड़ी नाराज़ हो जायेगी, क्योंकि आखिर पंच-सरपंच जनता के चुने हुए होते हैं, कोई ऊपर से

तो नहीं बनाये जाते? अगर वो समझ लें कि अगर हम कोई गलत बात करेंगे तो हम अलग कर दिये जायेंगे, हम नहीं चुने जायेंगे तो उन पे दबाव होगा।

तो पंचायत हमारे स्वराज्य की पहली बड़ी बुनियादी कड़ी है, एक बुनियादी पत्थर है स्वराज्य का, गाँव की पंचायत, उसके ऊपर और पंचायतें हैं, प्रान्त की, प्रदेश की, सारे भारत की, लेकिन वो सबमें मज़बूत होनी चाहिए। मकान बनाओ तो उसकी नींव मज़बूत होनी चाहिए, नहीं तो ऊपर मकान कैसे चले? तो स्वराज्य की नींव पंचायत है। तो इसलिए उसको मज़बूत करना है और उसके थोड़े-बहुत अधिकार हैं, आप जानते हैं। अब हम चाहते हैं कि पंचायत को अधिकार और भी मिलें। इसलिए कि हम गाँव के लोगों के हाथ में अपने काम का प्रबन्ध दिया चाहते हैं। उनके पंचों के हाथ में। ये बात ठीक है कि कभी-कभी वो पंच लोग हैं, वो आपस में लड़ेंगे, ठीक काम नहीं करें, काम बिगाड़ें, जो हो सकता है और हुआ भी है। तो इस तरह से इसको हमें सँभालना होगा। आपको सँभालना है, लेकिन अगर हम ये तो मैं मानने को नहीं तैयार कि हमारे लोग, आप लोग, जनता पे हम भरोसा नहीं कर सकते, ये बात तो गलत है। हमें भरोसा करना है और भरोसा करने से काम भी ठीक होता है जहाँ भरोसा नहीं होता, वहाँ चालबाज़ी होने लगती है। तो हम पंचायत को अधिकार दिया चाहते हैं, पहले से अधिक अधिकार। टैक्स लेने का और कितने बरस बाद उसको ठीक-ठाक ख़रचने का, चाहे उसमें ये भी अधिकार हो कि आप अपना यहाँ एक तो पैसे जमा कर सकें पंचायत के लिए, अधिक उसको ख़र्च कर सकें। चाहे आप अपने उसको ख़र्च करें, सड़क बनायें, पाठशाला खोलें, स्कूल खोलें अपने बच्चों के लिए और बहुत सारे काम जो हैं, वो करें। अभी मैं आ रहा था, शिकायत मुझसे की गयी कि मंझनपुर के तहसील में पक्की सड़कें बहुत कम हैं, बात ठीक है। बननी चाहिए कुछ और। और इस पे ध्यान करना चाहिए जो आजकल के अधिकारी हैं; लेकिन सबमें अच्छी बात तो ये हो कि अगर पंचायतों के हाथ में शक्ति अधिक आये और पंचायतों के हाथ में रुपया भी अधिक आये तो वो खुद बहुत सारे ऐसे काम कर सकते हैं। कुछ श्रमदान से, कुछ पैसा ख़र्च के, सब मिला-जुला के जल्दी काम हो सकता है। तो ये तो मैंने आपसे पंचायत का कहा।

अब दूसरी चीज़। जैसे पंचायत हर गाँव में हो, दूसरी चीज़ हर गाँव में होनी चाहिए और वो सहकारी संघ है। वही बात हुई। मैंने आपसे कहा कि पहले अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में हमें असहयोग करना पड़ा था तो अब तो सहयोग करना है, सहकार करना है। क्या होता है सहकारी संघ? कुछ आपने सुना हो पहले भी अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में भी थोड़ी-बहुत थीं कोऑपरेटिव, जिसमें उस समय वो कुछ पैसा क़र्ज़ा देती थीं किसानों को। और अच्छा था, अच्छा काम था, लेकिन बहुत वो भी एक अफ़सरी ढंग से होता था तो ठीक नहीं होता था। किसानों की पहुँच नहीं होती थी और थोड़ा था, वो ज़्यादा नहीं। हम चाहते हैं सहकारी संघ, जो अब हैं, जो अब बनें, उनके हाथ में बहुत कुछ काम हो। जो कुछ गाँव का आर्थिक काम हो, पैसे का काम हो, जो कुछ गाँव का खेती-वेती से सम्बन्ध रखता है, काम हो; आपको अच्छे बीज लेने हैं, खाद लेना है, हल अच्छा लेना हो और जो-जो ऐसी बातें हैं और रुपया लेना हो, क़र्ज़ा, जैसे बनिये से आप

लेते रहे तो सब काम आपका सहकारी संघ करें जिसको आप ही चुनें, आप ही पंच उसमें रहें और फ़सल हो जाय, वो भी रखना, उसको बेचना, वो भी आपके तरफ़ से वो करे। आप ही के लोग होंगे आपके ही चुने हुए। तो इस ढंग से करें। तब आपका, आपके ऊपर से एक बोझा हट जाता है और अच्छी तरह से काम होता है। एक-एक किसान दौड़ा-दौड़ा फ़िरे कि हमें ये दे दो, हमें बीज दे दो, ये दो और उसका समय भी नष्ट हो और उसकी कोई सुने कि नहीं सुने, क्योंकि एक किसान की शक्ति तो नहीं होती, लेकिन गाँव भर के किसान मिल के, उनका सहकारी संघ हो और फिर उसकी ओर से कोई जाये तो उसको सब लोग सुनेंगे और उसका प्रबन्ध ठीक होगा। चाहे जो चीज़ आपकी आवश्यक आपको चाहिए, वो मिलेगी और ठीक तौर से मिलने का उसका यत्न होगा। तो ये सहकारी संघ अब हम चाहते हैं कि सब जगह फैलें और उसके पीछे तो वही है महात्माजी का पुराना सबक एकता का, मिल कर काम करने का और मिल कर किसके लिए काम करेंगे? किसी दूसरे के लिए नहीं, अपने लिए, अपने गाँव के लिए। गाँव को फ़ायदा हो और सब लोग गाँव के रहने वाले किसान और और जो कोई हों, उनको लाभ होय। ऐसा सहकारी संघ हो।

फिर आपकी जो फ़सल होय, जब आप बेचना चाहें कुछ, उसके द्वारा बेचें। बीच के नहीं, जैसे आजकल तो बीच के लोग किते होते हैं? आप परिश्रम करके पैदा करें, उधर आखिर में वो जाय, ग़ल्ला जाये लोगों को मिले खाने के लिए। अब दोनों के बीच में किते लोग हैं जो उससे लाभ उठाते हैं। किसान एक तरफ़ और खाने वाला दूसरी तरफ़। तो ये बीच के लोग काहे को लाभ उठायें? अरे, जिसने परिश्रम किया, उसको पूरा फल मिले और जो आखिर में खाने वाला है, उसको लेने वाला, उसको वाजबी दाम भी मिलें। तो अगर इस तरह से सहकारी संघ हो तो ये बीच की बातें निकल जाती हैं और बहुत कुछ काम जो ऐसे बीच वाले करते थे, सहकारी संघ करता है और सहकारी संघ में जो फ़ायदा होता है उसको वो किसानों में बाँटता है। वो तो उन्हीं का होता है कोई दूसरे का होता नहीं। तो ये बात बहुत अच्छी है। और इसमें बाद में ये होना चाहिए, पहले नहीं, पहले आप इसको कर लें बाद में यह होना चाहिए कि गाँव की खेती भी मिल कर करें। लेकिन उससे काम अच्छा होता है और आजकल बहुत सारी नयी-नयी बातें हैं खेती में, वो आप कर सकते हैं। नहीं तो बेचारा किसान कैसे करे, उसके पास एक एकड़, दो एकड़ की ज़मीन है उसमें वो बहुत कुछ कर नहीं सकता। लेकिन गाँव वाले मिल के करें तो वो कर सकते हैं, अच्छे हल ला सकते हैं। आजकल बड़ी मुश्किल है। आपके हल होते हैं, पाँच-छै इंच मुश्किल से खोदते हैं ज़मीन को। अब ये ज़्यादा खूँड़ा, हल लाओ, ज़्यादा खोदे। तो वो बैल की जोड़ी उसको खेंच नहीं सकते, उनमें शक्ति नहीं। कमज़ोर हो गये हैं। तो ये पेंच है न? अब एक बेचारा किसान इन बातों को कैसे हल करे? लेकिन मिल के करे तो हो सकता है।

अब आपका अगर हल ज़रा अच्छा हो। मैं ये नहीं कह रहा हूँ वो बड़ी मशीन हो, ट्रैक्टर हो, वो अलग चीज़ है। लेकिन हल ज़रा अच्छा हो, ज़रा गहरा खोदे तो ज़ाहिर है, आपकी फ़सल अच्छी होगी। अच्छा निकलेगा, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। आप जानते हैं। और-और भी बातें हैं।

तो इसलिए अब इस बात पे पूरा ध्यान देना है कि ये सहकारी संघ गाँव-गाँव में हो जाय। फिर दस-बारह-पन्द्रह गाँव लें। तो और-और गाँव जब कहता हूँ तो उसके माने ये हैं, कोई बहुत छोटा गाँव हो तो दो-चार गाँव मिल जायें। एक पुरवा²¹ हो, कुछ हो, उसका अलग तो ठीक न हो, लेकिन ये हम नहीं चाहते कि बहुत अधिक बड़ा ये सहकारी संघ हो, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि वहाँ के लोग एक-दूसरे को पहचानें, जानें। नहीं [तो] बहुत बड़ा हो जाता है तो फिर बाहर के लोग आ जाते हैं तो पता नहीं चलता, कौन हैं वो।

तो इस तरह से हर गाँव में हो यह हर आस-पास के दो-तीन गाँव मिल के हों, छोटे हों तो...और हल्के ऊपर-ऊपर दस-बारह सहकारी संघ को जमा करके एक-एक कमेटी बनाये ऊपर, समझो एक बड़ी पंचायत हो सहकारी संघ की, जो इन दस-बारह की निगरानी करे, देखे और उसका सम्बन्ध लेन-देन का बड़ी कमेटियों से हो, ऊपर जो हैं।

तो यह सब आपको मैं समझा तो नहीं थोड़ी देर में सकता, लेकिन ये सारा संघ बने जो कि किसानों के हाथ में हो, अफ़सरों का उसमें दखल बहुत कम हो, खाली उता दखल अफ़सरों का होगा आपको समझाने का, आपको सहायता करने का और क्योंकि सहकारी संघ का बनाना ज़रा कठिन है, क्योंकि उसको सिखाना होता है न? तो हम सिखाने का प्रबन्ध करेंगे अपने अफ़सरों का और पंचों का, सरपंचों का, वो होने वाला है। तो इसको आप ध्यान दें और समझें। इसके बारे में पर्चे निकलेंगे, छोटी-छोटी पुस्तकें निकलेंगी कि आप, गाँव में पंच-सरपंच उसको पढ़ें, समझें क्योंकि मज़बूती से होना चाहिए खाली दिखाने के लिए नहीं।

क्यों ये सब करें? इसलिए कि इसके करने से आप खेती से बहुत अधिक पैदा कर सकते हैं, कोई सन्देह नहीं है, क्योंकि दुनिया में जहाँ-जहाँ किसानों ने तरक्की की है, वहाँ उन्होंने सहकारी संघ बनाया है, सहकारी, और ये नहीं, अपने आप बनाया है। वो जानते हैं और उन्होंने ख़ूब तरक्की की है। एक तो पैदा करने में तरक्की की है, गेहूँ और गन्ने की या जो कुछ आप करें। दूसरे उनकी शक्ति हो गयी तो उनके गाँव बहुत तरह से बढ़ने लगा, क्योंकि बहुत शक्ति आ जाती है, बहुत काम कर सकते हैं, गाँव में पाठशालाएँ बनें, स्कूल बनें, पंचायतघर बनें, लोगों के रहने के घर भी हल्के-हल्के अच्छे होने लगें। और ये कपड़े-वपड़े आप मोल लेते हैं, वो भी सहकारी संघ द्वारा अगर उसकी बिक्री हो तब भी आपको लाभ होता है; उसके दाम बढ़ते-घटते नहीं, जो बढ़े-घटे, वो आप ही को लाभ हो। तो ये सब बातें उससे होती हैं। तो सारे गाँव का, तुम समझो एक सारा गाँव उठने लगता है। एकदम से तो नहीं, कोई जादू तो नहीं है, लेकिन उसमें शक्ति आने लगती है और उसकी ग़रीबी कम होने लगती है। ये बातें हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ, आप इस पे ज़ोरों से ध्यान दें, क्योंकि ये बड़ी पक्की बात है, क्योंकि हम देश से ग़रीबी निकाला चाहते हैं तो ग़रीबी तो एक ही तरह से निकलेगी कि हम देश में अधिक पैदा करें, पैदा करें हम, ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करें और कारख़ाने बनायें, छोटे कारख़ाने, बड़े कारख़ाने, आपके गाँव में।

मुझे नहीं अच्छा लगता कि आपके लड़के पढ़ते-लिखते हैं, सब गाँव को छोड़ के जा के शहर में नौकरी माँगते हैं। उनको तो चाहिए एक तो सब लोगों को, सब लड़के-लड़कियों को पढ़ने का मौका मिलना चाहिए गाँव में। स्कूल खुलते जाते हैं और खुलेंगे और हमने निश्चय कर लिया है कि जल्द दो-चार बरस के अन्दर कोई बच्चा नहीं रहे देश भर में समझो, सारे भारत में, कोई लड़का-लड़की नहीं रहे सात बरस से लेके छै बरस, छै कि सात क्या है? खैर, सात बरस से ले के पहले तो ग्यारह बरस तक, फिर उसको हम चौदह बरस करेंगे, हर एक को अनिवार्य हो पढ़ना, स्कूल जाना; लड़का हो चाहे लड़की, क्योंकि हम ये समझते हैं कि पढ़ने से फिर वो भी भला हो जायगा और हमारा काम देश का अच्छा चलेगा। पढ़ने के माने ये न समझो कि वहाँ जा के वहाँ इलाहाबाद-लखनऊ में नौकरी करे, बाबू बने, ये नहीं। वो अच्छा किसान होगा, अच्छा गाँव का काम करेगा, अच्छा पंच होगा, अच्छा सरपंच होगा। इस तरह से गाँव बढ़ाना चाहते हैं, शहर में नहीं घसीट लिया चाहते हैं लोगों को कि सुन्दर हो जाय गाँव। आप अपना जीवन वहाँ [जीते] रहें, जैसे रहते हैं मिल-जुल कर और आजकल जो बड़ी चीज़ों की कमी गाँवों में है, वो न रहे। तो इस ढंग से हमें इस काम को करना है।

और हर गाँव में एक मज़बूत पंचायत हो, सहकारी संघ हो और एक स्कूल हो तीन चीज़ें। और लड़के-लड़कियों दोनों के लिए, क्योंकि अब देश जो बढ़ रहा है, उसमें अब हमारी बहनों को, स्त्रियों को भी काम ज़ोरों से करना है। करती हैं काम अब भी, लेकिन और काम भी करने हैं और सबको पढ़ना-लिखना है, मर्द हो, औरत हो। अब ऐसा हो कि कुछ बरस बाद समझो दस बरस बाद, बारह बरस बाद, सोलह बरस बाद, हमारे देश में कोई ऐसा पुरुष और स्त्री न रहे, जिसने पढ़ा-लिखा न हो, तब देश का रूप बदल जायेगा। तब देश आगे बढ़ेगा, तेज़ी से गाँव उठेंगे। गाँवों का काम अच्छा होगा, देहात बढ़ेंगे और सारे देश की जो बड़ी भारी आबादी है वो बढ़ेगी आगे। ये बड़ा काम है, कोई शक नहीं है अगर अब ये नयी हवा फैल गयी।

यों तो आपने सुना होगा, बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी नहरें बन रही हैं। बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों को पकड़ के उनको रोक कर उससे बिजली पैदा होती है और बिजली तारों से ले जायी जाती है और नहरें वहाँ से निकलती हैं। ये तो आपने सुना होगा। ये सब हो रहा है देश में। आप अगर देश में फिरें तो आप खुद देखें जा के। आजकल हमारे देश में बहुत लोग किसान बहुत फिर रहे हैं और लोग भी, लेकिन विशेषकर किसान। ये जो विकास योजना है, ब्लॉक, कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक, उनके लोग भी फिरते हैं और मेरे पास दिल्ली में आया करते हैं कभी दो सौ, कभी चार सौ, कभी पाँच सौ कभी और भी अधिक। वो क्या करते हैं? वो देश भर की यात्रा करते हैं और दिल्ली में आते हैं तो मैं भी उनको मिलता हूँ। तो देश भर को देखना अच्छा है। क्या-क्या हो रहा है देश में? क्या-क्या किसान कर रहे हैं, क्या-क्या और जगह हो रहा है, क्योंकि यात्रा करना तो हमारे देश में पुराना दस्तूर है।

हमारे यहाँ गंगाजी की यात्रा में कितने लोग आते हैं? काशी, प्रयाग, दक्खिन में रामेश्वर, और उत्तर में बद्रीनाथ, अमरनाथ, केदारनाथ, ये हैं; उधर पुरी है, उधर द्वारका है, ये बड़ी-बड़ी, अयोध्या है। ये सब बड़ी यात्रा की जगह हैं। वो तो हैं।

लेकिन अब नयी यात्रा की जगहें बन रही हैं, नये तरह के मन्दिर बन रहे हैं, नये शिवाले, नयी मस्जिदें, जहाँ लोग काम करते हैं अपने देश की भलाई के लिए, देश को बनाते हैं जनता के लिए। वो एक तरह का मन्दिर हो जाता है, याद रखो। जैसे वहाँ से नहरें बड़ी-बड़ी निकलती हैं, बड़े काम से बना है। वहाँ पंजाब में एक जगह बनी है, एक बड़ी भारी सतलज नदी को पकड़ के उसको रोका है और रोक के बड़ी भारी झील बनी है। उसमें से नहरें निकलती हैं और बिजली निकलती है। तो वो भाखड़ा तो सारे दुनिया में प्रसिद्ध हो गयी है जगह, और दो-तीन, दो बरस हुए मैं उसको खोलने गया रहा तो मैंने कहा था कि देखो, अब ये नयी यात्रा की जगह हो गयी है, नया मन्दिर,²² जहाँ लोग आ के देखें, क्योंकि ये चीज़ है जो देश की, देश को जान देती है, पानी देती है सूखी ज़मीन को और हमारे परिश्रम से जनता के बनी है।

तो अब, अब जो यात्रा करने लोग निकले हैं 'भारत दर्शन' कहलाता है वो तो। अपनी पुरानी जगह तो जाते हैं यात्रा की, नयी यात्रा की जगहें भी हो गयीं, जहाँ ये बड़े काम हो रहे हैं, जिससे भारत का उद्धार हो। तो सारे देश में खलबली मची है। ये सब काम होते हैं। उसको तो मैं सब आपसे कह नहीं सकता थोड़ी देर में, लेकिन जो बात मैंने आपसे कही, वो तो विशेष किसानों के बारे में। आजकल ये पंचायत हो, सहकारी संघ हो और विद्यालय हो और उसको पक्की तौर से करें और बच्चों को समझ से काम करना है। और कोई पंच अपने ठीक काम न करे तो आप आवाज़ उठाइए उसके खिलाफ़। ये नहीं कि आप दब जायें। हम नहीं चाहते डरपोक आदमी, पुरुष या स्त्री, खड़े हो के तन के रहें, काम करें, काम करें। और आप डर जाते हैं, घबड़ा जाते हैं। मैंने सुना है, यहाँ कुछ इलाहाबाद के ज़िले के कुछ हिस्सों में एक एकदम से कुछ एक ख़बर फैली कि कोई सुई ले के भोंकने आय रहा है, खून लेंगे। ये क्या मूर्खता की बातें? सब भगदड़ मच गयी। ऐसे तो हमारे कोई दुश्मन आये समझो तो फिर उसको हथियार की ज़रूरत नहीं। दो-चार सुई सामने भेज देय, सब भाग जायें देख के। अरे, हमारे देश को कोई फ़तह कर ले कोई वो ख़बर फैलाय के? ये सोचो तो कैसी मूर्खता है ये। खून लेने सुई से? और खून कौन ले जायेगा कहाँ से ये मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। किसी ने देखा नहीं है आज तक, ख़बर भर है।

अब ये तो बात आप जानते हैं। यों तो टीका लिया जाता है, सब लोग लेते हैं। मालूम नहीं कितनी बार मैंने लिया और अक्सर विदेश में यात्रा करने जाता हूँ तो हमेशा टीका पहले लेना पड़ता है। दूसरा देश घूमने नहीं देता जब तक सर्टिफ़िकेट न दिखायें कि हमने टीका लिया। और एक और। ख़ाली टीका नहीं है। हैज़े का भी एक तरह का टीका होता है, हैज़े का अलग होता है। हैज़े का है ऐसे तीन-चार बीमारियों के तीन-चार टीके लेने पड़ते हैं तब विदेश जा सकते हैं, क्योंकि विदेश वालों को डर है कि कहीं बीमारी अपने देश में न ले [ले आयें]। ये सब मामूली बात है। कोई इसमें घबराने की बात नहीं। लेकिन यहाँ जो ख़बर मशहूर हुई,

22. Nehru first used this term on 8 July 1954 when inaugurating the Bhakra-Nangal Canal System at Nangal. See SWJN/SS/26/p. 143.

वो ठीका नहीं, वो तो खून लेने की। खून कैसे लेंगे, वो हमारी समझ में नहीं आता। बाँध में जा के खून डालें ऐसे विचार तो नहीं होने चाहिए। ये तो हमारी मूर्खता की बात है। हमारी बहनों को समझ लेना चाहिए। आजकल ऐसी बातें ठीक नहीं हैं। कोई ग़लत बात करे तो उसका सामना करो, कौन करेगा वो। अरे, कोई ऐसा आये तो उससे पूछो कौन हो तुम? क्या करते हो? ये तो नहीं कि ख़बर से भाग जायें।²³

तो अब जब स्वराज्य देश में आता है तो स्वराज्य को ये दो-चार आदमी तो चलाते नहीं। स्वराज्य तो सारी जनता चलाती है और जनता को अक़लमन्द होना चाहिए, समझ के काम करना चाहिए। काम करने का ढंग आना चाहिए। इसीलिए ये सहकारी संघ और पंचायत और स्कूल वगैरह सब इसमें रहें। और तब कोई ख़राबी भी कोई करे तो उसको पकड़ सकते हैं और एकाध आदमी की ख़राबी से देश को हानि नहीं होती। और अगर राजा होय जैसे पहले रहते रहे, राजा अच्छा काम करे तो भला है, अगर हानि करे तो देश को डुबोय दे। ये फ़रक़ है। जनता के राज में और एक राजा के राज्य में फ़रक़ ये है। ये जनता के राज्य में अगर कोई एक दो-दस-बीस आदमी ग़लती करें, ख़राबी करें तो उससे बहुत हानि नहीं होती और लोग सँभाल लेते हैं। राजा के राज्य में ख़राबी होती है कि राजा...उसी के हाथ सब अधिकार होता है...वो ख़राबी करे तो मुल्क चौपट हो जाता है इसलिए वो राज्य अच्छा नहीं हैं, ख़ैर।

अब मुझे आगे जाना है अपनी यात्रा में और आप मण्डलों की तरफ़ से मुझे मान-पत्र मिले, उसके लिए धन्यवाद। और कुछ, और कुछ पैसे के हार भी मिले, आपने देखा। मालूम नहीं, हार क्यों बनाते हैं, नोट फट जाते हैं उसमें। ख़ैर, वो मिले हैं मुझे। वो जो इलाहाबाद में अस्पताल है, कमला नेहरू स्मारक अस्पताल,²⁴ उसके लिए। वो तो बहुत अच्छा अस्पताल है और सारे ज़िले के लिए है और मैं आशा करता हूँ वो स्त्रियों के लिए है यदि आप लोगों को भी कभी आवश्यकता हो तो वहाँ जायें। वहाँ पे आपको ख़र्चा नहीं देना पड़ेगा। आपका आदर होगा और देख-भाल होगी। तो जो मण्डलों ने दिये हैं ये, उनको धन्यवाद। लेकिन हमारे काँग्रेस मण्डलों के ऊपर एक ये करना और और करना है। और ये जो विकास योजना है, ब्लॉक वगैरह है, उसमें भी काम करना है। जय हिन्द!

अब, बैठो भाई, बैठो ज़रा। ज़रा दो मिनट बैठिए आप। अब आपके नाम पढ़े जायेंगे कि जो यहाँ के किसानों ने अपनी अपनी ज़मीन पे ख़ूब पैदा किया है जिनको इनाम मिले हैं, आपको मालूम है कि कैसे काम हो सकता है, अगर कोई करे।

(सुनाना—इनाम पाने वाले व्यक्तियों के नाम तथा उत्पादन मात्रा।)

अब आप सुनिए, किसी ने चालीस किसी ने पचास मन एक एकड़ में पैदा किया और

23. See item 1, p. 2, fn 2.

24. This hospital was started by Kamala Nehru as a medical centre for those who were injured in the nationalist agitation and denied treatment at hospitals. See Indira Gandhi, *Anand Bhawan Memories and Other Personal Essays* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust, 1989) pp. 5-6.

आम तौर से औसत है दस-ग्यारह मन की, आठ-नौ मन की। कहाँ आठ मन, कहाँ अड़तालीस मन, पंचगुना। तो अगर हमारे ज़िले में और भारत में आठ-दस मन के बजाय बीस मन की औसत हो जाये तो हमारा देश कहीं-का-कहीं हो जाता है। किसान कित्ते बढ़ जाते हैं। अच्छा, अब तो मैं उनसे मिलता हूँ, लेकिन आप मेरे साथ तीन बार ज़रा जय हिन्द तो कहें।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!!!

[Translation begins:

Brothers and sisters,

You heard just now that I have brought some new weapon with me. This is not quite right. I have not brought anything new with me. However, sometimes it is useful to pay attention to the old things. When we were fighting with the British, Mahatma Gandhi had discovered a new weapon of non-cooperation, to weaken their grip. You are aware that Mahatma Gandhi believed fully in non-violence. He could not tolerate violence in any form. So he led us in the freedom struggle also in peace and non-violence. These are the unforgettable lessons that he has taught us. He organised the entire country into one great mass of force with people from the North, South, East from the Himalayas to Rameshwaram, irrespective of their caste, religion and province. Everyone who lives in India is a citizen of the country. He taught us to fight the British Government peacefully, with the weapons of non-cooperation and satyagraha. We were successful and freedom came to us, not as a gift, but because of the people's power, their organisation, unity and cooperation.

So we must always remember that lesson. But we must now put it to a different use because there is no longer a foreign power ruling the country. Now it is the people who hold the reins of power. Elections are held periodically in which the people vote and elect representatives to their panchayats, Vidhan Sabhas and Lok Sabha, etc. It is the representatives of the people who form the government at the centre and the states. These governments are also formed only for a limited period till the next elections. So, this is the arrangement that has been made to give the reins of power into the hands of the people. Now, it is a different matter if there are some defects in the system. They can be rectified, but the important thing is that the people hold the reins of power in their hands.

Therefore, there is no question of fighting a foreign government. But there are innumerable problems before us in the country. We have to eradicate poverty which is our greatest enemy. This is a far more difficult task than the task of fighting the British Government, because it will require far greater effort. It is only by hard work that we can eradicate poverty. So, it requires not momentary courage but sustained effort. So, if we abide by what Mahatma Gandhi taught

us, the most important things to remember are unity and a strong organisation, respect and tolerance for all religions and castes, and equal rights to everyone. These are the various things which contribute towards strength. We must reverse the pattern of non-cooperation that we followed against the British Government and cooperate with one another and learn to work in unity and harmony because that will yield better results.

What does cooperation mean? It implies several things. There must be a panchayat in every village. Just now when I was coming here, an old Congress worker in a village told me that in the panchayats today, even justice has a price. This is very bad and shameful. It will only lead to the breaking up of the panchayats. There will be no respect left for it and ultimately it will do harm to the whole country. Panchayats are a valuable part of a village organisation. They should be respected and the members of the panchayats must give their decisions impartially and honestly. If they take sides they will no longer be deemed to have the right to be in the panchayats. It is a crime to barter away justice. It should be severely punished whether it is the sarpanch or an official who is the culprit. There is no greater crime than to be swayed in one's judgement by bribery. After all, how can people have faith in the panchayats if such things happen? This is very wrong and the people must oppose it strongly wherever such things happen. They must not give in but oppose in full measure such wrong-doings and the people who are guilty must be made aware of the people's displeasure. After all, the panch and sarpanch are chosen by the people and they must realise that any wrong move on their part will lead to their being removed at the next elections.

So, panchayat is the first foundation of democracy. The village panchayat must be very strong because the edifice of democracy rests upon it. The foundations of a house have to be strong. Therefore, panchayats must be strong organisations. As you know, they enjoy some rights at the moment. We want to give wider powers and greater autonomy to them. It is true that the people in the panchayats may occasionally fight with one another and try to ruin the work that is being done. That has to be remedied. But I am not prepared to believe that we cannot repose our confidence in the people. That is wrong. We must have confidence in them for without that no work can get done. So we want to give the panchayats greater powers, financial powers to levy taxes and to spend money on developmental activities like building roads, schools, hospitals and other things. Just now as I was coming here, I received a complaint that there are very few pucca roads in Manjhanpur tehsil. It is true that more roads ought to be built. The government officials in charge must take the matter in hand. But it will be much better if the panchayats were to be given greater powers and money so that they may take up these things themselves, partly by

shramdan, partly with the funds at their disposal.

Now the second thing that is absolutely essential for every village is a cooperative society. As I mentioned earlier, just as we did followed non-cooperation during the British regime, we must now cooperate with the government. What are cooperative societies? You must have heard of the cooperative societies which existed under the British also and used to give loans to the farmers. It was a good thing but the whole thing was run by officials and that is not right. The farmers did not have ready access to them. We want that the cooperative societies which are formed now must take up various tasks in the villages, economic and financial tasks, tasks relating to agriculture, buying of good seeds, fertilizers and ploughs, etc., giving loans and what not. They should undertake to sell the produce too. This method will remove most of the burden from your shoulders. The farmer does not have to waste his time going here and there. Individual, small farmers do not have the capacity or the strength to do very much. But if they come together in a cooperative society which represents their interests, their task becomes easier. Therefore, we want that cooperative societies should be formed everywhere. Mahatma Gandhi's old lesson of unity and cooperation is very essential. It is the villagers and the farmers who will benefit by this.

By selling through the cooperative societies, the middlemen will be eliminated. Nowadays they take away most of the profits. It is the farmer and the consumer on two ends of the scale who should stand to gain. The farmer should reap the full benefit of his labour and the consumer must get the goods at a reasonable price. If there are cooperative societies, the middlemen will have no role to play and the profits will go to the farmers. Later on, joint cultivation can be thought of. On his own the small farmer with an acre or two of land cannot do very much. But if the land is jointly cultivated, new techniques of agriculture and modern methods can be adopted. For instance, the ploughs that are being used today barely scratch the surface of the earth. Better ploughs are needed. The bulls that are used for farming are weak and emaciated and cannot pull a bigger plough. This is the dilemma that a small farmer faces. But if they work together, the work will be done easily.

I do not say that big machines or tractors should be used. But if better ploughs are used the soil can be ploughed deeper and obviously the crops will be better. There is no doubt about that. Therefore, full attention should be paid to the village cooperative societies.

There should be one for each village and bigger ones consisting of ten or fifteen villages can be formed above the small ones. We do not want very large cooperative societies because we want that the members should know one another. In bigger societies the members are like strangers to one another. There

can be a bigger cooperative to supervise the activities of the small ones.

I cannot explain the entire process to you. But the cooperatives should be run by the farmers themselves and official interference should be minimum except in the role of advisers and guides. It is not an easy task to form cooperative societies because training is very essential. We are making arrangements. You must try to understand all this. Small pamphlets will be published which will explain everything. The village panch must read and understand them.

It is necessary to form cooperative societies because there is no doubt that agricultural production can be increased enormously. Wherever farmers have made progress, it is through cooperative societies. They have been able to increase agricultural production and the villages have become extremely progressive because cooperatives add greatly to the strength of the farmers. Gradually schools, hospitals, roads, houses, etc., can come up. Cloth can be bought at fixed prices through the cooperatives. So, as you can imagine, the rural areas will start progressing. There is no magic about all this. With growing strength, poverty is slowly eradicated. I want you to pay attention to this because if we want to eradicate poverty as we do, the only way to do it is by increasing production by every possible means, from agriculture, industries, etc.

I do not like the idea of educated boys leaving their villages to go to cities in search of jobs. They must stay and help to improve the condition of their villages. First of all, every single boy and girl in the village must get an opportunity to be educated. New schools are being opened and we have resolved that within the next three, four years, there should be no child in the country between the ages of seven and eleven who does not go to school. Later it will be extended to fourteen years and schooling will be compulsory for every boy and girl. Please do not think that after being educated, everyone must go to Allahabad or Lucknow and get a white collar job. The educated will make better panch and sarpanch and farmer. This is how the villages will gradually improve. We want to improve the condition in the villages, not drag everyone to the cities. We want the standard of living to improve in the villages and to provide all facilities for them.

There should be a strong panchayat, a cooperative society and a good school in every village for boys as well as girls because we need both men and women today in India to participate in the tasks before us. I know that our women work very hard but they must now learn to participate in other tasks. We want that within the next ten-fifteen years, there should be no man or woman in the country who is illiterate. Only then can India advance really fast and the condition in the rural areas improve. There is no doubt that it is a gigantic task to uplift such a large population. But a new atmosphere is becoming evident.

You must have heard about the big river valley schemes and industries

which are coming up. Electricity will be produced by building dams and canals will provide electricity. All these things are being done in the country and you can tour and see them as our farmers and others are doing in large numbers. Farmers come to me from the community blocks and national extension schemes in large numbers. It is a good thing for people to be aware of what is happening in the country. Travelling has been an ancient tradition in this country. People go to bathe in the Ganges or go on a pilgrimage to Kashi, Prayag, Rameshwaram in the South, and Badrinath, Amarnath, Kedarnath, Puri, Dwaraka, Ayodhya and other places. But now there are new centres of pilgrimages, new temples, mosques and gurdwaras, the places where a new India is taking shape. Big river valley schemes are being completed. In the Punjab, a huge dam has been built on the Sutlej and canals are being dug and electricity is produced. In fact, Bhakra-Nangal has become famous all over the world. When I went to inaugurate it two-three years ago, I had said that new centres of pilgrimage, new temples,²⁵ are coming up in the country and that people should now visit them. They have been made by the effort of the people and are giving new life to them.

So nowadays people who go on Bharat Darshan, visit the old as well as the new places of pilgrimage where big projects are being taken up. There is a great deal of activity in the country. I cannot go into the details just now. But the things that I mentioned especially for the farmers must be done. There must be a panchayat, cooperative society and a school in every village. If the members of the panchayat do not discharge their duties, well, you must raise your voices against them. You must not be cowed down by them. We want not cowards but strong men and women who can work hard. I have heard that people here panic very easily. Recently I believe there was a rumour in some parts of Allahabad that somebody was going round with a needle to take blood or something. What is all this foolishness? There was a stampede. If an enemy were to attack us, he will need no weapon at all. Even if he brandishes a couple of needles, everyone will run away. Just imagine the extent of people's foolishness. I simply cannot understand all this. Nobody has any proof. It is all mere rumours.

As you know, there are teams going about vaccinating people. I have been vaccinated any number of times, especially when I go abroad. No country will allow anyone to enter unless a certificate is produced. Everyone has to be vaccinated for small-pox and inoculated against cholera and some other diseases. People in the West are very scared of all these diseases. So, this is quite an ordinary thing. There is no cause for panic. But I cannot understand why people should have thought that their blood was going to be taken. It is extremely

25. See fn 22 in this section.

foolish, particularly in this day and age. How can anything be done against your wishes? You can always ask and find out more. What is the sense in running away?²⁶

A free country cannot be run by a handful of people. All the people have to participate in this task and therefore, they must be intelligent and wise and know how to work. The panchayat, cooperative society and school, etc., are for this purpose. All defaulters can be caught and punished and the wrong-doing of one or two cannot really do much harm to the nation. It is not as it was in the old days when a single king could do good to the country or ruin it. This is the difference between monarchy and peoples' rule. In a democracy even if a few go astray, the situation can be saved. In a monarchy all power is vested in the hands of the king and if he does not discharge his responsibilities, well, the country goes to the dogs. Therefore, monarchy is not desirable.

Now, I shall have to be on my way. I thank you for the manpatra. You must have seen the garlands of notes too. I do not understand why it is done. The notes get torn. Anyhow, this money has been given as donation for the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad.²⁷ It is a very good hospital which serves the whole district, especially the women, at no great expense. The patients are very well looked after. So I thank the mandals for this. But they must participate more fully in the tasks of development in the country, like the community blocks, national extension schemes, etc.

Now please sit down for a minute. The names of the farmers who have won prizes for increasing the yield from land will be read out. You can see for yourself how it can be done if an effort is made.

[Names of the prize winners and the quantities produced by them are read out].

Now, you have just heard that some farmers have managed to produce forty to fifty maunds an acre whereas the average yield per acre is ten to eleven maunds or less. You can see the vast difference. If the average yield increases even to twenty maunds per acre all over the country, we will be able to make rapid strides and the farmers will become extremely advanced. All right, I shall now meet the prize-winners. But please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

26. See fn 23 in this section.

27. See fn 24 in this section.

4. At Bharwari: Public Meeting²⁸

भाइयो और बहनो और बच्चो,

अभी आप सुन रहे थे कि यहाँ इस तहसील में यह सहकारिता का क्या-क्या काम हुआ, पाँच-सात बरस से और विशेषकर दो बरस से। मंगलाप्रसाद तिवारी जी, जिनको मैंने सुना, इनको लोग कहा करते हैं जर्मन मास्टर। काहे को कहते हैं, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आया, लेकिन खैर, उन्होंने सहकारिता का काम यहाँ अच्छा किया है। यहाँ तो उसकी एक समझो, जड़ पड़ गयी है, बुनियाद। उन्होंने कहा कि वो कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि ये सहकारिता समितियों के द्वारा मिल-जुल कर खेती करवायें। ये तो ठीक है। यह हमारे सामने ध्येय रखना चाहिए, लेकिन एक पहले सब में अधिक ज़ोर देना है सहकारिता को, जिसको सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स कहते हैं, उसको सब पक्का जमा लें, खूब गाँव-गाँव में फैले।

फिर उसके बाद का क़दम दूसरा है मिल-जुल कर खेती करना, क्योंकि एक दफ़े पहला क़दम पक्का हो जाता है तब दूसरे क़दम अच्छे उठते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि यहाँ कोई पन्द्रह गाँवों में उन्होंने यह सहकारिता संघ बनाये हैं। अब यहाँ का हाल मैं ठीक जानता नहीं। पन्द्रह गाँवों में कितने लोग रहें, कित्ता फैलाव हो, लेकिन आम तौर से हम सलाह ये देते हैं कि एक गाँव का ऐसा संघ हो सहकारिता का, एक गाँव का ही, अगर छोटे गाँव हों, पूरे वग़ैरह तो दो-तीन मिल जायें, लेकिन आम तौर से एक अच्छे गाँव का हो। और उसके ऊपर ऐसे दस-बारह-पन्द्रह गाँव मिल कर एक दूसरा हो, जो उसका कुछ ज़रा इन्तज़ाम करे, निगरानी करे, सहायता करे। तो उसमें दोनों बातें आ जाती हैं। छोटे संघ को भी लाभ आ जाता है और बड़े को शक्ति आ जाती है। बड़े संघ का लाभ क्या है? वो यह कि गाँव का एक संघ हो सहकारिता का तो एक-दूसरे को लोग जानते हैं, पहचानते हैं, वो एक बड़ा परिवार-सा होता है और उनके लिए मिल कर काम करना ज़रा आसान होता है, सरल होता है। नहीं तो बहुत गड़बड़ हो जाता है और फिर वो पहचानते नहीं एक-दूसरे को और बाहर के लोग आ के गड़बड़ कर सकते हैं। इसलिए हम आम तौर से पसन्द करते हैं कि एक-एक गाँव का हो।

अब, मैंने शुरू ही में आपके सामने ये सहकारिता की बात रखी, इसलिए कि मंगलाप्रसाद जी ने उसका अभी चर्चा किया और वो बड़ी आवश्यक है। यों तो बहुत सारी बातें देश में हो रही हैं और आपको बताने को जी चाहता है, क्योंकि आपको समझना चाहिए कि हमारे देश में क्या-क्या हो रहा है? क्यों हो रहा है? क्यों हम काम करें? उसका लाभ क्या होगा? हानि क्या होगी? सब बातें आपको समझनी हैं, क्योंकि जब तक सारी जनता इन बातों को नहीं समझे, वो इस काम को पक्की तौर से नहीं कर सकती। और जो काम देश में हमने उठाये हैं, वो इत्ते बड़े हैं कि सरकारी ढंग से नहीं हो सकते ख़ाली। सरकारी अफ़सर नहीं कर सकते। सरकारी अफ़सर मदद कर सकते हैं, सहायता दे सकते हैं, इन्तज़ाम कर सकते हैं, ये बड़े काम

सारी जनता को करने हैं। सबमें अच्छी बात तो ये हो कि सारी जनता और उसका जो संगठन हो, वो और सरकारी अफसर और सरकार सब मिल कर करें तो पूरा लाभ हो जाय उसमें।

लेकिन मैं सरकारी अफसर आपसे कहता हूँ तो आप ये सोचें और समझें कि जो सरकारी अफसर का ढंग रहा, पहले अंग्रेजी ज़माने में, अब वो ढंग बदल गया और भी अधिक बदलता जायेगा। एक तरह से उनकी अफसर कहना भी बहुत ठीक नहीं है। एक उनको, अपना उनको एक साथी समझिए, जो चुने जाते हैं, काम सीखते हैं, सीखे हुए लोग होते हैं और जो अच्छा प्रबन्ध कर सकें या इन्तज़ाम कर सकें, उनको हम चुन के बनाते हैं। कैसे चुने जाते हैं सरकारी अफसर? आपको मालूम है उनका बड़ा मुश्किल इम्तहान होता है। बड़ा कठिन इम्तहान है। जो उसमें सफल होते हैं, फिर उनको कई बरस तक और सिखाया जाता है कि ऐसा काम करो तब वो काम शुरू करते हैं। पहले नीचे दर्जे से। जब काम अच्छा करते हैं, तजुर्वा होता है, तब हल्के-हल्के और बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी उनकी हो जाती है जो सिखाये हुए होते हैं। तो काम अच्छा करें, क्योंकि बरसों सीखा उन्होंने, लेकिन और कोई अफसरी की बात उनमें नहीं होनी चाहिए। वो एक साथी हैं। हम सब साथी हैं। एक बड़े काम में लगे हैं। और वो बड़ा काम है सारे देश की उन्नति करना, सारे देश की जनता, जो करोड़ों लोग हैं, उनको उठाना। लेकिन सच पूछो, कोई आपको उठाय नहीं²⁹ सकता। आप खुद स्वयं उठ सकते हैं। दूसरे कौन उठाय आ के। और उठाय भी दे और अगर आपकी टाँग, हाथ, पैर ठीक नहीं हैं तो यहाँ उठाने वाला हट जाय तो आप फिर गिर जायँ। इस तरह से कोई देश नहीं उठते, जनता नहीं उठती। जनता उठती है अपने बल से, अपनी शक्ति से, अपने परिश्रम से। हाँ, और लोगों की सहायता उन्हें शुरू में मिले, ठीक है, मिलनी चाहिए, मिलेगी वो। लेकिन ये निश्चय कर लेना है कि बड़े काम आपके ही परिश्रम से होंगे, मेहनत से।

और बड़े काम सारे भारत को देखो तो ये है कि हर तरह का काम हमारे यहाँ बढ़े। रोज़गार सबों को मिले। ज़मीन से, कारखाने से, पैदावार, उत्पादन बढ़े; क्योंकि वो जित्ता बढ़ेगा, उता देश में धन होगा...धन तो वही होता है जो पैदा होता है और थोड़े ही कोई जमा किया हुआ धन होता है...तो दो तरह का विशेषकर हमारे यहाँ धन बढ़ना चाहिए। एक तो ज़मीन से और दूसरा कारखानों से। और जब मैं कारखानों का कहता हूँ तो मेरा मतलब ये बड़े कारखाने हैं, बीच के हैं, छोटे हैं और ग्रामोद्योग हैं—वो सब कारखानों में हैं, क्योंकि हर तरह के काम से देश चलता है। सबमें आवश्यक तो खाने की चीज़ें हैं। खाने की चीज़ों के लिए खेती होती है और खेती खाने के अलावा भी होती है। आप लोग कपास बोयें। कपास बोयें तो कपास से क्या बनता है? कपास से कपड़ा बनता है। वो भी खेती से निकला न? ज़मीन से कपास निकला और फिर उसको काता, बुना या तो चरखे पर या बड़े कारखानों में, जो भी कुछ हो, क्योंकि कपास से निकला यानी जो भी ज़मीन से निकला। और भी कितनी ऐसी चीज़ें हैं। फ़र्ज़ करो गन्ना, ईख लगायें। ईख का आप गुड़ बना सकते हैं। अच्छा है। या ईख को आप

29. Local usage.

देते हैं कारखाने में उसकी चीनी बनती है, शक्कर बनती है। तो ये सब बहुत सारी चीजें घूम-घाम के ज़मीन से निकलती हैं। तो ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करना, ये आवश्यक हो जाता है। दूसरे ढंग का, कारखाने वगैरह का, दोनों को बढ़ाना है हमें देश में।

अब इसे बड़े देश में, जहाँ चालीस करोड़ लोग रहते हैं, ये बहुत बड़ा काम है, यह, सब लोगों को लगाना। और खासकर कई सौ बरस से जब बाहर का राज्य रहा, अंग्रेज़ों का, औरों का तो उसमें बहुत सारे हमारे कारोबार जो पहले रहे वो दब गये रहे। उनको जगाना। दूसरे हमारे लोग, आप लोग कुछ...आप लोग से मेरा मतलब आम तौर से हमको ज़मीन पर काम करने वाले किसान...वो भी कई सौ बरस से दब-दब के ज़रा...उनकी भी शक्ति धीमी पड़ गयी तो उसको भी बढ़ाना है। तीसरे ये कि आजकल कोई काम अच्छी तरह से करे तो उसको भी पढ़ा-लिखा होना चाहिए। पढ़ा-लिखा इसलिए नहीं कि वो बाबू बन के कहीं जाय नौकरी करे, वो नहीं। लेकिन इसलिए [कि] पढ़े-लिखे से आप अपना काम किसानों का अच्छा करेंगे। आपको बहुत नयी बातें मालूम होंगी और दुनिया के किसान बहुत बढ़ गये हैं। कैसे? दो-तीन बातों से। एक तो वहाँ पढ़ाई सबको करनी पड़ती है, अनिवार्य है। उससे कोई बच नहीं सकता है। और ज़बरदस्ती हर बच्चे को स्कूल जाना पड़ता है। ठीक बात है। लड़का, लड़की—सब जाते हैं। फिर उसके बाद किसान [किसानी] करें, जो कुछ करें, करें। उससे वो जो काम करते हैं, चाहे ज़मीन पे, चाहे कारखाने में, वो काम ज़रा पहले से अच्छा करते हैं। इसी से देश बढ़े हैं अंग्रेज़ों के, और जगह के।

दूसरी बात ये है और खासकर किसानों को कि वहाँ ये बहुत सहकारिता होती है, कोऑपरेटिव्स होते हैं, मिल कर काम करते हैं और इससे उनको बड़ा लाभ हुआ और बड़ी तरक्की हुई। और उसमें कोई सरकारी बात नहीं है, वो आपस में मिल कर करते हैं। और उसमें भी जो उन्होंने पढ़ा-लिखा होता, उसमें उनकी आसानी हो जाती है, क्योंकि ये सहकारी काम करना अच्छा है, लेकिन उसमें सीखे हुए आदमी कर सकते हैं। इसलिए इसका भी हम इन्तज़ाम कर रहे हैं कि लोगों को सिखाया जाय। एक तो हम अपने अफ़सरों को सिखायें अच्छी तरह से; दूसरे और लोग सीखें बीच के, तीसरे हमारे पंच-सरपंच सीखें कि हर गाँव में दो-चार आदमी तो हों अच्छे सीखे हुए और बढ़ते जायें। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि सहकारिता का काम इत्ता आवश्यक है और हर काम में, हर बात में खाली ज़मीन पर नहीं, हमारे स्कूलों में सब बच्चों को थोड़ा-थोड़ा सिखाना चाहिए और बाद में कॉलेज में भी, क्योंकि दुनिया के सब काम चाहे ज़मीन के हों, चाहे कारखाने के हों, चाहे कोई हों, उसके पीछे सहकारिता का ढंग हो तो अच्छा है। क्या माने सहकारिता के, क्या है? सहयोग से मिल कर काम करना। मिल के काम करने से ताक़त अधिक होती है और ताक़त के अलावा मिल कर काम करने से प्रेम से सभी को लाभ होता है और इस ढंग से काम करें कि एक-दूसरे से लड़ाई लड़ के एक-दूसरे को ढकेल के, अलग करके, या एक-दूसरे के कन्धे पर सवार हो के, छाती पर बैठ कर, तब किसी की जीत हो किसी की हार हो, लेकिन देश की अच्छी जीत नहीं होती।

तो अब हमारे सामने ये बड़े काम हैं सारे देश को जैसे पहले स्वराज्य के लिए उठाया रहा,

सारे देश में हवा फैली रही। महात्मा गाँधी हमारे बड़े नेता थे और हमने शान्ति से काम किया, संगठन से काम किया, एकता से काम किया सब धर्म वाले, सब जाति वालों ने मिल कर, और स्वराज्य हमें मिला। तो कोई अंग्रेजों ने मुफ्त में हमको दे नहीं गये [दिया नहीं]। जब देश ने काफ़ी एकता से अपनी शक्ति दिखायी, काफ़ी बलिदान किया, त्याग किया, तब स्वराज्य मिला, क्योंकि अंग्रेज़ी राज्य यहाँ चल नहीं सकता रहा। उस समय वो तो बात हुई। तो अब स्वराज्य के बाद ये काम आ गया कि सारे देश को उठायें। बहुत सारे किसान घूमा करते हैं। एक रेलगाड़ी में चार सौ-पाँच सौ आदमी बैठ गये, भारत दर्शन कहलाता है और वो सारे भारत में घूमते हैं। कुछ तो जा के यात्राएँ करते हैं, पुरानी यात्रा की जगह, लेकिन अब नयी यात्राओं की जगह बनी है। पुरानी यात्राओं को तो आप जानते हैं—प्रयाग है, काशी है, हरिद्वार है, कौन-कौन हैं। नयी यात्रा की जगह नये ढंग से है। वहाँ वो जगह है जहाँ ये देश के बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं। बड़ी-बड़ी नहरें बन रही हैं, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं कि आप देखें कि क्या-क्या काम देश में हो रहा है जनता के लिए। उसको...वो नयी यात्रा की जगहें हो गयीं आप समझो। इस तरह से हमारे देश में एक नये मन्दिर बन रहे हैं, नये शिवाले, नयी मस्जिद। जहाँ-जहाँ देश के भले का काम हो रहा है जिससे सारे देश का भला हो, कुछ फ़ायदा हो, लाभ पहुँचे। तो वो देखने लोग जाते हैं। ठीक बात है उसमें। और बड़ी मुश्किल से बनता है। पाँच-छै-सात-आठ बरस में बनता है, क्योंकि बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों को रोकना, नदी को रोक कर बड़ी झील बनायें, पानी जमा करें, उससे नहरें निकालें और पानी के वेग से बिजली पैदा करें और बिजली से कारखाने चलायें, इसमें समय लगता है। लेकिन जब एक दफ़े हो जाता है तब सौ, दो सौ, तीन सौ बरस तक चले वो। ये बातें आजकल हो रही हैं। इसमें बड़ा खर्चा होता है। और उससे फ़ायदा नहीं होता आजकल। लाभ तो तब होय³⁰ जब काम पूरा हो जाये। जैसे तुम पुल बनाओ गंगाजी पर, तब जब तक पुल नहीं बने तो खर्चा ही खर्चा है। जब पुल बन जाता है तो काम होता है, लोग जाते हैं। बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं, बड़े-बड़े रेल बनें, रेल के इंजन बनें और कारखाने बने हैं, कारखाने बने हैं जहाँ वो खाद बनती है, आपके पास आती होगी वो, फ़र्टिलाइज़र, सिन्दरी की। और सिन्दरी ऐसे चार-पाँच-छै और बड़े बन रहे हैं जो सब जगह पहुँच सके। तो ऐसे किस्ती बातें हो रही हैं देश में चारों तरफ़।

और आपने देखा होगा नये-नये स्कूल खुलते हैं, नये-नये कॉलेज खुलते हैं। मैं तो चाहता हूँ और भी अधिक खुलें। जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा, दो-चार बरस के अन्दर हम चाहते हैं कि भारत भर में कोई बच्चा ऐसा न हो जो स्कूल नहीं जाता हो। ये आवश्यक हो जाये उनको, क्योंकि हमें बड़ी फ़ि़क़्र है ख़ासकर हमारे बच्चों की, क्योंकि नये बच्चे पढ़े-लिखे ज़रा निकलें तो एक नया भारत हो जायेगा, नया किसान हो जायेगा पढ़-लिख के। मैं आपसे फिर कहता हूँ, मेरा मतलब ये नहीं है कि नौकरी लें जा के शहरों में। लेकिन अपने गाँव में रह के गाँव की तरक्क़ी करें। और गाँव में पचास बातें करें। खेती अच्छी करें। आजकल जो नयी बातें सीख आयें,

30. Local usage.

अच्छे बीज लायें, अच्छी खाद लायें और गाँव में छोटे-छोटे कारखाने शुरू करें, ग्रामोद्योग करें। इन सब बातों से गाँव वालों की हैसियत बढ़ेगी। गाँव वाले ऐसे आजकल की तरह से एक उजाड़-से नहीं रहेंगे, किसी क़दर ख़ुशहाल हो जायेंगे, कुछ शहर की बातें वहाँ आ जायेंगी। इस तरह से बढ़ेगा। तो ये बड़ी बातें हैं, बड़े काम हैं।

लेकिन इसके पीछे यही है कि हम ज़मीन कर सकते हैं जब हमारे देश में काफ़ी धन हो करने के लिए। काफ़ी धन से मतलब मेरा सोना-चाँदी रुपया-पैसा नहीं है, धन से मेरा मतलब हमारा देश काफ़ी पैदा करे। खेती से पैदा करे, कारखाने से करे, क्योंकि जो पैदा करता है, व्यापार में वो धन हो जाता है जा के। धन कोई खाता-पीता तो नहीं है। इसलिए बहुत आवश्यक हो गया है, बहुत ज़रूरी, कि ज़मीन से हमारी पैदावार बढ़े, ख़ूब बढ़े। आजकल जो आपकी पैदावार होती है यहाँ इलाहाबाद ज़िले की मैंने सुना, वो नौ, दस मन औसत है गेहूँ की एक एकड़ में। नौ, दस मन कुल है, लेकिन इसी इलाहाबाद ज़िले में मैं कल से देख रहा हूँ कि लोगों ने कहा आ के हमने इनाम लिये, यहाँ भी हुआ होगा। किसी किसान ने अभी पचास मन एक एकड़ में गेहूँ पैदा किया, किसी ने अड़तालीस मन, किसी ने बयालीस मन पैदा, चालीस मन से ऊपर कित्ते लोगों ने पैदा किया और इसी तरह से धन भी अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा किया। उनको इनाम मिला। जब एक मामूली किसान चालीस-पचास मन पैदा कर सकता है तो और लोग काहे को न करें। उनका लाभ है। किसी और के लिए तो नहीं करते, किसी ज़मींदार के लिए। अपना उनका फ़ायदा होगा, क्यों न करें। उनका लाभ है, देश का लाभ है, तरक्की होती है। और ये हाय-हाय होती है, कभी-कभी फ़सल ख़राब हो गयी, ये, वो। वो भी न हो। हम तो चाहते हैं कि कम-से-कम जो इस वक़्त पैदा होता है, उसका दुगुना हम कर देंगे देश में। और दूना कौन-सी बात है। दस मन की औसत हम बीस मन कर दें। अगर हम इसको कर देते हैं तब एक तो ख़ैर, हमें खाने-पीने की फ़िकर नहीं होती देश भर में। सबके लिए काफ़ी होता है।

और याद रखो हमारी आबादी बढ़ती जाती है हर साल, आपको मालूम है, हर साल साठ-सत्तर लाख आदमी और खाने वाले इस देश में हो जाते हैं। सोचो पचास-साठ लाख, शायद अस्सी लाख भी हो जाय। तो बहुत है न। काफ़ी, लेकिन साठ-सत्तर लाख तो समझो होते ही हैं। तो इन सबके खाने का प्रबन्ध हो, इन सबके काम का हो, पढ़ाई का हो। अगर हम तेज़ी से ज़ोर लगा के बढ़ावेंगे अपनी ज़मीन से पैदावार तो एक तो सबों के लिए काफ़ी हो, दूसरे हम उसको काफ़ी जमा करके रखें बहुत कुछ। एक लाखों मन जमा करके रखें कि अगर कहीं कमी पड़े कभी, फ़सल ज़रा ख़राब हो, कुछ हो, तब भी हमारे पास होय³¹ जनता के लिए, असल कमी न हो। और अगर हो सके, क्योंकि गल्ला हमारे पास बहुत है तो हम और देशों में भेजें और उसकी एवज़ में हमें पैसा मिले और उसकी एवज़ में हमें सामान मिले वहाँ का। तो इससे हमारे कारखाने भी चलने लगें ज़ोरों से। तो इसलिए ये बहुत ज़रूरी बात हो गयी

31. Local usage.

है कि हमारी ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा हो।

और हम समझते हैं कि यों तो बहुत सारी बातें कीं, आप जानते हैं ये विकास योजना है, कम्यूनिटी ब्लॉक हैं, इसलिए हैं कि गाँव वाले उठें, गाँव वाले अधिक पैदा करें, गाँव साफ़ रहे, सुथरा रहे और गाँव की सड़कें बन जायें, और गाँव में विद्यालय हों, स्कूल हों, सब बातें हों। इन सबमें अब्बल बात है कि गाँव का उत्पादन बड़े ज़मीन से। वो हो। विकास योजना वगैरह वो तो रहेगा और काम करेगा। लेकिन अब जो ये सहकारिता संघ का चर्चा हुआ है, उसको आप समझें और इसको ज़ोरों से बढ़ायें। एक नयी हवा आ रही है। उस हवा को फैलायें और समझ-बूझ के करें मज़बूती से, दिखाने को नहीं, क्योंकि वो ख़ाली दिखाने की चीज़ नहीं है। अगर ठीक नहीं बनाया तो आपको हानि होगी। ये करना है और बाद में मैं चाहता हूँ आप सोच-समझ लें इसको तो मिल-जुल कर खेती भी गाँव की हो। बहुत ज़्यादा, बहुत अधिक नहीं, गाँव की। इसके माने ये नहीं है कि आपकी ज़मीन कोई छीन लेगा। ज़मीन तो आपकी है, उसका हिस्से का लाभ तो आपको मिलेगा। वो तो हुई, लेकिन बहुत सारी ज़मीन ज़ाया होती है, वो भी मिल जायेगी सहकारी संघ में। बीच-बीच में किती ज़ाया होती है। ठीक तौर से हल नहीं चल सकते। कई बातें हैं। अलग-अलग कई छोटे-छोटे टुकड़े हों। अगर बड़ी ज़मीन किसी के पास होती, बहुत बड़ी, जैसे बड़े ज़मींदारों के पास रही तब अलग भी काम करते तो अच्छा कर सकते थे। लेकिन जब थोड़ी-थोड़ी ज़मीन लोगों के पास है तब उनकी शक्ति नहीं होती आगे बढ़ने की। इसलिए आवश्यक हो जाता है कि वो कोऑपरेटिव बनायें, सहकारिता संघ तो उनकी शक्ति हो जाती है और जो हमारे भाई मंगलाप्रसाद जी ने आपसे कहा कि रुपया आप उधार लें, कर्ज़ा लें, वो आपको वक़्त पर मिलेगा आसानी से। आजकल तो बड़े पेंच है, दिक्कतें हैं और सामान वगैरह, चीज़, ये वो, अच्छे हल मिलें, तरह-तरह के और फिर तो गाँव का रंग बदल जाता है। फिर आप अपने गाँव को और पंचायत को और सहकारी संघ को दे के तरह-तरह से तरक्की होने लगती है, सारा रूप बदलने लगता है। और इसमें याद रखो, हमारी बहनों को, स्त्रियों को बड़ा भाग लेना है, उनको समझना है, उनको सब काम में हिस्सा लेना है। अब वो पुराना ज़माना ख़तम हो गया। सबों को एक तो पढ़ना-लिखना है, सब बच्चों को, लड़की हो, लड़का हो।

तो ये बड़े-बड़े काम करने हैं और ये नया...नयी हवा फैल रही है देश में उसको आप समझें और समझ के उसके साथ आप बढ़ें। अभी तो मंगलाप्रसाद जी से कहूँगा कि आपके गाँव में जिन लोगों ने, जिन किसानों ने अच्छी खेती की है, इनाम मिले हैं, उनके नाम आपको सुना दें। आओ।³²

(श्री मंगलाप्रसाद “जर्मन मास्टर” द्वारा इनाम पाने वाले किसानों की सूची)

तो आप देखें कि आप ही के भाई यहाँ कितने चालीस मन से अधिक तक पैदा किया है एक एकड़ में। कहाँ दस मन से कम, कहाँ चालीस मन से ऊपर। चालीस मन नहीं तो सब

32. At this point, Mangala Prasad called out the names of farmers who were to be given prizes.

लोगों को बीस मन ज़रूर करना चाहिए। आपको लाभ हो और सबों को हो। तो बस, अब मैं आगे जाता हूँ और कल सबेरे मुझे दिल्ली वापस जाना है। तो आप मेरे साथ तीन बार जय हिन्द कहो। जय हिन्द! फिर से जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Brothers, sisters and children,

You have just now heard about the various tasks of cooperation that have taken place in this tehsil in the last six to seven years and particularly during the last two years. Mangala Prasad Tiwariji who I believe is known as German Master by the people, though I cannot understand for what reason, has done very good work here. You can say that the cooperative movement has taken roots here. Tiwariji has said that he is making an effort to take up joint cultivation by the cooperative societies. That is all right. We must keep this goal before us. But first of all we must lay greater emphasis on what are known as service cooperatives and make them strong. They must spread to all the villages.

Then the next step would be joint cultivation and it is only when the first step is firmly taken that the rest can follow. Tiwariji has said that he has started cooperative societies in about fifteen villages. Now, I do not know the details of what the population in each village is, etc. But generally we advise small cooperatives, one for each village or if it is too small, for two or three together. But generally it is better to have one in each village. Then ten or fifteen such small cooperatives can form a bigger one which will supervise and help their activities. There are two advantages in this, the smaller cooperatives benefit and the larger one gains strength. What is the advantage of a small cooperative? It lies in the fact that people know one another and so it functions as one large family. Otherwise, in a large cooperative people do not know one another well and outsiders can create problems. Therefore, generally we prefer a small cooperative for each village.

I have mentioned cooperatives right in the beginning because Mangala Prasadji mentioned it just now and it is extremely important. Many things are happening all over the country which I want to tell you about because you must know about them. You must know why they are being done, what your role is, and what their advantages and disadvantages are likely to be. You must try to understand all these things because until you do, the work cannot be done efficiently and the tasks that we have taken up in this country are so gigantic that they cannot be done by the government alone. Government officials can help in making some arrangements. But it is the people who have to take on the burden of doing them. It is only when the government and the people cooperate

in these tasks that we can reap the full benefit.

Now when I talk about government officials, I would like you to understand that they are no longer the type of government servants that you had during the days of the British and there will be further changes. In a way, it is not quite right to call them officers. You must think of them as your colleagues who have been selected and trained to help you in your tasks. How are these officials selected? As you know, they have to pass a very difficult examination and those who are successful are given training for years and then put in the field. They gain experience gradually by working in the lower rungs before they are entrusted with greater responsibility. So they are fully trained men who can work efficiently. But there should be no attempt to place them apart. They are our colleagues and all of us are doing a great task which is the progress of India and the betterment of the millions of people in this country. But as a matter of fact, nobody can make you better off except yourselves. Unless you learn to stand on your own feet, you cannot really benefit by the help of others. No country or people can progress in this manner. It can progress only by its own strength and hard work. Help can certainly be given in the beginning. But the people must make up their minds to work hard at the big tasks that we are taking up.

The task before us in India today is to increase production in every possible way from land, industries and other avenues. The greater the production, the more wealthy a country will be. The wealth of a nation is what it produces and not the accumulated wealth of the past. So we have to increase our wealth in two ways—one from land and the other from industries. When I talk about industries, I mean the heavy, medium and small industries, as well as, village and cottage industries. They are all industries as the country runs with all sorts of work. The most important thing is food production. So we have to work on land for that as well as other things like cotton which is used for making cloth in mills or handlooms. So in a sense cloth is also produced from land. Then you can produce sugar cane out of which jaggery and sugar are made. So, in a roundabout way many of these things come out of land. Therefore, it is essential to produce more from land. Besides, we have to increase production from industries too.

Now, in a large country like ours where forty crores of people live, these are gigantic tasks especially as in the last few centuries when the British were here, most of our trades had been suppressed and had come to a standstill. It is a gigantic task to awaken the people. Secondly, most of our farmers have become backward over the centuries and need to be made progressive. Thirdly, we need trained and educated people to do any of the tasks that we take up, educated not to become clerks, but to enable them to do their own work well. Education

teaches new things that are happening in the rest of the world. The farmers in other countries are very progressive because for one thing, education is compulsory. Every child, boy and girl, has to go to school. Only then they take up some profession, work on land, industries, etc., and do it better than it was done previously. This is how the countries of the West have advanced.

Another thing, there are a number of cooperatives there, especially among the farmers which enables them to progress. There is nothing official about it. The people themselves form cooperative societies. Even in this education makes their task easier because the cooperative method is a good one. So we are making arrangements to train people in this, officers as well as the people in the villages. I feel that cooperatives are so important in every field of activity that it should be taught to children in schools and colleges so that their thinking is moulded along the right lines. What does cooperation mean? It means working together which adds to their strength. The cooperative method of working is extremely beneficial, whether it is work on land or industries or anything else. It is better than pushing and pulling or suppressing others because such methods seldom pay in the long run.

Now, there are great tasks before the country. During the freedom struggle, there was an atmosphere of cooperation, peace and unity and under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, people of all religions and castes worked together and so we got freedom. The British did not give us freedom for nothing. We got swaraj by organising ourselves into a powerful, united force and by making tremendous sacrifices; an atmosphere was created in which British rule could not go on any longer. Now, after freedom we are facing the task of making the country more prosperous and better off. You find innumerable farmers touring all over the country in large groups these days. It is called Bharat Darshan which includes visits to old as well as the new centres of pilgrimage. The old ones were Prayag, Kashi, Hardwar, etc. The new centres of pilgrimage are the places where tasks of national development like the big river valley projects and new industries and thousands of other things are taking place for the betterment of the people. These are in a sense our new temples and mosques and churches and it is appropriate that people should visit them. All these things take years and years because it takes time to build big dams and canals, to produce hydroelectric power and to set up new industries, etc. But once they are built, they will benefit people for generations to come. These projects cost a great deal of money and there is no benefit until they are completed. For instance, if you wish to build a bridge on the Ganges, there is nothing but expenditure until it is completed. Similarly, we are putting up huge steel plants, factories to produce railway engines and carriages. There is that factory from where you must be getting fertilizers, the one at Sindri. And four or five more

will be set up. So, a number of things are happening all over the country.

You must have seen the innumerable schools and colleges that are being opened. I want that the number should increase. As I told you, within the next three or four years we want that there should be not a single child anywhere in India who does not go to school. It should be made compulsory because the children of today are educated; they will make better farmers and workers and build a new India tomorrow. I repeat that I do not want the educated people to take up jobs in cities. They should live in the villages and improve them, improve agriculture by teaching the farmers to use good seeds and fertilizers, start small village industries, etc. All this will improve the stature of the villages and make them more prosperous instead of being barren as they are today.

These are big tasks and can be done only when we increase the production of wealth in the country. I do not mean gold and silver when I say wealth but what is produced from land, industries, etc. So, it is extremely important and essential to increase production from land. Nowadays, I hear that the average yield per acre in the district of Allahabad is nine or ten maunds of wheat per acre. But I have also been seeing since yesterday innumerable people who say they have won prizes for increasing production. One farmer said he had produced fifty maunds and others have produced forty or forty-two and in general over forty maunds per acre of wheat and rice for which they have won prizes. When an ordinary farmer can produce that much, why can the others not do so? After all, it is they themselves who will benefit and serve the country as well. Even if they cannot produce forty to fifty maunds, we want that they should at least double the present rate and increase production from ten to twenty maunds per acre. This should not be difficult and it will immediately solve our food problem all over the country. There will be enough for everyone.

Please remember that the population is increasing every year by fifty to seventy lakhs which means so many more mouths to feed. It is a very large number. We have to make arrangements to feed them, clothe them, and provide education and employment. If we increase our agricultural production, there will be enough for everyone to eat and secondly, we will be able to save something in case of an emergency or crisis. If possible, the surplus food grains can be exported to other countries and machines and other goods imported in lieu of it. In this way, our industries will also flourish. Therefore, it has become extremely important to increase production from land.

We have, as you know, taken up community projects and national extension schemes for the betterment of the rural areas. We want the villages to be clear, have good roads and schools, and above all, the production from land to increase. Apart from all this, you must understand the importance of cooperative societies and expand them. This new wave should spread, with a clear understanding

and not merely superficially. If it is not done properly, it will do you harm. We must do this and later on if joint cultivation is taken up, it will yield great benefits. That does not mean that you will lose your land. The land remains yours and your share of the profits will come to you. The land which is now wasted between boundaries will be brought under cultivation. With small pieces of land, it is difficult to work efficiently, because the small farmer lacks the strength to be able to afford good ploughs and seeds and fertilizers. Therefore, it is very essential to form cooperative societies which make the small farmer strong. As Mangala Prasadji said, you can get loans easily in times of need. This can transform the face of the rural areas. The panchayat and cooperative societies will make progress easier. You must remember that our women have a great role to play in all this. The old days are gone now. Every boy and girl must be educated.

So, all these big tasks have to be done and you must understand the new wave that is spreading all over the country and move with the times. Now I will request Mangala Prasadji to read out the list of names of the farmers who have won prizes for record production. Come.³³

So you see how some of your own brethren can increase production to such a large extent. What a difference there is between ten acres and forty acres. All of you must at least try to produce twenty maunds per acre. Everyone stands to gain by it.

All right now I shall go on for I have to go back to Delhi tomorrow. Please say Jai Hind with me thrice. Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

5. At Faqirabad: Public Meeting³⁴

...अभी आपने सुना, मानपत्र पढ़ा गया। उसमें मुझे याद दिलाया कि मैं चौबीस बरस बाद इधर आया हूँ, इस सराय आक़िल में।³⁵ इसको सुन कर मैं शर्मिन्दा हो गया, क्योंकि ये मेरे ज़िले का एक हिस्सा है और अब जो क्षेत्र है चुनाव का क्षेत्र, जिसमें मैं चुना गया हूँ, उसका भी एक हिस्सा है। और मैं इत्ते दिन बाद यहाँ आऊँ तो ठीक बात नहीं है और अगर आप मुझ पर नाराज़ हों इस बारे में तो आपको हक़ है होने का। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि जबसे इस

33. See fn 32 in this section.

34. Speech, 7 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

35. Faqirabad village is within Sarai Aqil tehsil.

सरकारी बोझे उठाने का...[ये बोझे] उठाने पड़े और मुझे वहाँ जा के दिल्ली में रहना पड़ा और अपने घर आना भी बड़ा कठिन होता है साल में एक-दो दिन के लिए कभी। काम बहुत होते हैं और एक माने में ये भी है कि इलाहाबाद शहर और इलाहाबाद का ज़िला तो मेरा घर है, ठीक है। लेकिन मेरा बड़ा घर तो सारा हिन्दुस्तान है, सारा भारत है। तो सबकी ज़िम्मेदारी उठानी पड़ती है और सब भारत के हिस्सों में कभी-कभी जाना पड़ता है। खैर, आप माफ़ करेंगे कि मैं इत्ते दिन बाद इधर आया। अब इत्ते दिनों में जब मैं यहाँ पहली बार आया था और उस समय भी मैंने...मुझे याद दिलाया कि ये लाउडस्पीकर नहीं चला तो गड़बड़ी हुई रही।

अब इस चौबीस बरस में तो कितनी बातें हमारे देश में हुई हैं, ऊँच-नीच। चौबीस बरस हुए हमारा आन्दोलन स्वराज्य का चलता रहा, महात्माजी हमारे बड़े नेता थे, और चला और ऊँच-नीच होती थी। कितने लोग जेल गये, कितने लोग और मुसीबत में पड़े। फिर आपको याद हो कि दुनिया में बड़ी भारी लड़ाई छिड़ी रही, वो जर्मन के खिलाफ़ और कौन-कौन जापानी और बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाई थी। हम तो उसमें नहीं थे, लेकिन अंग्रेज़ी सरकार थी और उससे भी हमारे देश पर बड़ा असर पड़ा। और उस समय भी अधिकतर लोग हम जेल में पड़े रहे, फिर बाहर निकले और फिर बहुत बातें हुई। और फिर अंग्रेज़ी राज्य से हमारा एक समझौता हुआ जिससे वो यहाँ से हट गये बिल्कुल। बहुत रोज़ से रहे थे और उसके बाद समझौते के बाद तो अपना असबाब बाँध के चले गये यहाँ से।

और उसके बाद हमारा बड़ा काम हुआ इस देश की जनता को ज़ोर से चलाना और सबमें बड़ा और उसी के साथ ये कि अब स्वराज्य में कैसे जनता उठायी जाय, कैसे उसकी हालत अच्छी हो, दरिद्रता-गरीबी अच्छी हो। ये बड़ा भारी काम आया। पहले तो यही था कोई काम करो तो पहले उसका एक अच्छा प्रबन्ध हो, संगठन हो, मिल के रहें लोग, क्योंकि कोई काम अलग, आपस में झगड़े से होता नहीं और बड़ा काम उसमें और मिल के चलना है।

हमारे यहाँ लोग बड़ी आसानी से भड़क जाते हैं। कोई भड़काने वाला हो, भड़क जायँ। अभी कल मैं...कहाँ मैं रहा? प्रतापपुर में...किसी ने कहा सुई भोंकने वाला आया है, लोग घबड़ाये गये।³⁶ क्या बात है, इलाहाबाद के ज़िले के लोग ऐसे डरपोक हो जायँ तो मुझे तो ये अच्छा नहीं लगता। तो एक सुई कोई...कोई आदमी एक सुई लेके आये और भगदड़ हो जाय, अच्छा तमाशा है। और सुई से डरना क्या? ये मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। कोई, टीका तो आप सभी लोग लगवाते हैं और टीका लगवाने से कितनी बीमारी कम हो गयी है चेचक की। मालूम नहीं कौन-सी सुई से आप डरते हैं। मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। लेकिन जो भी कुछ हो, ये डर जाना, ये तो बिल्कुल ग़लत बात है। कोई ख़राब बात आये तो उसको समझना है, देखना है, भालना है। ख़राब है तो निकाल देना है, लेकिन डर के भाग जाना, ये समझ में नहीं आती बात। ऐसी बात थोड़े कोई हो सकती है, जिससे आपको हानि पहुँचे। खैर, ये तो मैंने यों ही कह दिया।

36. See p. 2, fn 2 about this.

मेरा मतलब ये था कि हमारे यहाँ झगड़ा-फ़साद करने वाले बहुत लोग रहते हैं। कभी धर्म के नाम से, कभी मज़हब के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से, कभी कुछ, कभी कुछ। तो हमारी शक्ति नहीं बनती। महात्मा गाँधी के समय पर उन्होंने हमें सिखाया मिल कर काम करना, सारे बड़े देश को। तो देश की बड़ी ताक़त हो गयी और अंग्रेज़ों का मुक़ाबला हुआ और अंग्रेज़ी सरकार को बाद में हार माननी पड़ी और गये यहाँ से। तो ताक़त आती है आपस में मिल कर काम करने से और अपनी अकेले-अकेले कौन ताक़त है? बहुत नहीं है, बहुत कम है, लेकिन आप लोग मिल के कोई काम करें तो ताक़त हो जाती है। इसलिए पहली बात जो हमें तय करनी है वो यही कि हम लोग मिल कर, देश भर में मिल कर, काम करें और धर्म, जाति के झगड़ों में नहीं पड़ें और समझ लें कि सब लोग, जो हमारे देश में रहते हैं, चाहे कोई उनका धर्म हो, हिन्दू हों, मुसलमान हों, ईसाई हों, बौद्ध हों, जैन हों, कोई हों, वो सब हमारे देश के बच्चे हैं। उनको बराबर का अधिकार है देश में। अपने-अपने धर्म पे रहें, लेकिन देश में सबों को बराबर का अधिकार है और देश के लोग एक बड़ा परिवार है, एक बड़ा ख़ानदान है समझो, उनको मिल कर रहना है। जहाँ ये बात समझ जाते हैं तो हमारी ताक़त बड़ी बनने लगती है। दूसरी बात उसी के साथ मिल कर काम करना, क्योंकि जो भी कुछ देश में होता है, काम से होता है ख़ाली हाथ करने से तो कुछ होता नहीं। परिश्रम से, मेहनत से होता है। आप किसान लोग हैं, मेहनत आप करते हैं तो आप उसका फल पाते हैं। ये बातें हमें करनी हैं।

अब हमारे देश में स्वराज्य के बाद कौन बड़ा काम है? बड़ा काम वही कि जित्ती जनता है, जो उनकी ग़रीबी है उसको हटाना है। ग़रीबी कैसे हटे? कोई सरकारी ख़ज़ाने से, बँटवारे से हटे? और सरकारी ख़ज़ाने में पैसा कहाँ से आता है? वो कोई विलायत से आता है? अरे, सरकारी ख़ज़ाने में पैसा आता है जो टैक्स से, लगान से, मालगुज़ारी से जमा होता है। वो सरकारी ख़ज़ाने में पैसा आता है। हमारा ही पैसा है और उस पैसे से फिर काम होता है सरकार का, चाहे सड़कें बनें, चाहे अस्पताल बनें, चाहे स्कूल खोला जाये, चाहे पचास और बातें हों। वो बस पैसे से होती हैं। तो पैसा कहीं बाहर का तो नहीं है। पैसा तो आता है जो लोग जनता अपनी मेहनत से, परिश्रम से पैदा करती है, जो ज़मीन से पैदा करे, जो कारख़ाने से पैदा करे। इसलिए अगर देश की ग़रीबी को निकालना है तो एक-दूसरे से भीख माँग के नहीं निकलती, न जा के सरकार से माँगें कि लाओ, हमें दे दो। वो कहाँ से दे? जितना आप देंगे, उता वो दे सकती है, अधिक तो नहीं है उसके पास।

तो भारत की, हमारे देश की, ग़रीबी निकलेगी जब हम अधिक पैदा करें, ज़मीन से भी और कारख़ाने से भी और बहुत सारे कारख़ाने बनें, काम मिले, रोज़गार मिले सबों को और ख़ासकर ज़मीन से पैदा करें। ये बात। और जो ज़मीन से पैदा हो, उसका फिर ठीक से बँटवारा हो। ये नहीं कि पहले जैसे, बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदार, ताल्लुक़ेदार की जेब में चला जाय। ये बात ठीक नहीं रही तो ज़मींदारी सिलसिले को बन्द कर दिया। ये भी नहीं कि आपका कमाया हुआ बनिये की जेब में चला जाय। आप उसको बहुत सूद दें, उनसे पैसा ले के, और ज़मीन भी शायद हाथ से निकल जाय। वो भी ठीक बात नहीं। तो फिर क्या प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए? क्योंकि एक

किसान की ताकत तो नहीं है बहुत और उसको बहुत मदद की ज़रूरत होती है, इसीलिए क़र्ज़ा-वर्ज़ा लेता रहा, कभी तक्रावी ले, कभी कुछ करे, उसमें भी मुसीबत।

तो इसका इलाज़ तो एक है, दवा एक है, सरकारी संघ बनायें, कोऑपरेटिव जिसको कहते हैं। अब ये तो पहले भी रहे यहाँ देश में, कुछ पैसा-वैसा देने के लिए, क़र्ज़ा देने के लिए, लेकिन जिस ढंग से वो चलते रहे, वो अच्छा ढंग नहीं था। वो बहुत एक अफ़सरी ढंग था और अफ़सरी ढंग से ठीक काम होता नहीं। हम चाहते हैं कि अब ये नये ढंग से सहकारी संघ बनें और एक-एक गाँव में एक-एक बने जिसमें गाँव वाले उसको चलायें, गाँव वाले निश्चय करें। सरकारी अफ़सर आ के दख़ल न दें। हाँ, सलाह दें, मदद दें, लेकिन बाज़ लोग गाँव के, जो लोग अपने सहकारी संघ के पंच हों, उनके हाथ में हो। अब हो सकता है कि उसके करने में शुरू-शुरू में कुछ आपको कठिनाई हो, मुश्किल हो, ठीक मालूम न हो, कैसा करना है, कुछ हानि हो, कुछ हर्ज नहीं। आप जब भी सीख लेंगे और हम भी उसको भी सिखाने का प्रबन्ध कर रहे हैं, अफ़सरों को भी, औरों को और पंचों-सरपंचों को। कैसे चलाते हैं? लेकिन आप बात समझ लीजिए, बात तो यह है कि जो-जो काम आपके होते हैं खेती के उसको अलग आप एक-एक किसान करें तब उसके ऊपर बोझा पड़ता है, उसकी पहुँच नहीं है ज़्यादातर, बेचने में, ख़रीदने में, चाहे अच्छे बीज हों, खाद हो, अच्छे हल आप लेना चाहें। पैसा नहीं है आपके पास या अपना जो पैदा करें या उसको बेचना चाहें। अलग-अलग करें तो उसकी ताकत बहुत नहीं रहती और लोग उसको दवा लेते हैं पैसे वाले लोग, और और लोग। लेकिन अगर गाँव के लोग मिल के जैसे आप पंचायत बनाते हैं वो तो ठीक है।

दूसरी ये, संघ हो, सहकारी संघ हो, पंचायत तो हुई इन्तज़ाम करने के लिए गाँव की, और सहकारी संघ हुआ जो आपका ख़रीदना-बेचना ये सब काम हैं, और खेती के सिलसिले में अपने पेशे में उस काम को करने के लिए मिल कर करें आप लोग, आपकी कमेटी हो, आपकी दूसरी पंचायत हो, संघ हो तब उसमें कोई दूसरा आदमी फ़ायदा नहीं उठा सकता और जहाँ फ़ायदा-नुक़सान हो, वो आप ही का हुआ। अगर फ़ायदा हो तो वो तो आप ही का है। उससे फिर रुपया भी क़र्ज़ा मिले, बजाय इसके कि आप दौड़े-दौड़े जायँ दफ़्तरों में और जाने कहाँ, मारे-मारे फिरें, परेशान हों। आपका सहकारी संघ उस काम को करें। जित्ता भी आप चाहें अपने लेन-देन का, बेचने का, ये वो, उससे करायें। इस तरह से हो तो एकदम से आप जित्ता पैदा अपने, एक तो पैदा करते हैं उससे अधिक पैदा होगा, क्योंकि आपके पास ज़रा हल अच्छे हो जायँ, बीज अच्छा आसानी से मिल जाय, खाद मिले, ये सब बातें होंगी और दूसरे ये कि जो आपका रुपया बहुत आपका समय ज़ाया होता है दौड़-धूप करने में, वो भी निकल जायेगा और आप ज़्यादा परिश्रम कर सकेंगे अपने खेत में। आपके तरफ़ से काम और लोग करेंगे।

तो ये बहुत आवश्यक बात हो गयी है—सहकारी संघ—और हर गाँव में होना चाहिए अलग-अलग। हाँ, बहुत छोटा गाँव हो तो दो-तीन गाँव चाहे मिल जायें और उसके ऊपर दस-पन्द्रह गाँव मिल कर जो हो उनकी सहकारी संघ है वो कोऑपरेटिव, वो मिल कर पन्द्रह गाँव की या, बारह गाँव की एक दूसरी बड़ी पंचायत हो, जो उन पन्द्रह गाँवों को देखे और

उनको सहायता दे और खासकर [...] ये कि आप गाँव की खेती मिल-जुल कर करें। इसमें माने ये नहीं कि आपकी ज़मीन कहीं चली जायेगी। ज़मीन तो आप ही की रहेगी, वो नहीं। लेकिन मिल-जुल कर करने से फ़ौरन लाभ होता है। जहाँ-जहाँ हुआ है हमने देखा। एक तो ज़मीन ज़ाया नहीं होती और एक हल चलायें आप, जो कुछ करें, मोड़-तोड़, बड़ा समय नष्ट होता है। तेज़ी से चलता है। लेकिन पैदा हो वो अपनी ज़मीन के हिसाब से उसका बँटवारा होता है। तो ये तो मोटे तौर से मैंने आपको बताया।

ये आपको समझना है, क्योंकि अब ये बड़े फ़ैसले हुए हैं देश भर के लिए। सारा ध्यान हम देना चाहते हैं ज़ोर लगा के दो-चार-पाँच वर्ष के अन्दर सारे देश का ग्रामीण संगठन गाँव का ज़रा बदले और जनता के हाथ में अपने गाँव के हाथ में अधिकार आये। पंचायत का अधिकार ज़्यादा हो और ये...और ये सहकारी संघ हो और स्कूल हों। ये सब बातें तभी चल सकती हैं जब आपके बाल-बच्चे और आप भी ज़रा पढ़ें, लिखें। पढ़ें-लिखें क्यों? पूछें आप। वो मुंशी बनने के लिए पढ़ें-लिखें नहीं कि कहीं नौकरी ढूँढ़ जा के। पढ़ें-लिखें इसलिए कि जो आपका काम है खेती, उसको अच्छा करें, गाँव को अच्छा बना दें, क्योंकि जिन-जिन देशों में आजकल बड़ी अच्छी खेती होती है, बहुत पैदा करते हैं वही सब लोग इसलिए कि उनको सीखने का मौक़ा मिला है।

सब बच्चे लड़के-लड़की स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं, खेती का हाल पढ़ते हैं और देश में क्या हुआ पढ़ते हैं, फिर जा के अपने खेत में काम करते हैं तो पहले से अच्छे हो जाता है। ज़ाहिर है कि नयी बातें सीख के आते हैं। तो हम तो चाहते हैं कि सब लोग उसको सीखें। तो हर गाँव में ये तीन चीज़ें मज़बूती से चलनी हैं। एक तो गाँव की पंचायत। और पंचायत इन्तज़ाम करेगी गाँव का प्रबन्ध करेगी। दूसरे सहकारी संघ। तो मैंने आपसे कहा कि जो आर्थिक बात में आपको बेचना हो, ख़रीदना हो, उस बारे में गाँव की तरफ़ से काम करें किसानों के तरफ़ से। और तीसरा स्कूल। तीन पक्की बातें हुई। अच्छा, ये बातें जम जाती हैं तो फिर वहाँ गाँव में और काम शुरू होते हैं, क्योंकि आप अलग-अलग नहीं कर सकते और काम। लेकिन मिल कर सहकारी संघ हो तब आप सड़कें अच्छी बना लें अपनी, गाँव के अन्दर पंचायत घर बना लें, स्कूल बनायें, कोई कारोबार छोटा-मोटा शुरू करें, बहुत सारे कारोबार हैं।

अभी एक, एक अभिनन्दन पत्र मुझे दिया नर्मदा सेवा आश्रम की तरफ़ से, जहाँ मैं अभी गया था और उसकी तरफ़ से चरखे और ये अम्बर चरखे कुछ बँटे। और मुझसे कहा जाता है कि जो अम्बर चरखे चलाते हैं, उनको तीस-पैंतीस रुपये महीने की आमदनी हो जाती है। आजकल के हिसाब से अच्छी आमदनी है ये। हम तो चाहते हैं कि इससे भी अधिक हो और होगी। लेकिन अच्छी है और किसानों के घरों में ऐसा हो तो अपना काम अलग करें इससे अलग कुछ आमदनी हो जाय, दोनों तरफ़ से। तो जब इस तरह के सहकारी संघ बन जाती है तो वो सहकारी संघ, जो बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं वो तो करेगी, रुपया कर्ज़ देना जब आपको ज़रूरत हो फ़सल के पहले, अच्छे हल आपको चाहिएँ तो आपके लिए मँगा दें, बीज मँगा दें अच्छे, खाद का प्रबन्ध करें और जो आपकी फ़सल कटे उसको ठीक-ठीक दाम पर, जिससे

आप को लाभ हो, बेचने का प्रबन्ध करें। ये सब बातें करेगी। लेकिन उसको और भी काम होगा कि वो छोटे-छोटे कारोबार शुरू करे, छोटा कारखाना शुरू कर दे, जित्ती शक्ति हो। क्योंकि हम तो चाहते हैं एक तो खेती हमारी बहुत अच्छी हो और किसान की हालत अच्छी होती जाय। दूसरे, इन सब गाँवों में, गाँव का सारा रूप बदल जाय। गाँव में अच्छे मकान हों, पढ़ाई अच्छी हो, बच्चों की देख-भाल ठीक हो, अस्पताल हों सब गाँव में। और छोटे-मोटे कारखाने व ग्रामोद्योग हों कि जिससे बहुतों को काम मिले और इस तरह से गाँव उठेगा। कारीगरी हो, सब कुछ हो। ये सब बातें हो सकती हैं और आपके यहाँ अभी उन्होंने बताया कि आपकी ज़मीन अच्छी है, आपका उत्पादन अच्छा है, जो पैदा करते हैं, अच्छा करते हैं। और दो-तीन बरस ख़राब के बाद अच्छी फ़सलें भी आ रही हैं। तो मौक़ा अच्छा है। अब इसमें हम ज़ोरों से काम करके हम अपने गाँव को मज़बूत कर लें, तब फिर तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ेंगे।

तो अभी एक वहाँ नागपुर में, दो-तीन महीने हुए एक बड़ी सभा हुई रही थी, काँग्रेस की, देश की जो महासभा है काँग्रेस और उसमें ख़ास तौर से विचार इसी बात पर हुआ था कि किसानों के लिए, किसानों की कैसे उन्नति हो, कैसे तरक्की हो, कैसे बढ़ें? तो अब ये बातें सहकारी संघ और पंचायत और ये सब बातें वहाँ निश्चय हुई कि किस ढंग से हों और फिर वहाँ दिल्ली की सरकार ने भी इसको मान लिया। तो ये सारे देश का कार्यक्रम हो गया। इसको हमें बड़े ज़ोरों से निकालना है। आज लोग इसका बहुत विरोध करते हैं। गाँव वाला कोई नहीं करेगा विरोध, जो समझा है। शहर वाले करते हैं। अब वो तो ग़लत विरोध करते हैं और धोखे की बातें करते हैं। कहते हैं जा के किसानों से कि देखो, तुम्हारी ज़मीन छीन ली जायगी। ये तो मूर्खता की बात है। ज़मीन छीन के कहाँ भाग जायगी यहाँ से? पर लगा के हवाई जहाज़ से? मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। अरे, ज़मीन वहीं रहेगी, आप लोग वहीं रहेंगे, आपकी ज़मीन आप वहाँ काम करेंगे और रोज़ काम ठीक होगा, आपकी तरक्की होगी, ज़मीन की तरक्की होगी मिल कर काम करने से। मिल कर काम करना हमेशा अच्छा है अलग काम करने से। उससे लाभ होता है, ताक़त बढ़ती है। ये बातें आप याद रखें।

अब हमारे देश में और ख़ासकर हमारे देहातों में ये नयी हवा आ रही है इस काम की और देहात में सब में फैलनी चाहिए और आपको समझना है। और जो काँग्रेस के कार्यकर्ता हैं, अब ये हवा में लेक्चरबाज़ी से काम नहीं चलता, उनको इस बात को सब मण्डल वगैरह जितने हैं इस बात को पकड़ के गाँव-गाँव में इस तरह की सेवा करनी है कि ये पंचायत मज़बूत हों, और सहकारी संघ बने और इसमें ये भी इसका प्रबन्ध कर रहे हैं सरकार की तरफ़ से भी, काँग्रेस के तरफ़ से भी कि लोगों को कुछ सहकारी संघ में कैसे काम होता है वो सिखाना, क्योंकि बगैर सीखे काम गड़बड़ हो जाता है। अच्छी तरह से करना है। तो हम वो तो बहुतों को सिखायेंगे। ऊपर बड़े अफ़सरों को सिखायेंगे। पंचों-सरपंचों, सबों को सिखायेंगे। ये सब होगा। इसको आप सोचिए आपस में और अच्छी तरह से जो मण्डल वाले हैं, वो भी सोचें इस काम को। ये सबमें बड़ा काम है। और ये सबमें बड़ा काम इसलिए है कि इसी के द्वारा एक तो हम जो खेती में पैदा होता है उसको हम बढ़ा दें। इसमें आपका लाभ है। और उसी से देश

हल्के-हल्के बढ़ेगा।

दूसरे इस ढंग से गाँव अपने आप उठेगा, गाँव की हालत अच्छी होती जायेगी और मैं समझता हूँ दो-चार-दस बरस में गाँव का रूप बिल्कुल बदल जायेगा। ये खबर आप विशेषकर...बातें जो बहुत हैं कहने की लेकिन खासकर ये बात मैं आपसे कहा चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि आपसे सम्बन्ध रखती है ये बात। फिर यहाँ सराय आक़िल है, अलग जगह थी। अभी दो-चार-पाँच बरस हुए, मैंने सुना, पंचवर्षीय योजना में यहाँ अच्छी सड़क बन गयी है और अभी कहते हैं अब तारघर नहीं है, होना चाहिए तारघर। अच्छा है होते जाते हैं घर वगैरह। मैं तो कोई तार का मन्त्री नहीं हूँ कि मैं जवाब दूँ। लेकिन मेरी राय ज़रूर है कि ऐसे बड़े मुक़ाम पर होना चाहिए। और भी इस तरह से जगह बढ़ती जायेगी। लेकिन बढ़ेगी असल में जब यहाँ के लोग आपस में मिल कर सहयोग से, मेहनत से, परिश्रम से काम करें, बढ़ेगा। और आपका लाभ होगा और देश भी बढ़ेगा। ये बहुत बड़ा काम है। इसमें आपकी बहुत सहायता की ज़रूरत है। आपके सहयोग की ज़रूरत है और ताकि हम ज़ोरों से काम करें।

तो हमारे जो आजकल वाल-बच्चे हैं, वो जब बड़े हों तो उनको तो एक हमारे गाँव दूसरा गाँव मिले, एक अच्छा सुन्दर गाँव। देश सुन्दर हो, पुराना ग़रीबी का देश न हो, ग़रीबी का गाँव न हो। ये हमें करना है। और हमारी बहनों को इसमें पूरा भाग लेना है, क्योंकि देश उठता है। सब बहनें नहीं उठें तो देश कैसे उठेगा? ये बड़े-बड़े काम होने हैं। तो अब मैं आपसे विदा हो कर कौशाम्बी जाना चाहता हूँ। कौशाम्बी आप जानते हैं, यहाँ से थोड़ी दूर दस मील है कि कितना है, आठ-नौ मील है। वो एक बहुत पुरानी जगह है, प्राचीन जगह है और बड़े बौद्ध धर्म की, बौद्ध धर्म तो बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे का धर्म है। हमारे देश में निकला। गौतम बुद्ध एक महान पुरुष...भगवान बुद्ध उन्हें कहते हैं। हम उनका आदर करते हैं और अब तक उनका आदेश हमें मानना चाहिए, क्योंकि उन्होंने जो बातें बतायी हैं, उससे देश में और दुनिया में शान्ति रहे और सबों का भला हो।

अब मेरे साथ आप जय हिन्द कहो।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

You just heard the manpatra being read in which I was reminded that I have come here after twenty four years, to Sarai Aqil.³⁷ I was ashamed to hear this because this is a part of my district and also of the constituency from which I have been elected. So it is not right that I should come here after so long. And if you are angry with me then you have every right to be so. But you must know

37. See fn 35 in this section.

that ever since I have had to shoulder the burden of government in Delhi it has been difficult for me to come home even for a day or two. There is a great deal of work to be done. The other thing is that it is true that the city and district of Allahabad are my home, but my larger home is the whole of India, Hindustan and Bharat. I have to shoulder the responsibility for the whole country and visit every corner of India at some time or the other. Anyhow, you must forgive me for coming here after such a long interval. I remember that even a long time ago when I last visited this place...I have been reminded that the loudspeaker did not work.

There has been a great deal of ups and downs during the last twenty four years. Twenty four years ago, our freedom struggle was going on under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. There were ups and downs in that, many people went to jail and many were in great difficulties. Then you may recall, there was a major war in the world against Germany and Japan and the Axis powers. We were not a part of it but the British Government was, and that had a great impact on our country. Even then most of us were in jail and later we were released. Then many things happened and we arrived at an agreement with them. They left India altogether. They had ruled India for a very long time and after the agreement was reached, they packed their bags and left the country.

Thereafter, we were left facing the challenge of rebuilding the nation and uplifting the people, to improve their condition and alleviate poverty. This was a very big task. The first step was to ensure that there was unity among the people, because nothing can be achieved if there is internecine conflict.

People often get agitated very easily, especially when there are people to foment trouble. Recently, I heard that in Pratappur someone had spread the rumour that a person had come to give injections and the people got scared.³⁸ What is the matter with the people of Allahabad that they get scared so easily? I do not like this. It is strange that people should panic just because a man had gone there to inoculate. I cannot understand why people should be afraid of a needle. Inoculations are good for you and the incidence of diseases like small-pox has gone down. I cannot understand which needle you are afraid of. But whatever it is, fear is absolutely wrong. You must stand and face whatever comes fearlessly. You can throw out something which is not good, but I cannot understand why anyone should run away in panic. Nothing will be done to harm you. Anyhow, I mention all this incidentally.

What I mean is that here in India we have many people who are ready to foment trouble, sometimes in the name of religion, sometimes in the name of

38. See fn 36 in this section.

caste or something else. This detracts from our strength. Mahatma Gandhi taught us to work in unity and so we could fight against the British and they had to concede defeat. Unity alone can make us strong—how can we be strong by standing alone? Therefore, the first thing we have to make up our minds is to work in unison for the welfare of the country and not allow differences of caste and creed to divide us. We should understand quite clearly that all those who live in this country, irrespective of their religion—whether they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists or Jains—are the children of this nation and have equal rights here. Every citizen is free to practice his own religion but everyone has equal rights in the country. We must think of everyone as belonging to one large family and Therefore, we must all live together in amity. Once we understand this, we achieve our goals only through hard work, not by constant moaning. You are farmers and work hard and reap the fruit of that labour. These are some of the things that we have to do.

What are the major tasks before us after swaraj? The most urgent task is to alleviate the poverty of the people. How can poverty be removed? Can it be done by distributing wealth from the government treasury? After all, where does money come from into the treasury? It does not come from some other country. The wealth comes from taxes and it is our own money. And then that money is utilised by the government to build roads and hospitals and schools. After all, we do not get money from somewhere outside. The wealth of the nation is what the people produce by their own effort, from land and industries and factories etc. Therefore, poverty cannot be removed from the country by going around with a begging bowl. Nor can the government give doles. After all, the government's resources are limited to what is produced in the country. It cannot exceed the revenue that is generated.

And so, poverty can be removed only by producing more from the land and factories and a lot of factories are set up increasing avenues of employment. Wealth produced from the land is the most valuable asset for a country and then there should be proper distribution of that wealth. We do not want that wealth to go into the pockets of the zamindars and talukdars as in the old days; this was not right and so, we abolished the zamindari system; nor should the wealth that you produce go into the pockets of middlemen or moneylenders who charge exorbitant rates of interest. You stand to lose even your land in the process. So then, what is the system that would help the poor, weak farmers? Farmers need a lot of help and that is why they take loans and mortgage their land, etc.

The only remedy for this is to form a cooperative society. They have been here in the past, too, but the way they were run was not right. It was a very bureaucratic method which is not a very good method. We want these cooperative

societies to function in a novel way. There should be one in every village and it should be run by the villagers themselves, the villagers should decide everything. The government officers should not come and interfere. Yes, they may give suggestions, give help, but the running of the cooperative societies should be in the hands of the members, the panchs, of the cooperative society. Now, initially, you may find it difficult to understand how to do the work properly and some losses may occur, but that does not matter. You will learn eventually and we are making arrangements for training the officials and the panch-sarpanch, etc., how to run the cooperatives. But you must understand one thing quite clearly, when the responsibility for tilling the land, buying and selling good seeds and fertilizers rests on individual farmers, then it becomes a heavy burden. You may not have the resources to do all this by yourselves. In case you sell your produce by yourself, middlemen take away much of it. But if the villagers come together to form a cooperative, like you form a panchayat, these things will become easier.

Secondly, these cooperative societies run by the panchayat will facilitate buying and selling and everything related to agriculture. You must form committees to ensure that outsiders do not take advantage and that the profit and loss are your own. You can also get loans from the cooperative society instead of having to run from pillar to post in government offices etc. Your cooperative societies will do the needful as far as buying and selling are concerned. This will ensure firstly that your output will increase, because you will be able to have good ploughs and good quality seeds and fertilizers, etc. Secondly, you will be saved the trouble of having to run around and this will leave you free to work harder on your land. Others will work on your behalf.

So, cooperative societies have become very essential. They should be formed in every village, or if a village is too small, two to three villages could come together to form one. Above that, cooperative societies of ten to fifteen villages can come together as one big panchayat which will supervise the work of all those villages, and help them and specially, so that you may jointly farm your lands. This does not mean that your land will go out of your hands—the land will be yours. But working together through cooperatives will show immediate benefit. We have seen this happening wherever a cooperative has been formed. For one thing, no part of the land is wasted, and the plough can move faster if the land is not divided into uneven lots. The produce is then divided according to the land owned by each farmer. I have only given you the broad outline.

I want you to understand this because all these big decisions have been taken for the entire country. We want to focus all our attention on this so that within the next few years the structure of the rural areas may change and the responsibility for each village pass into the hands of the people. We want the

panchayats to have more powers and cooperatives and schools must be opened in every village. All this will happen only when your children get educated. You may ask, educated for what? They must not go in search of white collar jobs or become clerks. Education must help you to become better farmers and to improve the rural areas. You will find that in all the countries where the produce from agriculture is in large quantities, it is because they have had education and training.

All the children there go to schools and learn about agriculture and what is happening in the country, etc. Then they go and work on the land and so, automatically, production increases. It is obvious that their new learning helps them. So we want everyone in our country to be educated. There are three things which are important for every village. One is the panchayat which is in charge of the village administration. The cooperative society is the second. As I told you, it will help you deal with all the financial matters of buying and selling, etc., and work on behalf of the farmers. The third thing is a school. Once these three things are firmly in place, it will lead to other things. You cannot undertake improvements by standing alone. But if you have cooperative societies, you can build good roads, construct a building for the panchayat or a school or start some small business, etc.

I was given a citation plaque by the Narmada Seva Ashram where I had gone recently and distributed some Ambar Charkhas. I was told that those who use the Ambar Charkhas for spinning earn about thirty-thirty five rupees. By today's reckoning it is a good income. We want that it should increase further. But it is a good thing if people can earn an additional income in the farmer's households. So, as I said, when cooperative societies are formed, they will do all the things I mentioned—give loans when you need money, help you to buy good ploughs and seeds and fertilizers, etc. When the crop is cut they will help you sell at the right price. At the same time they will help to set up small industries to the extent their resources permit, because we want that the condition of farmers should improve and agricultural production should increase. Secondly, we want the entire rural landscape to change and that there should be good housing in the villages, children should get education in schools; there should be hospitals and small cottage industries so that more people may get employment. I was told just now that you have good land here and production is good. After two to three years of bad harvests, the crops have been good this year. So, this is a good opportunity to take steps to improve living conditions in our villages. That will make us strong enough to go ahead faster.

Recently, about two or three months ago, we had a big conference of the Congress at Nagpur in which the chief topic of debate was how to improve the condition of the farmers. It is at that conference that all these decisions about

cooperatives and panchayat, etc., were taken. The Central Government has accepted the decisions. So, this has become a national agenda. We have to do this energetically. Some people are very much opposed to this, but that is from the urban areas. Nobody in the rural areas will oppose these decisions. But this opposition is wrong and they are misleading the people. They tell the farmers that their land will be snatched away from them. This is very stupid. Who will snatch away the land and fly away with it on wings in an aero plane? The land will continue to be yours; you will live on your land and work on the land. You will grow and develop; your land will improve by cooperative farming. It is always better to work together in a group rather than separately. It is beneficial and it strengthens everyone. Please remember all this.

Now, there is a new wave in the country and particularly in our rural areas and all of you have to understand this, especially the Congress workers that mere speeches and lecturing will not do. Those who are in the various mandals, etc., must grasp this and spread the message to every single village. They must serve to strengthen the panchayats and form cooperative societies. We are also making arrangements both in the Government and in the Congress to train people in the working of a cooperative society, because things can go wrong without training. We must do this well. We will train officials at the top and the panch and sarpanch, etc. All of us must discuss these things among ourselves and in the mandals, etc., because the greatest challenge before us today is to increase agricultural production. This will benefit us and lead to gradual progress in the country.

Secondly, conditions in the rural areas will improve and I think that in a few years, the entire face of the rural areas will change. There is a great deal to talk to you about, but there is a special matter which I want to mention, because it concerns you in particular. I heard that during the last three to four years, a good road has been constructed in Sarai Aqil under the Five Year Plan. Now there is a demand for a post and telegraph office. The housing situation is improving. Anyhow, I am not the minister in-charge to reply to this, but it is certainly my opinion that there should be a telegraph office in a big place like this. It will lead to further progress. But real progress will come when the people will work hard together. That will benefit you and the country will progress too. We need your cooperation so that we can put all our energy into these tasks.

When the children of today grow up they should come across a beautiful village; they must find that their country has become beautiful and it is no longer the old poverty-stricken country, the poverty-stricken village. We must do this and our women must participate fully in national reconstruction because a country cannot progress unless its women are uplifted. We have all these

tasks before us. Now I will take your leave and go to Kaushambi which is about ten miles from here. It is an ancient site of Buddhism. It is one of our great religions propagated by a great soul, Gautama Buddha. He is referred to as Bhagwan Buddha. We revere him and his teachings must be followed even today, because he preached among other things peace in the country and the world and the welfare of the whole of humanity.

Now please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

6. At Jugrajpur: Public Meeting³⁹

...तो थोड़ी देर आपके, आपके पास मैं आया हूँ, थोड़ी देर के लिए, कुछ अपने ज़िले में घूमता हूँ, यहाँ के किसानों से...विशेषकर उनसे...पूछ के; उनको देखना चाहता हूँ, कैसा हाल है उनका और जो आजकल बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हो रही हैं देश में, उनकी कोई खबर आपको दिया चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि जब से स्वराज मिला, तब से हमारे सामने बड़ा काम यह रहा किस तरह से देश उठे, गरीबी हटे।

बड़े-बड़े काम हुए हैं इन दस बरस में, बड़े-बड़े काम हुए हैं और उससे किसानों को भी लाभ हुआ है, लेकिन फिर भी अब हम चाहते हैं कि विशेषकर गाँवों की और किसानों की तरक्की हो, उन्नति हो, उठें। तो किस तरह से ये हो? खाली कोई बाहर से आ के आपकी तरक्की तो कर नहीं सकता? कोई आप जायें अफ़सर लोगों के पास, ये नहीं। अपनी शक्ति से, अपने परिश्रम से ये होता है। स्वराज्य हमने लिया तो अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी एकता से, मिल कर काम करने से। तो अब जो बड़ी बात है हमारे सामने, वो ये है कि हम सब अपनी ज़मीन से, खेती से, कारखानों से अधिक पैदा करें, क्योंकि एक ही तरह से हमारी गरीबी दूर हो सकती है कि हम अधिक पैदा करें। उससे आपको लाभ है और सारे देश को लाभ है और इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि आप पैदा कर सकते हैं, क्योंकि जहाँ-जहाँ मैं इस इलाहाबाद के ज़िले में भी गया, हमने इनाम दिये किसानों को, जिन्होंने अच्छा पैदा किया है। जिन्होंने एक एकड़ ज़मीन से पचास मन-पैंतालीस मन गेहूँ पैदा कियौ। अब आप सोचो, आम तौर से आप कितना पैदा करते हैं? दस, बारह, पन्द्रह मन शायद कर लेते हैं। उन्होंने पचास मन पैदा किया है। ऐसी जगह। जैसे आप लोग किसान हैं, वैसे वो भी किसान हैं। उनके पास कोई बड़ी मशीन-वशीन नहीं है। अपने हाथ के परिश्रम से, सेवा से भूमि की, उन्होंने पैंतालीस मन और पचास मन किया। तो सब लोग कर सकते हैं इसको। ज़रा अक्ल से काम करें, समझ के करें, अच्छे बीज

39. Speech, 7 April 1959. AIR tapes. NMML. Opening words of the speech not available.

लगायें, खाद ठीक तौर से दें, ज़रा खुदाई अधिक हो, हल ठीक हो। छोटी-छोटी बातें हैं। तो इसको अगर हम-आप, जो आप पैदा करते हैं उसका दुगुना पैदा करने लगे, पचास मन तो छोड़ो, दस मन का बीस मन भी हो जाय खेती से तो सारे हमारे देश की हालत बदल जाय। फिर हम बड़े ज़ोरों से आगे बढ़ें और खासकर किसानों की हालत बदल जाये इससे। देश बदले, किसान बदले।

और इसके अलावा हमें बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बनाने हैं जिसमें सब लोग काम करें, आपके लड़के-बच्चे भी काम करें, खेती भी करें, कारखाने में भी। गाँवों में आपके छोटे कारखाने हों, ग्रामोद्योग हों, सब बातें साथ-साथ चल के देश पूरी तौर से हर तरफ़ से बढ़ेगा। तो आपको इसमें, इस काम को समझना है और इस काम को करना है, क्योंकि आप करेंगे, कोई सरकारी हुकुम से थोड़े होता है? और इसके लिए एक तो गाँवों में पंचायत मज़बूत हो और उसको अधिकार ज्यादा हों और दूसरी बात सहकारी संघ हों। सहकारी संघ, मालूम नहीं आप समझे कि नहीं? अब तक जो यहाँ सहकारी संघ रहे वो तो ख़ाली कुछ पैसा देने को रहे, क़र्ज़ा देने को, किसानों को। वो कोऑपरेटिव आजकल बहुत कम हैं और होनी चाहिए। और बहुत कुछ तो आपको खुद बनानी चाहिए। कम-से-कम शुरू करें आप, बनायें, फिर उसको पक्का-वक्का करने का काम दूसरे का हो। अगर आपके यहाँ सब ग्राम पंचायतें इस बात को उठायें तो जल्दी काम हो जाय। अगर बैठो कि कोई सरकारी अफ़सर, बड़े इंजीनियर आयेंगे तो तुम बैठे रहोगे, उसमें बड़ा दिन लगता है। जो लोग हों। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि आपकी पंचायत और सहकारी संघ हो और उसको अधिकार हो तो काम अपने आप करे बैठ के। किसी बाहर के अफ़सर का, इंजीनियर का...उसके लिए ठहरे रहने की ज़रूरत नहीं होती। जो खुद करना चाहता है, वो कर सकता है। और हम इसी ढंग से किया चाहते हैं। यह तो एक बात मैंने आपसे कही खासकर किसानों की। बातें तो बहुत हैं सारे देश के लिए, क्योंकि सारे देश में खलबली मची है, सबमें एक उथल-पुथल है, क्योंकि हम सब लोग आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं ज़ोरों से, तेज़ी से। देश...और इसी तरह जनता की हालत अच्छी होने से देश की शक्ति बढ़ती है और जित्ती अच्छी होती है, उते ही हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग हमारे इलाहाबाद ज़िले में ख़ूब ज़ोरों से इन बातों को ध्यान करें, अपना संगठन बनायें, अपनी ग्राम-पंचायत मज़बूत करें और ये सहकारी संघ बनायें। इसमें आपको बताया जायेगा कैसे हो। और आपके पंचों-सरपंचों को हम ले जा के दस-पाँच रोज़ कुछ सिखा भी देंगे। लेकिन ये बात जल्दी-से-जल्दी होनी चाहिए और इसमें ख़ाली ये पुरुषों का काम नहीं है, स्त्रियों का भी काम है और बड़ा काम है हमारी बहनों का। उनको भी पूरा भाग लेना चाहिए इन सब बातों में। इस साल फ़सल बहुत दिन बाद अच्छी हुई है, अच्छी हो रही है तो एक अच्छा चिह्न है ये हमारे आगे बढ़ने का। अब इससे हमें लाभ उठाना है। अब नहीं हमें फँस जाना है कि कभी फ़सल ख़राब हो तो हम कुछ कर नहीं सकें। यह बात ठीक नहीं है।

तो बस, आपके मानपत्र आपके मण्डलों की तरफ़ से मिले उसके लिए धन्यवाद। अब ये

जो मण्डल हैं काँग्रेस के, इसके ऊपर बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी है, क्योंकि मण्डल के पंच हैं, सरपंच हैं, वो समझो उस इलाक़े के नेता हैं। तो उनको उसको चलाना है आगे, आगे चलाना, ज़िम्मेदारी लेनी है और देखना है कि कैसे आगे बढ़ते हैं, सहकारी संघ बनते हैं, कैसे-कैसे लोग अपने गाँव में अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं, पैदा अधिक हो रहा है। उनके साथ मिल के काम करना। उनके साथ मिल के सब करना है। तो बस, अब मैं आगे बढ़ता हूँ। आपको धन्यवाद। जय हिन्द!

मेरे साथ कहो, मेरे साथ कहो जय हिन्द!

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! फिर से जय हिन्द! फिर से जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

So, I have come to you for a short while. I have been around in my district, making enquiries with the farmers to see how they are faring, trying to inform them of the big things that are taking place in the country, because since we attained swaraj, our chief task has been to see that the country rises, poverty is removed.

Big things have been done in these ten years, big things, and they have benefitted the farmers too, still we especially desire that the villages and farmers develop, advance, and rise. So, how is this to be done? Nobody can just come from outside and develop you? Nor can some of you go to the officials. It happens with one's own strength and hard work. We earned swaraj with our own hard work, with our unity, by working together. So, the great thing before us is that we produce more from our fields and factories, because there is only one way of removing our poverty and that is to produce more. This benefits us and the whole country. And there is no doubt that you can produce, because wherever I went in the districts of Allahabad, I gave away prizes to farmers who produced well. These people grew forty-five to fifty maunds of wheat in one acre. Now, guess, how much do we produce generally? Ten or twelve, or maybe fifteen maunds. In place of that they have produced fifty maunds. Those farmers are the same people as you. They have no large machines. They worked hard with their own hands, nurtured the earth, they grew forty five or fifty maunds. So, everyone can do this. If they use their intelligence, understand and sow good seeds, use the right manure, dig a little more, if the ploughs are right, these are little things. So, if you and I begin to grow twice the amount of what we do, leave aside fifty maunds, if only ten maunds are increased to twenty, the condition of the country will change. Then we can advance with great speed and this will especially change the conditions of the farmers. The country will change and so will the farmers.

Besides, we have to build large factories where all will work, your children should work, also cultivate. In your villages there should be small factories,

village industries. With all these things working together the country will advance in all directions. So, you must understand this task, you must perform this task. It can hardly be done by a government order? For this, on the one hand the village panchayats should be strong and on the other there should be cooperatives. Cooperatives...I do not know, whether you have understood or not? The cooperatives which have been here till now have only been here to lend money, to advance loans to the farmers. Those cooperatives are few now, there should be more. And many more you should form. At least you should begin, and then the task of making it final should be of others. If all the village panchayats in your area raise this matter, the work can be done quickly. If you keep waiting for some big government officials, engineers to come, then it takes many days and you have to keep waiting. Those who want to do the work on their own can very well do it, one does not have to wait for an officer or engineer from outside. Whosoever wants the job himself can do it. And this is the way we want to do things. This is one thing I wish to say to you, specially to the farmers. For the whole country there is much to say, because there is a ferment in the entire country, because we all want to move ahead at full speed. And thus, with an improvement in the condition of the masses, the strength of the country grows. And the better it is the more we move ahead.

So, I desire that in our Allahabad district you pay great attention to these matters, build your own organisation, and strengthen your village panchayats and these cooperatives. In this you will be instructed. And we will also take and train your panchs and sarpanchs for five or ten days. But these things must happen at the earliest, and this is not the task of men alone, it is a task for the women too, for our sisters. They too, should take a full share of these matters. This year the crop has been good after a long time, and its being good is a sign of our moving ahead. We should benefit from this. Now, we should not be stuck that if at some time the crop is bad, we are not able to do anything. This is not right.

Well, this is all. Thank you for the manpatra I received from the mandals. Now, these Congress mandals, there is big responsibility on them, because the panchs and sarpanchs of the mandals, they are the leaders of the area. So they have to drive it forward, they must take the responsibility and see how to move ahead, how to form cooperatives, and which people in the village are doing good work, are growing more. They should work with them. They should do all with them. So now I move ahead. Thank you. Jai Hind!

Say with me, Jai Hind!

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Again, Jai Hind! Once again, Jai Hind!

Translation ends.]

(ii) Madras State

7. To Children: On Nature and Friendship⁴⁰GUINDY DEER PARK
CHILDREN'S CORNER OPENED

Madras, April 15.

Mr. Nehru declared open last evening the Children's Corner in the Guindy Deer Park behind the Gandhi Mandap. Thousands of children from city schools attended the function and cheered the Prime Minister on his arrival.

The children's park has been developed over an area of 14 acres by the Forest Department at a cost of Rs. 55,000. Work on the scheme started early this year in accordance with the wish expressed by the Prime Minister. An attractive garden has been laid. The park will provide an abiding interest in nature study for children. Under the shade of a big banyan tree, there is an open theatre. Birds will be reared by the setting up of two aviaries. The aim is to develop the corner and the park around the Gandhi Mandap "in the manner of and yet somewhat differently to what has been done in Uttar Pradesh at the site sacred to the memory of the Buddha in Sarnath near Banaras."

Mr. Nehru accompanied by the Governor, Mr. Bisnuram Medhi, arrived at the park after visiting the riding school. The members of the advisory committee on the development of the Guindy Park were introduced to him by Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister. Seva Samajam boys and girls lined the route and the mobile playground band was in attendance. The PM was greeted by an elephant calf "Kamala". On arrival at the open air theatre he was garlanded and presented with bouquets by a number of little children. One blind child said a prayer in English which was followed by a song in Tamil by two girls.

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam expressed his happiness at the presence of Mr. Nehru in the midst of children on the Tamil New Year Day which was a new year day for their Governor also. The children's park which had come up in connection with the centenary celebration of the Madras Forest Department had been dedicated to the benefit of the children of Madras and they were indebted to the Governor for placing a substantial portion of the Government Estate for providing this amenity. Deer roamed about the park and even went into the

40. Report of speech at the Children's Corner, Guindy Deer Park, Madras, 14 April 1959. From *The Hindu*, 16 April 1959.

compound of Raj Bhavan. He was sure that children would enjoy nature of the park.

Baby Renuka Choudhary, niece of the Governor, requested the Prime Minister to declare open the Park.

ADVICE TO CHILDREN

Mr. Nehru said that he was very fortunate in coming to Madras on a very auspicious day, the Tamil New Year Day. It was a good beginning. On the way he was taken to the Riding School for children and he rode there on a horse with other children. When he went round and saw parts of the beautiful Park, the trees, the animals and above all so many bright and lovely children, he considered that it was a piece of good fortune for him. He hoped that children would visit the Park and make friends with the trees, flowers, animals and birds, because they should be friendly with all of them. They should learn to be friendly with everybody. It was nice to have friends. "I like riding," Mr. Nehru said, "but what I like more is to be friendly with horses. When both the rider and the horse are friends, you get on well together. It is not good riding if you are afraid of the horse or the horse is afraid of you. Then it is not good." So also in the garden wherever they went, children should make friends with trees and flowers. There were so many things for children to know about the big world. When people grew up, they got busy with all kinds of things which were not important. It was far more important to know trees and flowers than to do many things which grown-ups did. Trees and flowers would not say nasty things to them. They should know the birds and recognise them and their singing. Of course, there were so many other things. If they looked at the sky at night they would see stars. They should be able to recognise them. They would become friends. There were so many friends in the world and yet people were silly enough to quarrel and be nasty to each other. Sometimes children were nasty to each other. There were foolish children. The little Park is going to be a delightful place for children to meet, play and make friends. Mr. Nehru congratulated those who made the park and gave it to children.

Mr. P.P.I. Vaidyanathan, Food and Agriculture Secretary to Madras Government, proposed a vote of thanks.

8. At Marina Beach: Public Meeting⁴¹

Friends and comrades,

As you have been told just now, we meet on an auspicious day for auspicious work and I should like to congratulate you all and to give you my good wishes for the New Year that is beginning today.⁴² Arriving here today I had the best of New Year gifts given to me. That was a party of the children of Madras gathered together for the inauguration of the children's park at Guindy.

We have met here today for a specific purpose, that is, the unveiling of the statue of Mahatmaji.⁴³ I have been generally opposed to the idea of putting up Gandhiji's statues and busts for two or three reasons. One is, that I had a feeling in my mind that it was impossible to do justice to him in something of stone or marble, how to bring that vibrant personality, to put it in shape in a statue. Then there was the other objection that mostly where such statues have been put up they are bad, very very bad, with no trace of artistic merit in them, just something



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 APRIL 1959)

41. Speech at the unveiling of Mahatma Gandhi's statue, Madras, 14 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

Nehru was on a three-day tour of the three districts of Madurai, Ramnad (Ramanathapuram) and Tirunelveli.

42. The Tamil new year.

43. The statue, installed on the Marina Beach opposite the office of the Inspector-General of Police, had been cast by Debi Prasad Roy Chowdhury. Nehru had earlier visited his studio in Chromepet to select a model for installation at Indian embassies.

carved out which might possibly distantly resemble him, a lifeless piece of stone, and it seemed to me an insult to the memory of our great leader, for him to be represented in that way. But our people are fond of statues and idols to worship. For them they symbolise an idea and they do not pay too much attention to the form that that idea takes. So, if for these reasons I have not liked the idea of statues of Gandhiji being put up, although, I might add, in spite of my dislike of this. I have occasionally helped, assisted in unveiling such statues.

But, on further consideration I changed my mind. I changed it, subject always, of course, to the statue being a work of art and not just a lump of stone or marble. Subject to that I changed my mind, and I changed it because I found myself being affected, influenced by some of the statues or pictures that I saw. I had a surge of emotion when I saw them and they brought numerous pictures to my mind and they made me feel very humble, and I wondered how far those of us of our generation had kept to the right path since our great leader had passed. And, if I felt that way I thought that others might also feel that way and many others who had never seen him, or succeeding generations even, and it was well that they should be reminded of him and should think about him, even though they had not heard his voice or seen his frail figure. Therefore, I came to the conclusion that it was good to have his likeness in stone or marble, not likeness of face only but something symbolic of what he was, this eternal striver after truth on his eternal journey for the Indian people. And if that statue brings out that essence of this man, then it was a good thing for India to be constantly reminded of it and to be pulled up when we fall by the wayside or forget the great truths for which he stood.

So I am glad to be here to unveil this statue, and I know that it is a good statue, although I have not unveiled it yet, because I have seen models of it, I have seen something like it in Calcutta, and I suppose something like it in a different composition will be put up in Delhi. The artist sculptor, Mr. Roy Chowdhury,⁴⁴ is a man of genius and he has brought into this work of his something of a glimpse of what Gandhiji was, that eternal pilgrim striding forward with his staff, ever walking, ever going forward in his loin cloth representing the millions of India, and a phrase came into my mind which he

44. Debi Prasad Roy Chowdhury, (1899-1975); sculptor and painter; Principal, College of Arts and Crafts, Madras, 1929-57; Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi, 1953-60; Director and President, Art Seminar of UNESCO, Tokyo, 1955; executed large compositions in bronze, including *Martyrs' Memorial* in Patna, *Triumph of Labour* in Madras and Delhi, *Mahatma Gandhi* in Madras and Calcutta, *Rhythm* at The National Museum, New Delhi; author of books on art.

used long long ago—I think it was in 1920, at the beginning of the non-cooperation movement. Our great poet, Rabindranath Tagore had expressed some doubts about that movement and something that might narrow us, and then Gandhiji replied to that in friendly and respectful language, and that article of his that came out then, addressed to the great sentinel, that is Tagore, had something which pieces of intuitive writing have.⁴⁵ And in that article he told the world what he had always in mind and for what he was working. He was working for the freedom of India, the independence of India, the betterment of all the people of India and all that, of course, but above all, he was working for the millions of India, he reminded poet Tagore, these millions for whom life is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance in their poverty. That was the constant picture before his mind of our millions, almost in a trance, working, going through life somehow or other, and he wanted to lift them out of that trough. And therefore, I think when I think of him, while many many pictures come to my mind, many thoughts, many sayings of his, the picture that comes most often to my mind, and even before I have seen this statue or its model, was Gandhiji, staff in hand, walking on. And I am glad that that has been chosen for the statue here so that we may remember always this great pilgrim of humanity and of India, and may remember always for what he strove and what his objective, his journey and pilgrimage were aimed at, for the millions of India who had been in a trance almost, of poverty for ages past, and for whom it has been our privilege to labour. So, it is an honour to me that you have invited me to unveil this picture and I shall do so.

And, as I do so, my heart will be a little heavy within me because pictures crowd in upon me of the past and the present and I wonder about the future. But now that I have come here before you I should like to speak about some other matters too, matters of moment for you and me and all of us, matters of moment, I take it, for him whose statue we unveil today, even though we only have a statue with us and not him in the living flesh. For, whatever we do, whether we call it our five year plan or some development scheme or other, unless, somehow, it fits in with that major concept of his, of how to raise these millions at their eternal vigil and their eternal trance. Our labours are superficial and do not touch the core of the problem of India.

45 . For details, see D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma, Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi* (Bombay: published by Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri & D.G. Tendulkar, 1951) Volume Two 1920-1929, pp. 59-62; and Gandhi's reply, "The Poet's Anxiety," in *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: GOI, Publications Divisions, 1966), Volume 20 (April-August 1921), pp. 161-164.

In these last twelve or thirteen years that we have had to carry this tremendous burden of India, of the governance of India, the test should be—and I for one want to abide by that test—how the millions of India fared during this period. Have we done anything which has lifted them or which will lift them, which has brought a little hope into their eyes, which has raised them, raised their stature somewhat? It may be, of course, that in works of great national undertaking it takes time for results to come. But have we laid the foundations deeply or not? There are many critics of our activities in India, and it is a good thing to have critics, because the best of us are apt to look at things in a limited way if there are no critics and no sentinels to put them right. We should never, therefore, be angry with our critics. We should only be angry with ourselves if we do not come up to the standard we aim at. Therefore, I am not complaining of criticism. I welcome it. The problems we have to face are tremendous. No single man, however able he may be, can shoulder this burden, and if at any time those of us who happen to be connected with the government, either at the Centre or in the States, imagine that they are super men and that they need not consult others, then they have failed. It is with this spirit I wish to approach this question. Of course, I fail often enough, I make mistakes, I say foolish things and all that, but I hope everything will be forgiven me if I am right and if I try to think right, and I endeavour to do so.

Looking at it from this point of view, what is our essential problem in India? We have, since we became independent, got entangled in external affairs, as every independent country must. We cannot ignore external affairs. We cannot ignore the question of war and peace in the world. We cannot isolate ourselves from the world. We have followed a policy there, a policy which is one of non-alignment. Some people, not understanding that word, call it a neutral policy. That of course is not a right description. It is a policy of non-alignments which means not going in for military alliances and the like; it means coming to decisions on each subject as we think right and not because we are pushed in this or that direction because of alliances or because of pressures from other countries; it means trying to be friendly with all countries; it does not mean that we should forget the truth or not give expression to the truth when that is necessary, even though that expression of the truth in us may sometimes not be to the liking of other people. We try to follow that policy. We have made mistakes, of course, but essentially we have followed it and it is for you and for others to judge how far we have succeeded or not. Because basically that was the thinking and policy which we had pursued long before Independence, it was not a new decision that we took when Independence came, and it fitted in with all our thinking, with, in so far as anything can fit in, our inner domestic approach.

What is that policy, if I may explain it again? To adhere to what you consider

right, subject always to all kinds of considerations, because there is no such thing as an isolated opinion today and a prophet holding forth to the rest of the world. We are no prophets, we are small fry, small folks making mistakes, and even so, even if we were prophets, which we are not, we would not be Prime Ministers and Ministers in a democratic government trying to carry out the people's will. But there is one basic thing, which I think you may say we have learnt from Gandhiji, and that is, not to set about cursing and blaming others, other countries. We differ from them and we sometimes give expression to our difference by our policies, but always, I hope, in a friendly way, without condemning, without cursing. The difference of opinion is there because we live in a terribly difficult world where passions are being roused and cold war rages, and with the cold war and these passions if you want to seek a solution, surely you do not seek it by increasing the pace of the cold war, surely not by cursing and fuming at others. By that you only raise passions all the more and the chance of a settlement becomes less and less. Therefore, we have avoided that. And we have been blamed, "Oh! The Government of India is afraid, it dare not express its opinion, and whether it is Hungary or whether it is this or that, it dare not do so." Maybe we may have erred. I do not say we have not. But let this be remembered, that unless in a moment of temper, in a moment I lose my temper or we as a community, as a group, as a nation, lose our temper, as anyone can do. But our deliberate policy is not to lose our temper with other countries, not to be offensive even though we disagree, and try to be friendly to them and try to induce them, to win them over by our friendliness, or at any rate, to reduce their opposition or hostility.

Today, we have our neighbour country Pakistan, with all the terrible history of these past twelve years and more. Still we have continued to try to be friendly. It has been difficult, I can tell you, and we have been accused of appeasement and the like. But I do believe that is the only possible policy, keeping in view always India's interests, India's security, because we cannot discard them. But apart from that, always to think, to aim at future accord. Now the other day, three—is it four days ago—you read, you must have read and heard about the shooting down of one of our military aircraft in Pakistan's territory.⁴⁶ I am not going into the merits of it. They will be seen to later and inquired into. The two, the pilot and the navigator of that aircraft fortunately escaped with their lives but one of them was badly hurt, the other is also hurt, and both, as you can well imagine, have had a terrible shock, physical and mental. We are leaving them

46 . An Indian Air Force Canberra jet aircraft was shot down by the Pakistan Air Force near Gujarkhan, thirty miles from Rawalpindi, on 10 April 1959.

to rest, to recover, and when they recover, no doubt, we shall get to know something from them as to how this happened. So, I am not going into the facts. But what I am drawing your attention to is this, that so far as I know, for the first time, not only between India and Pakistan but in the wide world, except with one exception, which I shall tell you about, for the first time an incident of an aircraft from a friendly country being shot down has taken place. And I say, even if our pilot and others erred—and remember it is admitted that it was an unarmed aircraft, it was not armed—suppose they erred, suppose they acted foolishly, whatever it was, still that fact remains that an unarmed aircraft from a friendly country was shot down; and I say this kind of thing has not happened anywhere else in peace time except between that terrible frontier of the Soviet Union and the Western countries, that area, where sometimes such aircraft have been shot down. So, it is a very deplorable thing that has happened. Nevertheless, we have kept our tempers, we have tried not to lose them, because it is not the fault of the Pakistani people, but it shows how many of the officials or men in the air force or the military people have their fingers constantly on the triggers. Whether it is in the eastern border, western border, or now this deplorable incident of a shooting down on our border; we have to face these things and we have to keep all this in view, you and I, even when we think of our own problems.

Take another, major happening in recent weeks, that is, the developments in Tibet. You know that the Dalai Lama with his party reached Indian territory a few days ago and we gladly offered him asylum and treated him with the respect that he deserves. We have not and I do not propose now to discuss this complicated question of Tibet because, as I said in Delhi, there are certain factors in regard to it, there are three factors especially which we have to bear in mind. We as a Government have to bear in mind always the security of India. I do not mean to say that that security is challenged now or there is immediate danger to it, not that. But we have to bear in mind with every step today what effect it will have the day after tomorrow or next year or the year after. We have to bear in mind our basic policy of friendship with other countries and with our neighbour country of China. And we have to bear in mind, indeed, whether we bear in mind or not it fills us, our sympathy for the Tibetan people, not an empty sentiment, it is deep down in us. We had hoped that this problem of Tibet would be solved on the lines laid down in the various treaties, etc., that is to say, the suzerainty or sovereignty, call it what you will, of the Chinese State and the full autonomy of the Tibetan people. I could not imagine any feasible or practical or happy solution without that autonomy of the Tibetan people. It is well known and accepted by the Chinese Government and people that the Tibetans are not Chinese. The Chinese people are called the “Han” people, the people of the “Han” race. Tibetans are Tibetans. They may form a single State.

And in the course of the last few hundred years there has been conflict and often China has been overlord and sometimes not. We need not go into past history. We accepted China's overlordship in continuation of past events and we stand by it. But I do earnestly hope that the Tibetan people will maintain and be able to enjoy their autonomy and not be oppressed and suppressed by others, and that sooner or later some such settlement will be arrived at.

I refer to these two matters not because I want to talk to you about external affairs, but just to remind you that we can never become isolated and think only of the problems of our country because what happens in the rest of the world impinges upon us all the time, it hits us in the eye, it affects our interests. Of course, if there is a big war, we, like every other country, will be affected. And even otherwise, the crises of the world affect us. Therefore, we have to keep them in mind. But ultimately the basic problems for us are domestic problems, national problems; those national problems are many and varied, but again, essentially that national problem becomes an economic problem, a problem of economic growth, how to raise our people from this morass of poverty and unemployment.

Now, I talk about economic growth and I propose to say something about this, but do not imagine that I do not attach importance to other values in life, moral, spiritual, ethical, etc. I attach the greatest importance to them. But I do think that even moral and spiritual and ethical values have no meaning to a starving man or a starving nation and it is an insult to him to go and tell him to live on spirituality when we cannot give him food or clothing or the necessities of life. Therefore, certainly you must have moral and ethical values and spiritual values because without that life becomes rather barren, empty; and especially in India and specially after Gandhiji, for us to forget those moral and ethical values would be a disaster and a tragedy. Nevertheless, we as a government have largely to function on the economic plane and we have to think of how to raise the economic condition of the Indian people, keeping in view the other values also. What are we to do about it?

A very eminent leader of India whom we have honoured and respected for generations, Sri Rajagopalachari,⁴⁷ has been writing sometimes showing displeasure at our policies.⁴⁸ Anything that Rajaji says has always merited consideration and respectful attention, and in the past thirty, forty years that I

47. C. Rajagopalachari, Congress Chief Minister of Madras State, 1952-54; founded Swatantra Party in 1959.

48. Rajagopalachari regularly published articles attacking state trading in foodgrains, land ceilings, and cooperation. These appeared in *Swarajya*, the *Hindu*, the *Indian Express* and the *Hindustan Times*.

have known him, even when on many occasions we differed, rather radically, and there were several such occasions in Congress history, still we paid great attention to what he said, listened to it, tried to understand it, and only when we could not quite agree with him, did we part company. I am not entering here into an argument about these matters. I only referred to Rajaji because I respect him and have affection for him and I do not propose here or at any other place to have a polemical argument with him. I can assure you that what he says will always command our respectful attention. But may I perhaps venture to say one word to him with great respect, and that is, a little charity sometimes in his thinking may not be out of place. We may err often, we are not wise as he is, we may have other faults, but at least let us not, I hope, in his mind be charged with a lack of good faith.

Now what is the problem in India? Economic problems, raising the economic level of Indian humanity, raising the level of that peasant as of all others. How do we do it? We talk about socialism and at the Avadi Session we formally adopted socialism.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, we did not even then precisely define socialism although the broad objectives are clear enough. Some people accused us, "Oh! You want to leave it vague." My reply was, "Yes, very deliberately, thinkingly and consciously we have refused to define it accurately because we do not want to be doctrinaire, we do not want to be rigid." We want to learn by our own mistakes; we have certain broad objectives in view; we want to raise the standards of living of our people; we want to bring about, progressively greater equality and opportunity in our people; we want to reduce the differences among various classes of our people; we want, ultimately, to aim, broadly speaking, at a classless society. All that we want to aim at. How we are to do it we have to work out. Therefore, we do not wish to be too rigid or doctrinaire. So we proceeded.

Now, forget the word socialism or any other ism. What is the problem? Again I repeat, raising the level of our people. How do we do it? By increasing the production, the productive capacity of our people. There is no other way. Obviously, we cannot live on the charity of others. We may get help from others, we may get loans and credits from others which we have to pay back, but we have to live on our own productive capacity and we have to raise our level of living by raising that productive capacity. There is no other way. There is, of course, the other thing attached to it, that on the side of distribution there should be progressive equality, there should be justice, but the basic thing is production with equitable distribution gradually coming in.

49. In 1955. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 255-298.

How do we raise our productive capacity? I should think that any person, I say so with respect, any thinking person will agree, whatever his views may be generally about capitalism or socialism or other isms, that in the conditions in India at present the capitalist method or the laissez faire method is an impossible method if we want any progress. And I say this not as a person believing in the socialist ways, objectives and methods but even apart from that. The capitalist method may, let us admit, be suitable for some countries in some periods but in the conditions in India today we just cannot make any adequate progress along the lines we are thinking by taking a laissez faire attitude which really has ceased to function in most countries, or by what is called free enterprise in all its glory. I cannot enter into the details, but I do submit that there is no such thing as this type of free enterprise in all its glory even in the home, central home of it today. That is, even there it is limited and constrained even though it is the dominating feature of society. But in a country like India, struggling against poverty and a population growing up, any attempt of that kind of growth may lead, no doubts will lead to more production in individual factories, individual odd places—may be the total for India may be quite substantial—but it may well be the wrong type of production, wrongly distributed, making the poor poorer perhaps, and making the distance between the classes and between the rich and the poor far greater. If we want to progress and our resources are limited, we have to husband those resources. We cannot allow those resources to be utilised by every individual, good individual I say, every individual who is thinking solely in terms of private profit. If the resources of India were spent in that way, I do not blame the individual, but that system will not lead to any kind of organised, sustained national growth. As it is, we have to husband our resources. We have to plan, in other words. We cannot leave to chance what is done.

So, we come to planning, and planning has been, I take it, more or less accepted by almost every person in India. If we plan, how do we plan? We are thinking of the Third Five Year Plan; the Third Five Year Plan which will begin two years hence. Who do we plan for? Vaguely, for India. Yes, of course! It is not good enough. We plan for the people who live in India, the population of India. What then is the population of India? What will it be at the end of the Third Five Year Plan for which we are planning? I do not know. Some people say it will be four hundred and fifty million, because it is growing fast. Therefore, we have to plan, let us say, for four hundred and fifty million people, food for four hundred and fifty million people, clothing for them and housing for them, education for them, health for them, work for them and all that and so many other things. How do we do it? Well, we have to plan for food—agricultural planning—we have to plan for industry, and the two, of course, overlap

somewhat. There is the production of food, which is the very first question, without which we cannot do anything, without which we cannot have industrialisation or industry. And today, or yesterday, we go on importing food from abroad because of bad seasons and because of other things. That is a situation that cannot be tolerated. You will have to wipe out all idea of progress of India, of industrialisation of India if you cannot have adequate food produced in India, and more than adequate, adequate even to meet disasters and droughts and floods and all that. That becomes a basic question. And yet, with all the progress you might make in agriculture, and which we will, I hope, you will not put an end to the poverty of India without industrialisation. And when I talk of industrialisation I mean all kinds of industry, big industry, middle industry, small industry, cottage industry, all that is under industrialisation and all fit in. There is no question of conflict between them. If you have got to industrialise India, how do you do it? There are certain basic things that you want, power, iron and steel. You cannot build up industries today without power and steel. You want both of them. In fact, you can judge of a country's position in the world just by knowing how much steel it produces, how much power it consumes. You need not know anything else. You will be able to say roughly what that country is doing. So, we have to organise our power, produce it and produce our steel, and further we have to produce machines. Remember, industrialisation does not mean getting an odd machine from Germany or America or Russia. It means producing the machine here; that is, we must have machine-building plants, that is, we must have plants which will build, let us say, iron and steel plants. This becomes basic. Power, iron and steel, big machine building. Of course, there are so many other things. There is the chemical industry and there is the huge river valley schemes for agriculture and for power and so on. But these are basic. You cannot industrialise unless you build these things from below.

Now, this heavy industry business and all that consumes enormous quantities of money and does not yield a result till several years later it is ready to work; then of course, it yields results. We go on building our four iron and steel plants, pouring in hundreds of crores into them with practically no dividend. But as after a year or so they begin to yield dividends, then we profit. We pour in hundreds of crores into river valley schemes, Bhakra-Nangal and this and that. No results, no dividends for years. Then, when they produce dividends, agriculture flourishes, hydro-electric power comes to us and then for generations we profit by it. So that the initial stage of building the foundations is an inevitable stage. If you skip it you never get going. You can put up odd factories in Madras or Bombay or Calcutta or anywhere getting the machines from other countries, and they will do some little good but precious little good. Every little part has

to come from some other country. You must build from below heavy industry, power, steel and some other things. That is the only way of thinking.

Then, think a little on some other lines. What is the test of our progress? Some kind of addition, annual addition to our wealth. What should it be? It should be more than is required for the growing population, surely. Now our population is growing at a faster rate than it used to. Why? Not because of more births but because of less of deaths, because our health standards have gone up, because some diseases like malaria have been largely rooted out, because people's average expectation of life has gone up, a good thing, a very good thing. But the result is that more people survive and our population goes up more and more. Previously, the rate of growth of the population was roughly one and a half per cent per by annum. Now it is two, and some people say as health standards go up it will be two and a half per cent later. Now all this, in a huge country like India, makes a tremendous difference. It means, maybe, fifty million people more to feed in a five year plan period, at the end of that. It means the necessity of far more food production, far more clothing, far more housing, far more schools. You see how it affects your life. Therefore, it is of importance and great importance that we should think of methods of family planning and family limitation. We are thinking of that and wherever we have reached people have responded to it. What does this mean? It does not mean of course, it is quite absurd and quite wrong to deny the joys of parenthood, not at all; it is only to avoid too large families which become a burden not only to the poor mother, of course, who carries the greatest burden, but to the whole family. But that apart, now the population is growing, let us say, at two per cent per annum. Now any addition to the national income at two per cent per annum will just be enough to cover the additional growth in population and you will remain where you are. Having worked hard and increased your national wealth by two per cent you remain where you are, that is, in the same state of poverty, etc., perhaps worse, perhaps more unemployment and all that. Therefore, we must produce more than two per cent. Indeed, much more than two per cent; because two things are required, one is, slightly at least, to better the lot of our people, give them some slightly better condition of living, and secondly, and most important of all, money which you can invest for future advance, some kind of surplus for investment for future advance. In fact, a country's speed of growth is measured by how much it can invest in future advance, the surplus, the surplus that is left over after your consumption. You see there are three things to be provided for. First, the additional population that leaves you where you are; secondly, some benefit to the people; and thirdly and most important of all, to have a surplus for investment for the future, because otherwise we do not go ahead. All this programme of industrialisation depends upon that surplus.

If you do not have it you do not do it. So that we arrive at a figure, let us say that we must advance at least, our national income, at least six per cent per annum. It is not a very big figure, it is a substantial figure but not a very big figure. If you do more, well and good. Of course, in an underdeveloped country, it is difficult to find surpluses because by the very definition of an underdeveloped country, the country is poor, the country's standards are low, therefore surpluses are lacking. That is the basic difficulty of an underdeveloped country. But it has to, nevertheless, find that surplus, otherwise it cannot develop. And so, it has to go through very painful processes of finding that surplus just at a time when it hoped to have the benefits, well, of higher standards. Swaraj comes to us and puts us this terrible question. Everybody in India wants and hopes that, now that swaraj has come, ah! we shall have the good things of life more and more; but the very first thing they have is to decide, that in order to progress and in order to have the good things of life, they have to save, they have to live a life of relative austerity, they have to produce surpluses. You see this contradiction, basic contradiction. There it is, one has to face it. It is not an easy way, even for an individual, much less for a nation. One has to face it. Anything worthwhile is difficult of achievement. Otherwise, of course, they will easily get it. So we have to plan carefully, thinking how to provide for the additional population and enough, over that, for the surplus for investment plus something for the people. When I say something for the people, leave out the question of salaries and wages. A government has to provide and must provide education on a wide scale because, both, education is good and because education is the base of agricultural and industrial progress. Education is a costly business, very costly. It has to provide health services, it has to provide so many other things which previously were not considered so necessary. Now, all this eats into your surplus and yet you must have a surplus, otherwise you do not go ahead. One must realise this problem. Therefore, the rate of production must be at least six per cent in order to enable you to do all this, and if you can do more, well and good.

This is the basic problem which the Planning Commission has to face, and government and people generally. Let it be understood. It is not enough to say, to criticise us that you are going in the wrong way or you are going too fast or let there be brakes and checks, otherwise you will break your neck, it may be so, of course, but it is not enough to say that. Let us analyse the problem, what it is and try to find ways out. I do not lay great claim, and I am quite honest with you, to any brilliance in understanding of economic matters and the like. I am humble enough in that matter. What I understand well, when I think I understand something, I put across my viewpoint; when I understand less, I listen to others. I hope I am intelligent enough to understand others. Anyhow, here is this terrific

problem and I do not think any man in India, however brilliant he may be, can answer by his own unaided intellect this question. Why do I say so? Because, the question is not a purely economic question. May be a brilliant economist, normally economists of course are very muddle-headed, but let us say a brilliant economist can find a remedy. But it is not the economist alone; ultimately the answer has to come from the 400 million people of India by their labour, by the amount of time and energy that they can put into a job. That will be the answer, not some paper figure of an economist. Who dare say how much work four hundred million people of India will put in? You can guess, you can make some estimate but you cannot be certain on an uncertain factor and the poor economist who deals with statistics cannot give any answer to what the millions of India may or may not do. Perhaps a competent politician, using the word in a good sense, perhaps he might have better judgment of the response of the people. So that you have to consider this problem from the numerous angles and points of view, not purely intellectually, though intellect is essential, but emotionally; what you can do, what others can do, what you can make others do, what results can be obtained by their working separately, by their working together and all that. And then you have to sit down and plan.

Planning today has advanced so much in theory that you can, without too much difficulty, making some assumptions of course, plan the growth of a nation. Plan it in this sense. How? So much agricultural growth: agricultural growth requires various things, irrigation, good seeds, good fertilisers and so on and so forth, you plan for this. All right, produce the seeds, produce the fertilisers, produce the water by irrigation and other things. Industry: well, you want basic industries, iron and steel plant, machine-making industry, out of that comes the small industries, for that you want transport, so many railways, so many roads, you want motive power, so that in that theoretical way you can plan very easily. Of course, putting it, giving a practical shape to it is very difficult specially if you aim high, and we dare not aim low. We dare not aim low, not because I want to go ahead but because I am pursued, not pursued by the theories but pursued by the growing population of India, by these vast millions, all of us are pursued by them, pursued by the problem there is. Therefore, one cannot apply brakes and checks and this and that hoping that everything will come out, when you know definitely that in five years time you will have to feed fifty million people more than you are doing today. Well, it is a fact, the fifty million may be forty, may be sixty, but broadly speaking, it is fifty. When you know that, you cannot sit down and wait for things to happen; you have to meet that situation. Therefore, it is not a question of going fast or slow; it is not a question of brakes and checks; it is a question of evolving with the resources at our disposal, with the human energy, human ability at our disposal, evolving a plan of action

to meet this terrific problem. There will be uncertain factors in it of course, but you have to evolve it, and in evolving it you have to give fair consideration to what you can do what you cannot do.

Mr. Rajagopalachari has stated that parties in India, the Congress as well as other parties, have ceased to think in a practical way of these problems. They are only engaged in vote catching, that is, in putting forward things which they think will get them votes. He is perfectly right in saying that in the modern idea of parliamentary institutions and democratic institutions people do care for votes. It is obvious. But, for a government to make wild promises is the surest way of that government signing its own doom, because it will have to fulfil the promises. Those who are not in the government may take the risk of wild promises; those who are in the government dare not do so because those promises will pursue them and overwhelm them if they cannot keep them up. But, apart from that, I want you to consider. I do not know, any one of you or even Mr. Rajagopalachari, who ought to know it better, thinks that all these wonderful plans come out of my head, if I may give an example from Greek mythology, of Minerva coming out of the head of Jupiter, as if they come out, the five year plan comes out of my head, or resolutions, Congress resolutions come out of my head. He knows that I am not such a brilliant person, I am rather an ordinary person with certain well defined capacity, with certain well defined energy and with fortunately a good deal of health about me so I can throw myself about. But still, you see how we proceed in this matter. Whether we are right or wrong is quite a different matter. But the amount of thinking the amount of consultation, checks and counter-checks about any plan are so big..... Here we are, thinking nearly three years ahead of the Third Five Year Plan, and the number of meetings, consultations, papers, etc., that are prepared is something terrific, not only in the Planning Commission, not only in the Government of India, not only in the State Governments, but at all kinds of levels. We have numerous seminars discussing it, we have the economists discussing it, the engineers discussing it, the scientists discussing it, the educationists discussing it, not only the different parts of the problem but the whole in so far as they are affected. We go down to the universities; we have got university forums, discussing, planning and these problems, and we want our panchayats, even down below, to discuss it and we want our community development centres, blocks to discuss it. We want this matter to be discussed by the millions and millions of India and then, of course, the parties to discuss it. The Congress certainly discusses it and sometimes takes a lead in discussions, just as it did in its recent resolutions. It had its sub-committees pouring over matters for months and weeks, then putting forward resolutions which are discussed. So it is amazing, the amount of consultation and discussion that

takes place. What the result is, may ultimately, may still be wrong in some people's views, this is unfortunate. But my point is that this is considered in so far as is possible, in an objective and scientific way and there is tremendous discussion about it. Of course, always there is a driving force in our heads, that we have got to go ahead, we have got to outpace the growth of population, we have got to raise our peasants, we have got to raise our common folk, that we have got to have higher standards of living for our people; that certainly is there, undoubtedly, and if that was not there I do not know what exactly we are for. I hope that none of us go and take hold of these ministerships and the like just to earn a living. After all, we may be good or bad, we are not quite that bad. And, I suppose, most of us could earn a much bigger living than we get there, by other ways. After all we are the descendents of a revolutionary period in India's history, a revolution led by the Indian National Congress, we are children of that revolution and we still have some of the fire of that revolution in us even though we may have become stale and flat and old and all that. Then we all stand condemned before our people, before history, in our own minds and hearts.

So this is the nature of the problem. There is no running away from it. You may vary it here and there, you may arrive at different conclusions, statistical or other, but the problem is that we have to go fast and there is no help for it, or we shall get overwhelmed by the tide of increasing humanity and poverty. I think that we can go that fast. I think that we can fight this poverty of India and unemployment. I do not say that in the course of three, four, five, six or seven years the problem of India will be solved. It is too big a problem to be solved in that way and even in countries like Russia and other places where they have had tremendous revolutions it has taken them generations to make the progress they have done. But I do think that if we work hard enough, and hard work is essential, if we work hard enough, we shall make marked progress in solving this problem. I hope that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan we shall have established our agriculture in a stout and stable basis so that we may not have any further fear on the food front and so that agriculture may supply us with many of the raw materials of industry in an increasing measure. I hope that by the end of the Third Five Year Plan, we shall have established certain basic industries, heavy industries, out of which will grow the others. We shall have made ourselves in a large measure, self-reliant. It will be hard work to reach that end. But I hope that hard work will be coming in India because there is no escape from it. Of course, after the Third Plan will come the Fourth, and the Fifth, and the Sixth. There is no end to our progress. But I do hope that we will have broken the back, the hump of poverty and unemployment by the end of the Third Plan. We will not have solved the problem but broken it, and then we can proceed with greater strength and confidence in ourselves to the next step.

Now, one matter that has been referred to specially and agitated some people is the matters coming out, derived from the Nagpur Resolutions of the Congress. The Nagpur Resolutions are two, namely, one about the Five Year Plan, and I have been speaking to you about this all the time, and the second is about land organisation, about panchayats, cooperatives and the like, and the ceilings on land, and so on. Now this, especially cooperatives and partly ceilings, have given rise to a great deal of controversy, or at any rate some people have objected to them greatly. If I am not wrong, I believe that by large numbers, great majority, they have been welcomed. What exactly do these resolutions mean? Are these resolutions going to lead India to wreck and ruin, as it is said? What is this business of cooperation? Is it some wild revolutionary doctrine which has suddenly descended from the Nagpur Session of the Congress? It is quite extraordinary how people leave out these wild revolutionaries, but the tamest of capitalist people recommended it to us. It is an ordinary thing which everybody recognises today, cooperation. It is most highly developed in countries like Scandinavia. For the moment, I am not talking about cooperative farming, joint farming, I will come to that presently. I am talking about service cooperatives and remember the main thing in the Resolution of the Congress is service cooperatives for the next three years. I say with a great deal of confidence that service cooperatives, that is, more and more cooperation in servicing agriculture, is an acknowledged method in every country, in every society, in every party in the wide world, odd individuals apart. I cannot understand how anybody can object to it, because, both, from the narrow point of view of greater production and all that, it is supposed to be essential in order to take advantage of modern techniques, it is essential, in order to bring about the cooperative method which is considered always better in every field of activity, whether it is industry or this. It is obvious to me, but more particularly in India. Why India? Because we have small holdings, tiny patches of land, ridiculously small. What is the poor farmer or the peasant to do with that little patch of land, one acre, two acres? How can he ever do anything with that? How can he introduce any new techniques? I am not talking about the big tractor and the big combines, leave that out, but a better plough, better this, better seeds, better fertilizer. How can he do it? How can he reach the people who can do it for him? He cannot do it. If you have big farms, possibly of course the big farmer with a hundred acres, five hundred acres, may of course do it, he is big enough. But you cannot, a poor man with one acre or two acres cannot do it. He can only get the benefits of it by combining with other peasants in a cooperative way. There is no other way. I say so with some confidence and I invite you to think about it. What other way is there? There is no other way. And it is a recognised way in every country whether capitalist or communist or socialist. Apart from this, this

particular application to India in this particular matter of food production, and higher techniques—and food production is of the highest importance and of course any system that is put forward must stand or fall by greater production.

Now, there is another aspect of it, and that I cannot prove statistically or otherwise, but I put it to you that the cooperative form of doing any work is a higher method, is a higher social method than doing it singly, and I am prepared to apply that to most human activities. The only thing I would exclude from it are artistic activities. The individual, the creative individual, has to function as an individual, whether he is a writer or a sculptor or a painter or whatever artistic activity he undertakes or an architect. That is true. But all these social labours, if I may say so, where society takes part, are always better done in a cooperative way and the more you move to cooperative methods, the higher you go in your social organisation. And we have arrived at a stage in India when we have to think of institutional changes, political institutional changes, social changes and all that. And I think therefore, this step, which is a normal step, cooperatives is absolutely normal, which every country has taken. And it is peculiarly fitted to India, it also represents a step advance in social organisation.

Then we have said that our ultimate goal is joint cultivation. Voluntary, remember. If people do not want it, well, they will not have it. But I do think, I do believe, that joint cultivation will yield much greater results, will be good for the farmer, and I am thinking entirely from the point of view of that small farmer. I know that in order to make this a success we have to train people in cooperative methods. Therefore, the first step is to train people, the great experts, the middle experts, the third degree experts and all that, it is important. Any important job has to be done, it requires training, it does not automatically come. And I do not think our peasantry, good as it is, is likely to make much progress unless it has greater education and greater training in what it does. Why is it that our peasant is producing line half or one quarter of a peasant in Egypt or some other countries is producing? He is a good man, he has good soil, but he has got into the ruts and he needs to be pulled out of them, and the best way to pull him out of them, is through this cooperative methods, in various ways.

I am sorry I cannot go on, I would like, I have endeavoured to discuss it in a more or less reasonable, I hope, political way, not in a slogan way. I am not throwing about slogans, I am tired of slogans. I have got to do practical work and produce practical results. So, I am trying to put some basic considerations before you. There are many others. Naturally, it is a vast subject and I cannot deal with it in the course of an hour or an hour and a half's speech. But I do want you to think about it. And I would venture with all respect, I would suggest

to Sri Rajagopalachari also to suggest positive remedies for our present state, I should consider them; merely to say there should be checks, I am afraid, leads us nowhere unless he wants those checks specially to be applied to checks on population growth. That I accept.

Now, another thing, if I may say so with deep regret, Rajaji has mentioned the army. I do not think he has been very fair to our army. That is all I wish to say, and it is not a good thing to say things which may lead people to think in wrong directions.

Well, my time is up. I am happy that I have been able to come to Madras on this Tamil New Year's Day and to meet all of you and to tell you something that I had in my mind. Of course, there are so many things. Life is exciting in India even with these problems, and I have had my share of this excitement. And however big the problems, the faith, the idea that I have the affection and goodwill of large numbers of people in India, has held me up and will hold me up; and if any day the people of India do not have that faith in me, they are perfectly capable of asking me to retire, to go away somewhere else and do some other job, and I shall gladly do it without a trace of, shall I say, of resentment, I shall be very happy indeed. But so long as I am in this business, I am in it, not for my health's sake, not to enjoy myself, but to get things done. I have got some energy still and I propose to drive myself hard so long as there is strength and life in me, to drive myself hard, to try to realise to the extent possible the dreams we have had, the promises we have made, to realise them. If I did not do so, I would be unworthy of your confidence, your faith and of the position that I occupy. But I can do little, our governments can do little without a popular understanding, popular support. And I do hope, because these huge social transformations cannot be brought by government decree, there are millions of people who have to work to make the five year plan a success. Therefore, I beg of you to consider these matters, think of these problems, come to conclusions and then act up to them. Thank you. Jai Hind!

Now I shall unveil the statue that we have.

9. At Madurai: On Gandhi⁵⁰

Shri Diwakarji⁵¹ and friends,

I reached Madras City yesterday, and I have been wandering about today and shall continue to wander about a little in the South. But the main purpose of my coming to the South on this occasion was to attend this ceremony of opening the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya.⁵² All the other functions and engagements had been added on to this. When I was invited to come here by Shri Diwakar, naturally I gladly agreed and yet I always find some difficulty in accepting an engagement of this kind relating to Gandhiji. Because the memory and the thought of Gandhiji fills my mind often in many ways and confuses my mind also. It is not perhaps the thought of Gandhiji that confuses my mind but always trying to find out how he might have reacted to situations, what he would have advised and how far we have failed away from that possible advice of his; that troubles me as it might trouble others. I cannot, of course, presume to imagine that I can act up to that high standard that he would have liked and be laid down. Nevertheless, this thought haunts me often that are we of this present generation not merely acting up or not acting up, but are we essentially true to what we say about him in so many words or do we say something which is essentially not true in the sense that it becomes a thing of words and we do not act up to it. It is a very difficult question and a difficult problem and because it is difficult, I do not know what to tell others about it, when I cannot solve it for myself.

But I remember then that Gandhiji is of course something much bigger than all that we have imagined of him that he had this remarkable quality of allowing and even encouraging those who were privileged to follow him to think out their problems for themselves, to take guidance from him of course, but to come to their own decisions, and to act according to their own lights, even though those lights might be dim. He did not want to impose himself, he certainly wanted to win the minds and hearts of people in this own way which

50. Speech at the inauguration of Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Madurai, and the inauguration of the Conference of Chairmen and Sanchalaks of State Boards of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 15 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Another, slightly different version, was published as "Nehru Remembers Gandhi" in G. Ramachandran (ed.), *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. 3, No. 3, July 1959, pp. 192-196.
51. R.R. Diwakar, Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, and President, Gandhi Peace Foundation.
52. First of the seven Gandhi National Memorial Museums to be opened by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, the Museum at Madurai was located in the renovated 300-year old palace and was intended to be the a centre of Gandhian philosophy for Indian and foreign scholars.

was not that of imposition. He did not want people to suppress and compress themselves and blindly say or do what he said. That was not the kind of following he wanted, though quite inevitably under the stress of his great personality people did find it difficult to function quite independently in mind. That is inevitable and it cannot be helped if you come in contact with a person like that. Still he did not encourage that. And so when problems come, it becomes our duty, I imagine, to come to our own decisions about them keeping in view, of course, whatever we learnt from him but to come to our own decisions and not take shelter in something that he might have said under different circumstances on a different occasion. Principles must be kept in view.

It is difficult to say what he would do or say in a different set of circumstances, because Gandhiji was essentially a dynamic person. He was not a person who went by some kind of rote and said the same thing to changing situations. He certainly had his firm feet firmly planted on certain principles. He has certainly tried his utmost and, I believe, succeeded in adhering to the truth as he felt it and saw it. Nothing could move him from that, once he was clear in his mind. But he did not consider every minor aspect of life as some basic truth which could not be changed. He had realised that life is a changing and developing phenomenon and therefore it has to be met in a developing and dynamic way. He in the half century and more of his tremendous service to India and to humanity he himself developed, he himself knew problems, met new problems in a new way or in a somewhat changed way. Because he had that quality in him of sensing change and meeting it and yet being true to his basic ideals. How can we, small fry that we are, talk of him and try to imagine that we are living up to his ideals? And that is what troubles me.

One would like to talk about it because even to talk about it is a consolation and a reminder of something big, it lifts us up. Even to come to a place like this—this Sangrahalaya, it is good; it lifts us out of ourselves and takes us into some region which is above the petty conflicts and hatreds of our lives. So it is good to come here and it is good that we are having such Sangrahalayas in various parts of India. It is good, I said yesterday in Madras, even to have Gandhiji's some kind of an image in stone or marble or bronze sometimes, although for many years I reacted strongly to this kind of images or statues being put up. Partly because I dislike worship of images of any kind and that came in the place of the inner quality that an individual should have in his worship or thinking. I doubt we are too apt to perform formal functions and think that our duty is over. I disliked therefore the statue being put up also because generally what has been put up is bad, is horrible to see, bad work. I am not referring to the one here because it is fine, but on greater consideration I felt that I was not right in my objecting to his statue or something like it being

put up, provided it is good and is a work of art. I thought it would be desirable for after all it would be a reminder, [...] vivid or faint, of a mighty person, a mighty son of India and that memory would perhaps make us better for a little while"so I welcome these statues.

It is good to think of him because I think the mere thought of him does us good and it makes us question ourselves, even as his living presence made us question ourselves. For when we saw him it was a joy and pleasure and a question, and a slight pain too and doubt, whether we have lived up to him whose name we took so often and so while we rejoice to be near him we were also slightly tortured in spirit and this eternal question as to whether we were worthy of him, whether we were not perhaps saying something appearing to be something which we are not. If that were so, in his living presence, how much more must it be when he is not there and so the memory of him always brings this eternal question. And then naturally we cannot lose ourselves in futile questioning. We have to decide, we have to act in the living present and we have ultimately to act according to our own lights.

And there is another aspect of it. Sometimes not entirely even according to our own lights and that is where another great difficulty comes in. A man like Gandhiji, a saintly figure, [...] a great leader and yet entirely absolutely different from the political leaders that one normally sees however big they may be. Because he would stick to his message whatever the consequences; he would face those consequences rather than compromise with what he considers to be the right thing. But so called political leaders and I am not using the word "political" in a bad sense; I am referring to good leaders, statesmen, politicians, leaders of people, call them what you like. They have always to deal with the people they are supposed to lead and they can only lead them as far as they can go. The leader might see the truth. I am using the word in the rather narrow sense of it. But unless those whom he leads also see it, what is he to do if he can lead them and go ahead by himself that would be wrong; if he is to keep with them, to some extent he has to limit that truth or the action following that perception of the truth. Because the others have not perceived it adequately or enough and so always he is troubled with this problem of essentially a compromise between what he thinks ought to be done and what he feels can be done under the limiting circumstances. But of course in a sense, Gandhiji was not only a man of high principles, a devoted follower of truth but very much in touch with the pulse of the people. In fact if anybody could represent the people of India essentially, it was he. So he knew his people thoroughly; he was part of them much more so than any of us and therefore he did not ask them to do, to perform miracles. At any rate, the miracles he asked them to perform, he thought, they could perform and they did perform. They were within that something that

he felt could be done. He did not ask them, the people of India, to do something which was entirely impossible of achievement. He might ask an individual for a stricter discipline but not the people of India. So he did adapt himself, being a very practical person, to his people's limitations; to some extent that was there. Nevertheless, he never compromised with what he considered wrong and there is no political leader in the wide world, however good he may be, who does not have to compromise from day to day. The compromise may be in relatively small matters, but if you get into the habit of compromising in small matters sometimes you may do it in the big matters too. It is a slippery method of procedure for essentially and oddly enough in a democratic society it becomes even more necessary to compromise because a democratic leader not only leads but is also led. I mention this to you although it is of no great consequence because of the constant struggle that has to be faced by many of us. It is difficult enough to face the world's problems or our country's problems today. They are difficult problems. They are exciting problems. They are a challenge to the man in us and yet apart from that difficulty there is another difficulty of trying to fit them in to what in a different context we say about Gandhiji and when I talk about Gandhiji I am not referring to the scores and hundreds of things that he said on this occasion or that although whatever he said formed more or less a perfect picture. Because his life was essentially a work of art, with no false line in it or false tune. And yet naturally there was a great deal in it which was at the moment meeting a particular problem of the times which may not have the big significance in later days and later ages and there was something about his life which had that permanent significance which almost an eternal truth has.

Now some of us sometimes attach ourselves to some of the things that Gandhiji said or did, important as that were. But perhaps in my opinion not so important as some of the other things. There is always the danger of the follower losing himself in trivial details and forgetting the major lesson of the teacher that is inevitable for the follower who is limited by his own understanding and has been rather suppressed by the greatness of the teacher himself and unable to get out of too many smaller things to see the bigger things. All these aspects come to mind.

But essentially, here it is, that a man of God trod this earth of India and as others before him sanctified it by his penance and sanctified not only the soil of India but changed the minds and hearts of our people not so much those who thought themselves very clever but the humble and the disinherited and the dispossessed. And his picture therefore, his right picture is always the picture of his going to these humble people of India. Thinking of them, working for them and putting some hope and joy in their lives.

And it is good that we remember that picture above all else and remember also his fundamental lesson, if I may pick and choose, that means are more important than ends. That no ends are right or can be ultimately right if we try to achieve them by wrong means and wrong methods. Again I repeat something as if I have learnt it by rote and yet it becomes frightfully difficult to apply all these things in our lives. In many little matters it is very seldom that one has to choose between black and white something is black and something is white, there are so many intervening shades of grey in our lives. Nevertheless, it is good to keep that principle in mind to prevent us from slipping too far.

So I have come here today to offer my homage afresh to him and to his memory. You, Sanchalaks and others who have gathered here and who will meet in conference for some days at Gandhigram will discuss your work, many aspects of it perhaps these deeper problems do not trouble you. It is well that they do not trouble you. Concentrate on the work you have and do it as well as you can. I should like to pay my tribute to the Chairman of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Shri Diwakar, and to the very energetic Secretary, Shri Ramachandran⁵³

Civic Reception



The Prime Minister visited Madras City last week on his way to a four-day tour of the southern districts of the State.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 APRIL 1959)

53. G. Ramachandran, Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Director, Gandhigram Rural University, Madurai.

who have made this Nidhi do good work and which is blossoming forth all over India. I hope that this work will not merely take the form of living symbols like museums and sangrahalayas but have something more dynamic. I am sure it will.

Thank you.

10. At Madurai: Public Meeting⁵⁴

Friends and comrades,

As you have just been reminded I have come to Madurai after nearly six years.⁵⁵ And six years is a fairly long time. Now six years is more than half the time that has elapsed since Independence, and we should now have some time to think of what we have done and what we have got to do. I think we have done a great deal in India and when I say we I mean the people of India. And you see all over India things being made and built and a great ferment. We have produced many things. Among the many things we have made or produced, we have produced a considerable number of critics and that is a sign of life. I can tell you that wherever you may go to India, whether in the cities or in the villages, you see not only big works being constructed, but a new life coursing through the veins of our people. And when new life comes, it produces many results. People who sense that life, want more of it. [...]. While they are going ahead, they are complaining also and when some people are complaining, it is a sign of their life, and the way we want to go ahead.

The truth of the matter is that all over India there is the ferment in people's mind. People have been shaken up out of the conditions they were in for generations past. They have been shaking up, even the people in our villages, and when people are shaking up there is a ferment, new thoughts come, new desires, new demands. All that has happened, and all this sometimes is a little perplexing. Sometimes is a little disappointing, but it is a good sign because it shows that the people of India are on the march, and are trying to shape the ways and methods of going ahead. That is the main thing I want you to remember. Because sometimes people imagine that there is so much criticism in India, so many people complaining, that it must be a bad thing. Nothing of the kind. We invite criticism. We like criticism because we want to move all together with

54. Speech, 15 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru's speech was rendered into Tamil by O.V. Alagesan.

55. Nehru last visited Madurai from 2 to 4 October 1953.

the people of India and having considered every aspect of the problem, not to issue commands. It is how we have built up a democratic society. We have built up a people's Raj, and in a people's Raj and in a democratic society, every person has a right to say and to complain and every person has not only a right but an obligation and a duty to work.

If you travel over the length and breadth of India you will see all that is happening, all the big schemes, all the big river valley schemes, and the great factories and the small factories, all that is happening in the villages of India. And you will see this great and ancient nation coming to a new life, quivering with this new life and marching ahead. You will see all that. But I am not going to tell you about these matters. If you can, you can go and see them. But I want to remind you of something that has happened since I came to Madurai five six years ago. A year or two after that, our National Congress met at Avadi, and at Avadi we took a decision to have as our objective a socialist pattern of society.⁵⁶ And later we adopted that as the Congress creed, a cooperative, Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth.⁵⁷ Remember the words, Socialistic, Cooperative Commonwealth. This is what we adopted. That was a step forward. The Congress had really always thought in terms of some socialistic pattern, but at Avadi, it formally accepted that and put it in its creed. I want you to remember that, because now at the last session of the Congress at Nagpur three months ago, we took another step, a step which was in line with Avadi and yet which took us some distance forward.⁵⁸

At Nagpur, the Congress passed two important resolutions. One was about the five year plan, and specially the Third Five Year Plan that will begin two years from now. The second was about our land organisation, about panchayats, and about cooperatives. Now you know that we have had five year plans now for the last eight years. We are in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan. What is a Five Year Plan? It is an attempt to organise the resources of the country so that the people can advance as fast as possible, and so you have seen during these five year plans all kinds of activities in cities, towns and villages. And I think that the people of India have made good progress during these past eight to ten years. Already we have started thinking of the Third Plan, because this Plan has to be made in consultation with the people of India, with all the

56. In 1955.

57. At the Indore Congress in January 1957, the word "Socialist" was added before "Co-operative Commonwealth" in Article I of the Congress Constitution. See SWJN/SS/42/p. 541.

58. 9-11 January 1959. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 164-261.

states, with the Planning Commission, with all, even the panchayats and people in the villages and towns alike. We want to consult all of them and then develop this Five Year Plan, because it is going to be a National Plan, a people's Plan and the people themselves will have to work it out.

I shall not talk to you about this Five Year Plan, but I should like you to help in it, by studying it, by making any suggestion so that there we might evolve a good plan. As you have seen industries are going up. Here in Madura they are going up. But I am going to talk to you now specially about land and agriculture, and the second resolution of the Nagpur Congress was about land and agriculture. You know that eighty or ninety per cent of our people live in the villages. Therefore, India will only progress properly when our villages change, when the people who live in the villages are better off and we want new patterns for them to go ahead. Otherwise even if your cities do well and if the villages don't change, India will not basically change. It is important therefore to think of the villages and I want you to remember that Gandhiji always thought of the villages of India, and the men who lived there. I am just coming from opening the Gandhi Sangrahalaya⁵⁹ and many of you, and all of you, will go to the Sangrahalaya from time to time, to be reminded of what Gandhiji stood for. So the villages of India and the people who live there are most important for us and for India. India is poor because the villages of India are poor. India will be rich, or any rate will be well off, when the villages of India will be well off. Therefore, the basic problem of India's poverty is to remove the poverty from the Indian village. Remember this. It was because of this that some years ago, in various parts of India we abolished the big landlord system, the zamindari system, the jagirdari system, because the villages of India could not prosper under semi-feudal system on land. In the same way, we have to go ahead more and the Nagpur resolution told us on what lines we should go. We want the people who live in villages and the peasants and the agriculturists to become self-reliant and become better off, and not be afraid of anybody, and official or others, who may sit upon them or any landlord, but to live a free life and to work hard and to profit by their work. Therefore, the Nagpur Congress resolution has laid stress on three things in regard to land. Each village must have a good semi-autonomous panchayat. It should have a cooperative, and it should have of course a school. Now, when I said a good panchayat, you have panchayats today too, but it says that those panchayats should be given greater power. Because we want the villager to have a measure of real swaraj in his own village and he should have power and not have to refer everything to big officials. We

59. See the preceding item.

do not want the official to interfere too much in the life of the village. Therefore, we want to build up swaraj from the village up, not only at the top that is one thing.

The second thing is for every village to have a school. Because we want every child, every boy and girl to have a good education. We don't want any person to be left out. Because India cannot progress, the peasant cannot progress unless everyone is educated. Now I should like here to congratulate the Government of Madras State for the steps they have taken to spread education and the success they have met and particularly to congratulate them on the introduction of two things, the School Improvement Society and Mid-Day Meals in Schools. These are fine steps, and I hope that the other states in India will do likewise.

The third thing that the Nagpur Congress said was that every village should have a cooperative and groups of villages should form unions of cooperatives. Now, you know that cooperatives are nothing new. In Madras State, the cooperative movement has made some progress for a long time. It has done well on the whole. Now in our Congress Constitution, as I reminded you, the very first objective is to establish a Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth. We have talked about cooperation both in its big sense, that is, for the whole of India, and in its limited sense for years and years. All that the Congress did this time was to lay down a specific programme so that in every village there should be a cooperative. Why in every village? Because we felt that a cooperative should be formed so that people should know each other. It should encourage cohesion of people coming together. It should be like a large family. If it is too big a cooperative, then the poor peasant is rather lost in it. He does not know others. It is really important therefore that the peasants should run it, knowing each other and it is better each village should have a cooperative and a number of cooperatives should join together to form a union of cooperatives.

The cooperatives, you have known, have been chiefly cooperatives for credit purposes, to give loans and credits. That is important. But we should like cooperatives to perform many other services, functions. In fact, just as the panchayats will be the administrative aspect of village life, the cooperative will be the economic side of village life. And the peasantry and others will perform together through the cooperative, many of the economic functions that they perform separately. Now I want you to understand this. A poor peasant who has one acre or two acres of land is very weak. His bargaining power is weak. Till recently we relied on the village moneylender and the moneylender gave him money at exorbitant rates of interest, and he mortgaged his land, he lost his lands. He has to sell crops, probably at a very low price to a shopkeeper, to a local moneylender or shopkeeper or somebody. He was too weak. And individual

peasant or agriculturist is too weak to face this difficult world with all the powerful people with money all round him. The only way he can make good is to join the others through a cooperative. Then he has strength. Then it is not one peasant, but one hundred or five hundred peasants pooling their resources and selling in the best market, and of getting seed or fertilizer or farming implements or whatever he wants, getting credit without having to go to a money lender. He can do all these things through a cooperative, and if there are any profits in the cooperatives they go back to him. There is no middleman. We want to eliminate middlemen. You know perhaps that in other countries of the world the farmers there produce much more per acre than in India, sometimes twice as much, three times, four times and five times as much, and I am not talking about big machines and tractors, but even in countries which have not got those machines, by careful farming they can produce double or three times as much. Why shouldn't we do that? Why is our farming so backward, our ploughing so superficial, our needs bad and all that? Surely we can produce as much as any other country per acre if only we shape the individual farmer and give him opportunity. That poor individual farmer cannot get that opportunity, if he has to function just by himself without the support of the other farmers. That is why all over the world farmers have formed themselves into cooperatives, into service cooperatives, sometimes into joint cultivation ones but always into a service cooperative. Nowhere today in a big scale in any agricultural country is farming carried on with success without service cooperatives. Therefore, it is obvious that we should have these cooperatives and introduce new methods of farming, new ploughs, new seeds and other things which cannot be done by a single farmer. I am surprised that any person who knows about this subject can criticise the idea of service farming and cooperatives, service cooperatives. Now these service cooperatives in the village will not only improve farming, bring a higher income to the farmer but will raise the standards of living in the village in many ways. If those cooperatives function properly they will help in introducing cottage industries, small industries, and so many other auxiliary activities to farming. Many things can be done. Therefore, the service cooperative are not only good and essential for better farming, but also it is a higher form of work and existence for the people of the village.

In the Nagpur Congress resolution it was also said that while we should try to establish service cooperatives in every village in India during the next three years, the final picture that we should aim at is one of joint cultivation by that service cooperatives. Now what does that mean? It does not mean that people should lose their right in land, their ownership of land. That continues. It is only another step forward so as to profit from the lands more. That is people having their share of land as it was their land, and they should jointly cultivate

it and out of what is produced they should take their share. It is not depriving any person or confiscating his land. It is only doing it in a more methodical, better way so as to produce more and so as to be able to use modern methods of farming because if you farm, half an acre or quarter of an acre how can you use modern methods? You can't do it. You waste time in a little bit of land. You cannot even plough it properly. The amount of land that is wasted in between two holdings amounts probably in India to millions and millions of acres. They are wasted and production from that would go to the farmer. Therefore, the Congress has suggested that the final picture should be of joint cultivation. By that cooperative of the village land, but the farmer retaining the ownership of his land or that share of it. You will see therefore that there is nothing very extraordinary about these proposals, service cooperative ultimately leading to joint cultivation with the ownership of the land remaining with the peasant. In fact even today there are hundreds and even thousands of joint cultivation societies in India. Nothing wonderful has happened. No terrible thing has happened. I am pointing this out to you how people without understanding what has been said get excited and criticise something without really trying to understand them. Let us look at it from another way. What is the alternative? If our peasant is to remain as he is, with little help about good seed etc? That means perpetuating the poverty of the peasant. He can never come out of it. If he remains in that way? Are we to leave eighty per cent of our people or seventy per cent always in perpetual poverty? Surely that can never be admitted. We have to take them out and the only steps that we can take, I submit, are first of all better farming and that can only come easily through cooperative more production etc. Secondly, bringing industries to the village, more industries, cottage industries, big industries, also if you like, so that more and more people should go into industry, and not be a burden on the land. These are the only two methods. If you do not do either of these, then you cannot deal with the poverty of the peasant. And if you do not get rid of the poverty of the peasant, India remains poor and [can] never make much progress. Therefore, those people who criticise us should at least take the trouble to put forward understandable alternative schemes for consideration, because are we going to condemn the peasantry, the people of India to perpetual poverty? I am not prepared to accept that position and indeed it is not for me or you to accept it. For those who maintain they would be swept away by social forces which they cannot control.

I have tried to explain to you what the Congress decided, because I want your agreement with it. I want you to understand it intellectually or otherwise. This is not a slogan. This is something which we have arrived at after very careful decision, long argument extending over years and even so what we have decided is not a rigid pattern, because conditions in India are not the same

everywhere, that there should be a certain flexibility about it and the State Government, wherever they think proper, can vary slightly. Keeping the main principles in view, I hope you will consider all that because we cannot consider them in the context of things today in India. It is not some theoretical proposition which can be thought of apart from what is happening in India. We have to see the problem of India as it is today, the peasant of India, the villages of India, the conditions there, see what is happening elsewhere in agriculture and see all this in the context of the whole of India, the five year plans and all that. Because remember one thing which you should never forget, that whatever else may happen or not happen in India, the population of India is increasing at the rate now of two percent per annum and you can calculate how much two percent per annum means, annually millions and millions of people, every year millions of people for whom more food should be produced, more clothing, more housing, more education, more health services, more work. So, how are you to keep pace with this? I don't mind the increase of the population at all, although I would like to check it because it adds to your burdens. You may see that you are always being overwhelmed by this increasing population. Unless you work hard and keep pace and go ahead of it, you cannot simply allow things to remain where they are. Otherwise you will become poorer and poorer more because there are more mouths [...] Therefore, we must see all this and devise methods. That is the whole object of planning, I don't say that our plans are perfect. We discuss it. It is not one man's idea. State Governments discuss it. Special panels of engineers, educationists, scientists, agriculturists and almost every businessmen, workers, trade union people, chambers of commerce and industry all these function, as groups as well as universities. We have the university forums on planning, because a big plan cannot be put through by a decree of the Government. It must have the largest support of the people and become a people's plan, because only the people's work will be given effect to, not what officials or ministers say or do.

So, I appeal to you for your understanding and your support, because the tasks we have are tremendous. The work we have before us in India is magnificent in its scope. Can there be anything bigger more exciting than to raise the 400 million people of India to greater heights? It is a tremendous thing and I want you to some extent to share this excitement, of facing this problem, this challenge that history has put to us today. To those of you who are young, men and women, more particularly this challenge has come. Those of my generation faced another challenge and I think even though I say we have acquitted ourselves rather well, as my generation passes and another generation is coming on and it will be that generation that will have to shoulder this tremendous burden and shoulder this with pride and confidence, vigour

and strength and to carry India forward another great step in her pilgrimage.

Look at the world around us, full of troubles, full of problems, full of mighty weapons of war. There is a cold war. There is trouble everywhere. Come nearer. Look at our neighbor country, Pakistan; only a few days ago they shot down in Pakistan one of our aircraft. Now, as I said in Madras yesterday, whatever the facts may be and may be that our aircraft went to Pakistan territory by mistake or otherwise, but it is an unheard of thing to shoot down manned planes of a friendly country in this way. It is done only in war time and this is happening. Then there is this question of Tibet, which as you all know, is raising very difficult problems. So I want you to look at the whole world, at that picture, in trouble and turmoil and if we can do anything at all in this world, we can only do so if we are strong and united. It does not do much good for us to pass strong resolutions at a student's meeting. If anybody in the wise world pays any attention to such resolution or go in processions to raise slogans, it does not make any difference to anybody. Only a strong, united nation holding firmly to certain ideals can make itself felt. Our voice is to some extent respected in the world today, because we have held to an independent policy, because we refuse to be pushed hither and thither by a strong country and so even if we have not got armed might and we are poor countries even then we are respected abroad. If we follow that policy, if people see all over the world that we are determined to make progress and to pay the price of that progress, they will respect our voice more and indeed we shall be able to impress the people in the rest of the world more with our ideas and objectives.

I have referred to some events outside India. I should like particularly to draw your attention to Africa, and what is happening there. Because what is happening there is of great importance for the future and indeed for the present. In large parts of Africa, in the middle of Africa, there has been trouble. Why? What trouble was it? It was the Africans resisting the imposition of colonial, continuation and imposition of colonial domination.⁶⁰ Even more so, it was the opposition of the Africans to the gross inequality in the treatment given to them, racial discrimination, etc. You all know that racial discrimination is the basic policy of the South African Union Government. You also perhaps know that some other parts of Africa, although they do not proclaim their policy, set up to it and so the people of Nyasaland tried to rebel. They were shot down, no doubt.⁶¹ I want to say and I am sure I interpret your mind in this matter that all our sympathies are with the Africans in this matter and so far as we are concerned

60. See also items 157-161, pp. 528-538.

61. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 166-167 and 535-536.

we shall never accept or agree with the policy of racial discrimination, come what may.

Throughout our own struggle for freedom in India, we looked upon it as a part of a larger struggle. We looked upon it as a part of a larger struggle. We looked upon it as a struggle against imperialism and colonialism and the domination of one country against another. We looked upon it also as a struggle against racial discrimination and racial oppression. We took up this position strongly for years past. And now that we have become a Government here, an independent Government, we are not going to give up our ideals and objectives in regard to those two matters and we shall always try to help to the best of our ability those countries which are struggling for freedom or against racial discrimination. It is true that as a Government, as the Prime Minister, I cannot talk quite in the same way. I cannot go about criticising or condemning governments as I might have done if I were not a Prime Minister. But that is a question of expression of views and the manner of doing it. Our policy is exactly the same in regard to these two matters as it was previously and we shall hold to it.

And in this connection, I should like also to remind you of the grievous tragedy which has been taking place more especially for the last five years in Algeria. That is also a part of Africa. But it is different. The problem there is different from the other African problems, because in North Africa, in Algeria, it is the descendants of the old Arabs who have spread out. Now for five years or more there has been war, the most brutal and most inhuman of wars, being carried on there between the Algerian people and the French Authorities. We are friendly with France and we want to continue to be friendly with France. We have every intention of doing that. But I want to make it perfectly clear that in this particular matter our sympathies are entirely on the Algerian side and we think that Algeria should be independent and should have her personality recognised. A short while ago, a leader of the Algerian people Mr. Ferhat Abbas⁶² visited India.⁶³ They have formed a Provisional Government and he was the Prime Minister of that Government. We could not, I felt, recognise their Provisional Government because of constitutional and legal reasons. But I was

62. Prime Minister, Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic with headquarters in Tunisia.

63. Arrived in Bombay on 7 April 1959 on a week's visit to India, at the invitation of INC, to promote the Algerian cause; in Delhi on 8 April, visited Rajghat; addressed Standing Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Committee on External Affairs on 9 April. Accompanied by his Minister for Social Affairs, Ben Youssef ben Khadda, and his principal private secretary Mohammed Ben Yehya.

glad to meet this great leader of the Algerian people and to assure him of our full sympathy for their cause.⁶⁴ I earnestly hope that France which has for generations been looked upon as the champion of liberty will acknowledge and accept this demand for freedom and liberty for Algeria and that the French Government under the distinguished Presidentship of General de Gaulle will put an end to this war in Algeria and deal with the recognised representatives of the Algerian people and thus bring about a peaceful settlement.

Yesterday I was in Madras City and I was speaking to some children there and telling them that Banaras and Delhi were very old cities, perhaps the oldest in India.⁶⁵ To Banaras came Gautama Buddha, 2500 years ago to preach his first sermon. Even then Banaras was a great and ancient city. Delhi as you know, not the present city of Delhi, but the site is four in Indian history from the days of the Mahabharata. When I was saying this, my friend Mr. Subramaniam told me that Madurai was at least as ancient, if not more ancient, than Banaras and Delhi. I accepted it as correct. And now that I am here in this very ancient and great city of Madurai, I feel not only all this past of India sweeping down upon me, but something that is more exciting, the future of India and I want this ancient city to become, as it had no doubt had become in the past, a young and youthful city looking towards the future and working for this future of India. (Applause)

And now thank you. Will you say Jai Hind with me three times? Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

11. At Tuticorin: Public Meeting⁶⁶

Dear friends and comrades,

I am very happy, and at the same time a little ashamed of having come here today. Happy to visit this place after such a long time, and ashamed that I have not been here for these twenty-eight years.⁶⁷ A whole generation has passed since I came here and many of you who are present here, may not have been born then, and many may have been little children then. And not only has a generation passed, but all kinds of changes have taken place in the world and in India. Great Wars have been fought outside in the world, and in India after

64. For Nehru's talks with Ferhat Abbas, see items 157, 160-161, pp. 528-531, 534-538.

65. At Guindy, see report, item 7, pp. 87-88.

66. Speech, Tuticorin (Thoothukudi), 16 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

67. His previous visit was in 1931. See SWJN/FS/4/pp. 532- 537, 543, 553.

long struggle, we achieved Independence. All that has happened. How can I like to tell you the story of these twenty-eight years now in a short time. Still I would like you to look back a little, if not at the twenty-eight years at least on the twelve years since we became independent. Many people criticise things today, but just try to picture to yourself what India was twelve years ago in every department of activity and what it is today.

Twelve years ago, what did India count for in the world? We were just a country, a part of the British Empire, which had no status in the world, which had no respect in the world. Today we are not only an independent country but we are respected in the world and if any of you go out to any country in the wide world, you are respected wherever you go as citizens of the Republic of India. You are not respected because we have a large army. Usually, countries are respected because of military powers or financial powers. We have neither. Nevertheless, we are respected. Today changes come about in international affairs. Inside our own country you see thousands of activities, whether it is in industry or agriculture, all kinds of efforts have been made and many have succeeded. Industries, new industries, big ones, small ones, growing all round, agriculture also progressing. You see all kinds of other services, social, and others, and you see vast numbers now of our children going to school, who had never a chance to go to school.

I do not like comparing my country with other countries. It is not nice to compare each other, or with friends. But, without mentioning any names, I would suggest to you to look round the world, to look at the countries recently which have gained independence and look at India and see how far we have progressed and how far others have progressed. We have problems, tremendous ones so have they. And it is not fair to criticise any country, but it does help if one sees what has been achieved in India during the last dozen years, and see what has happened elsewhere. Here we are, in India struggling hard in a planned way, to fight poverty and unemployment in India, with our five year plans and our community development movement which affect our rural areas and with its vast expensive education, primary, secondary, university and more specially institutes, engineers, scientists and the like. Our scientists today number tens of thousands, bright young men and bright young women working in various great laboratories or in the universities. Our engineers today have gone over a one hundred thousand, and they are doing fine work everywhere, and sometimes they have to go outside India to do something there. We are producing vast numbers of engineers now, and all of them are engaged in the constructive activities of the nation. Compare that with twelve years ago. Where were our scientists, how many were working there, how many engineers were there, and what were they doing. We think a great deal about the political aspect, politicians

and the like, but the real work of the nation is done in other fields, purely administrative, in the engineering field, in the educational field, in the scientific field, and so many other fields, and examine each one of them and see what it was twelve years ago and what it is today.

Our problems are terrific, colossal, and ultimately there are 400 million problems for us, that is, the population of India—an ever growing population indeed. All of them are problems to be solved, so that all of them may have the chance of living a good life and have the necessities of life and opportunities of growth. Our problems are great, but so is our will to solve them, so is our will to face this challenge and to find solutions, and we have faced these great problems. Therefore, with goodwill and good heart not to be terrified by them. And will you remember how we started Independence. The day Independence came, the culmination of a long struggle, that day also came disaster for us. As a result of the Partition of India, disaster came to North India, and to the part that was cut away from India, and hundreds of thousands of people were killed, whether in Pakistan or in India, and millions were uprooted, and the whole of North India as well as Pakistan shaken up, and we had millions and millions of refugees coming over. That is how we started Independence. It was something which might have shaken the stoutest heart. We faced it. Soon after our India was walking straight, Gandhiji was a searchlight killed by a foolish young brother of ours, a fanatic. We had to face that also at the time, and so again and again challenges have come, problems have come, difficult ones, and we have endeavoured to the best of our ability to face them and do our duty to them.

And we had to face these tremendous problems, we were no Mahatmas, we were not great heroes, we were only men born from the same clay of India, from which all other Indians are born. In the same way, perhaps we had a few virtues and many failings, but we had a stout heart and we had the memory of our India and the love of our country in us, and we had, something more, the love and affection, and the faith of our people and it was not we that did anything wonderful during these twelve years, but the people of India who did whatever had been done. Without their cooperation, without their faith, and without their help, little could have been done. So, the achievements that have come during these twelve years, but the people of India who did whatever had been done. Without their cooperation, without their faith, and without their help, little could have been done. So, the achievements that have come during these twelve years are the achievements of the Indian people, not of government or a few people at the top.

I can talk to you about agriculture and the great importance of agriculture to us. I can talk to you about industry and that is very important, the growth of industry. I can talk to you about our production being raised more and more,

for only then can we fight poverty by producing wealth in our own country. I can talk to you about all these things which are so important and about which we make five year plans. But my mind, though it concerns itself with all these, things much more of the basic things that we are after, that is, building up men and women in India. Men and women of quality, men and women of worth, men and women who can shoulder the great burdens of India with honour, with strength and with pride. And so, when I look round, I want to see how are we doing this. I see, take our women folk, because ultimately a nation's growth depends far more on its women than on its men, and you can always judge a nation from what status what position do the women occupy in that country. What do they do? This is a far better test of nation's growth, then what the men do. I find in these ten or twelve years the women of India, changing rapidly, coming to the forefront in many fields, whether it is as an ambassador, whether it is in the Central Cabinet, whether it is as a governor, whether it is in our Services, and all that women are coming up. But that is only a few women. And now thinking of the vast numbers of others whether in our services or social work or industry, or even in their home work, how women are coming forward? And I think that is the basic thing that is changing India, it is changing in India, not at the top but in the homes and that is where the social revolution comes.

We are helped in this process of the tens of thousands of the women of India going forward by certain legislation in regard to them, which I consider one of our biggest achievements. We have engaged them now, and there are tens of thousands, hundreds of them grew up, I do not know how many, in social activities for the betterment of the nation, and that is a very special field for women. And I see today—I forget now which year—last year, there were about twenty thousand women graduates coming from our universities, and hundreds of thousands of girls, young women studying in colleges and high schools. Do you not see the whole background, social background of India being imperceptibly changed, and revolutionised by all these happenings and look again at the spread of education. Here in Madras I should like to say this has been more marked and more promising than even in many other parts of India, and I should like to congratulate the Madras Government for it, because here they are laying a solid base for education, from the child upwards and very soon, I think all children, boys and girls will be going to school here, free and compulsory education. Even without compulsion, they get practically in some areas a hundred percent. And they have added to that their mid-day meal scheme, their school improvement scheme, and others which are almost only as important. For what is education worth with hungry stomachs?

So you see the millions and millions of children today in India going to school, most of them, many of them going to high schools and colleges later,

and then branching out to universities, institutes for special training. And all that you do, do you not see is the basic revolutionary change that is coming over. It is not merely a question of jobs and employment, also it is something deeper than that. The whole structure of the nation, the mind of the nation changing, made to change peacefully, democratically, and yet in a revolutionary sense.

A generation ago, about the time I came to Tuticorin last, what were the openings to our young men and young women? A few lawyers, a few doctors, a few engineers, a few in government service in the lower ranks, plenty of petty businessmen, small shopkeepers, and many clerks, that was all that an ambitious young man could aim at in those days in the [past]. And today there is the wide world opening for our ambitious young men, industry, agricultural improvement, the world of science or in our embassies abroad, and so many openings all over India.

And so many of them have distinguished themselves in the army and navy and air force, Indians are now running the services from top to bottom, and all the senior officers are Indians, young men, bright young men. You see the great changes that have come over, the great opportunities of service, the great opportunity of adventure all over the place coming and changing the face of India. Here you sit at the southern tip of India. Look north, at the vast expanse of this country ending at greater barriers of the snow covered Himalayas. Look at the great variety of this country, in climate, in language and in so many things. But look also at the great unity of this country, and look specially at this tremendous guiding force that is carrying this country forward in spite of difficulties, in spite of many mistakes and blunders and then look at them and what is happening here.

I tried to give you a broad picture—I cannot talk to you about the other big problems but I want you to have this big picture before you and then think of the problems, think of the five year plans, think of the various, think of the various schemes we have drawn, in terms of these 400 million people of India advancing, the great projects, the great scheme, the river valley schemes, the great factories that are put up, and above all the great changes that we want to bring about in agriculture, because after all eighty per cent of our people live by agriculture, live in the villages of India and it is the villages of India that will make an ultimate difference to India. Therefore, we have been paying special attention to the question of community development blocks, etc. which have vitalised and changed the villages of India. And now we have put forward a definite programme intended specially for the villages. That is a programme of every village having a gram panchayat with power, a cooperative, also with power, and a good school; that will be the base of rural India from which other

things will grow.

I would draw your special attention to the new emphasis on cooperatives, village cooperatives in effect. We would like the system of cooperation not merely to be confined to village, but to spread to industry as well as I am talking to you about the cooperative method and I do submit to you that there is no other way for us to progress except by the cooperative method. We may vary it here and there, we are not rigid doctrinaires but it is the cooperative method and no other method. I say and I challenge anybody to put up any other method and show us the goal. It is no use saying it is no good. But we want positive proposals and not negative ones. And the experience of the world as well as the reasoning capacity show us method of cooperation is better than any other method.

We had non-cooperation to attain a certain object. We are seeking other objectives now and we want cooperation for this, not non-cooperation, nor, shall I say, separate operation [...]. Because conditions differ, conditions change. In a heavily populated country, where you live and rub shoulders with other persons, you have to cooperate with your neighbor, or else you quarrel. There is no middle stage. So what I say whether it is in the international sphere or the national sphere or the rural sphere in India, it is the way of cooperation that will lead to greater production, of course, I have no doubt. But what is more important is a proper frame of mind, and proper approach to life's problems and raising ourselves to a higher level of social existence.

You must always remember that we have to proceed on a democratic basis; that is essential, that is the very basis of our Constitution, democracy. And therefore in regard to these cooperatives and others we have to proceed on the voluntary basis.

And now, may I just say one word which may be of special interest to you. That is about Tuticorin. Today, I received a deputation from representatives of many organisations connected with Tuticorin and they laid stress on the development of the Tuticorin harbour. In fact they themselves mentioned that the principle has been accepted and wanted me to expedite it. Well, I am quite sure that Tuticorin harbour has to be developed, has to become an important avenue of trade and other matters, and I hope therefore that Tuticorin harbour and Tuticorin city will progress rapidly.

And now thank you, and good bye. Will you say *Jai Hind*, three times with me? *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

12. At Tirunelveli: Public Meeting⁶⁸

Friends and comrades,

I feel very ashamed to face you now. I have come here exactly an hour and a half later than I ought to have done, and I take some pride in being a punctual person. So I have set you a very bad example. And all the way here I was thinking of large numbers of you sitting here waiting, waiting, getting tired, and yet I had no remedy. I started at the right time from Tuticorin, punctually, but on the way we were stopped so often at every town and village that the delay became longer and longer.⁶⁹ So all I can ask you is to forgive me.

As it is I am visiting you after twenty years.⁷⁰ That is a very long time, even in the story of India and a period during which tremendous happenings have taken place in the world and in India, and possibly there are large numbers among you here today who were either not born or were very young when I came to this part of the world last time.

Well I do not propose to tell you the history of twenty years. But I do want you to remember that when I came here last we were engaged in the tremendous task of trying to achieve the independence of India under Gandhiji's leadership. That task was completed and India became free and independent. That pilgrimage was ended. But immediately after we had to start on another and on a greater pilgrimage, the pilgrimage to lead us to the welfare of all our people to higher standards of living and to the removal of poverty and unemployment from this country.

That is a tremendous task we had to undertake and there was no choice for it. We have to do it and we wanted to do it. Ever since then we have been engaged in this great task. Therefore, everything that we do, you and I, should be judged in one way only or rather chiefly, i.e. how far is this helping us towards the achievement of our objective—our goal, the goal being, you may define it in many ways. I should like to define it as we defined it, a socialistic pattern of society. But without using any precise words, any technical word, we can say the goal is to get India rid of poverty and unemployment so that every person in India has an equal opportunity to grow and justify himself in this world.

Now it is obvious that this task is a tremendous one, because it involves 400 million people of India. It is not a question of a few of them getting jobs or

68. Speech, 16 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

69. Nehru drove from Tuticorin to Tirunelveli via Tiruchengode, Adaikalapuram, where he attended a conference of teachers engaged in school improvement work, and Srivaikuntam.

70. See SWJN/FS/4/pp. 537-538, 553.

getting employment. But all the 400 million people doing productive work, producing the wealth of the country which then is more or less evenly distributed.

Now the first thing to remember is, that we in India can only make good or go ahead if we pull together. Just as in attaining Swaraj we gained strength by our unity, by united effort, now in this greater task if we pull in different directions then we fail. We cannot produce any great impression on this problem.

Secondly, that as our resources are limited we must not waste them. We must utilise them to the best advantage. That is why it is necessary to plan so that we may use such resources as we have for the greatest good. We started planning—a Planning Commission which had to consider all these aspects, agricultural, industrial and all others and to apply our resources in such a way as to increase our capacity for wealth production. And now we are in the middle of the Second Plan and we are thinking of the Third Plan already.

Now please remember that what we are trying to do and the way we are trying to do it, is somewhat unique in history. Other countries have gone ahead and got rid of their poverty, etc., having industrialised themselves, these countries of Western Europe and America. But they have taken a long time over it—200 years or more—and they had certain advantages which we have not got. Now we cannot wait for 200 years before we get rid of our poverty or a 150 years—we will be overwhelmed.

Then there are some other countries, very few, practically, one, that is, the Soviet Union which has industrialised itself in a much shorter time. But even there it has taken forty years. They have made very great progress. There is no doubt about it. But even they have taken forty years and they have adopted means to do so which involved tremendous cost and tremendous tragedy. I am not criticising the Soviet Union. They had to face very difficult circumstances. But what I am trying to point out to you is this—that the problem we are facing and the way we are trying to face it is unique in history and no country has ever done it in this way before.

Now if we have to get rid of our poverty it means we must produce greater wealth by our labours—that means we must increase our productive capacity very greatly from land, from industry, from big industry, small industry, and in every way. And we must produce it at a fairly rapid pace.

Our population grows now at the rate of two per cent per annum. Even if we increase our productive capacity by two per cent per annum that would be just enough for us to remain where we are, with no progress. Therefore, we have to increase our productive capacity by very much more than two per cent per annum. Again, how does one increase one's productive capacity? Usually by investing money. We build up industry, we invest money. We improve our agriculture, we invest money. We build schools, etc, to improve our people, we

invest money. We build hospitals for the better health of the people, we invest money. Where does all this money come from? It comes from what the people have earned, i.e. it comes from the surplus which the people get after consuming. What they produced, they consume leaving a surplus and out of that surplus we get all these things—education, health, industry, better agriculture and all that. For that therefore, we must increase our production not only to cover the needs of the additional population, not only to cover certain essential utilities such as education, health, etc., and somewhat better living conditions, but also to be able to invest for future advance in agriculture, industry, transport and a hundred other things. Think of all that, then you will have some idea of the tremendousness of the problems we have to face.

I am telling you all this so that you might be able to appreciate this whole approach to planning. It is not a question of slogans. It is not a question of shouting. It is a question of hard thinking and hard working. Therefore, we started planning some years ago and now we are in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan. I think that during this period of ten years or so we have made very considerable progress and that progress has to be judged in many ways. How far have we laid the foundations of future growth? That is the important thing; because merely doing something to show off is not good enough, we have to lay the foundation for better agriculture, of better industry and out of that money will come, wealth will come, for this country to develop. Now I am going to tell you what we have done because it is there for you to see and understand. But the point is that we have to lay the foundations, we have to build up steel plants, huge affairs. They bring no dividend to us. Still they are ready. We build a machine building industry—an enormous thing which consumes money. We build huge irrigation works, hydroelectric works, which eat up money for five, six, seven years without giving any dividends. So that has to be done because we are intent on laying strong foundations, so that we may progress rapidly.

Our foundations will only be properly laid when our agriculture is producing quite enough not only for our people, but a surplus for industry. And we have got a machine making industry which can produce machines, so that we should not depend too much on other countries, we are aiming today at reaching that position of more or less self-reliance by the end of the Third Five Year Plan.

Now industry, the growth of industry, industrialisation is essential in order to meet the challenge of poverty. But even more important is agriculture, because it is out of the profits and surplus of agriculture that we can build up our industry. So we come back to agriculture. In industry we are doing fairly well.

In agriculture also, we have done fairly well. But the last two or three years were bad years, because of bad harvest. But we want to progress much faster,

than we have done. We produce much less foodgrains per acre than other countries. Why should that be so? We ought to be able to double up our food production, treble it or even quadruple it, according to some people's thinking, and wherever we have tried we have succeeded in doubling and trebling it and sometimes even increasing it 500 per cent. Therefore we can do it, and the problem is how to do it. Thus I want particularly to draw your attention to agriculture because eighty per cent of our people live in the villages. And we are convinced that we can only progress when we bring the villages up.

It is largely for these reasons that we have laid down special policy in regard to land. A policy of organising our villages on the new basis—panchayats with greater power, cooperatives to look after the economic aspects of it and, of course, a good school in every village. If we have that in every village, and I have no doubt, we shall lay a strong foundation of our democracy, both political and economic, that we shall make rapid progress.

There has been some controversy about co-operatives and yet, I am yet to meet anyone who will tell me that the cooperative way is the bad way. The controversy has arisen because of some fears and apprehensions of people in regard to joint cultivation. Now first of all, the present programme is service co-operatives, which nobody can possibly challenge. That is the way every farmer in the wide world works, every advanced farmer. It is only the out-of-date people, feudal people, who can think otherwise. And I hope that we will not stick to feudal and out-of-date methods, but I will go a step further, although that step is not necessary today. I do not want to hide from you what we have in mind, and that is later to have, wherever possible, joint cultivation, that is, each person continuing to own his land, there is no question of depriving him of his land, but cultivating together and getting his share according to his ownership of land. This is not wonderful. This is nothing revolutionary. Even now in India this is often done. It is really extending the principle, if you like, of a joint family to the village. Brothers have separate rights in their land, but they till it together. They may separate or they may not as they like. So there is nothing remarkable. But anyhow, for the present we have to concentrate on service cooperatives so that we can benefit by modern scientific methods, so that we can develop the spirit of cooperation in our people and so that we can advance to a higher level of village life.

I do not wish at this late hour to explain all these things in detail to you. But I have hinted at them, so that you might take the trouble to understand them, to read about them, to study them. Because we can only advance by knowing our subject, not just by slogans we can only ultimately advance by educating ourselves and our people, and education becomes a most important thing of all. Education from childhood up, and I am glad to see that in Madras

State a great deal of attention and enthusiasm is being directed towards this problem of education. In the last two days I have visited two of the big conferences that are being held—school improvement conferences. I visited these two conferences—school improvement conferences, one yesterday, one today.⁷¹ And I was not only interested, but I was excited by them and inspired by them to see how well this work was being done, how it has brought out the people's enthusiasm and how the schools were profiting by it. I have also liked very much the idea of mid-day meal and all that. So I want to congratulate you on the great progress being made in these directions in the educational system of Madras. And I am recommending to all the other states in India to learn from this example. (Applause)

I feel very ashamed of keeping you at this late hour and I do not propose to continue to do so. But it has made me very happy that I could come to this Southern part of India after this long interval and at least to be able to see you and say a few words to you, and the site of this magnificent meeting at this late hour has been something which I shall not forget. I am very grateful to you for your patience and for your affection. (Applause)

Another thing I would like you to remember, all of you men and women, and more specially the young among you, that we are all embarked on a tremendous and magnificent adventure to build up a new India—and this is not something which governments build up from above, or officials. It is something that comes up from below, by the people; and therefore it is the people who will build it up, certainly helped by government's cooperative officials—but essentially the people. That is why we want to lay stress on the people in the villages, on the panchayats, on the cooperative. We do not want officials to interfere there at all or very little. Therefore, each one of you has the duty and an obligation and it is from that point of view I want you to look upon this problem of India. You are not merely onlookers at a drama that is going on. It is true that this is a tremendous and magnificent drama that is going on as the history of India is being written. But in that big drama all of you are actors. You are not onlookers, looking on from a distance. We act in our different parts, different scenes, different places in India, or elsewhere, making up this entire and tremendous drama of the future of 400 million people of India. There could be no more exciting task, for a young man of ambition, a young man who loves adventure, a young woman, who want to yoke themselves to great tasks, and it is only when you apply yourself to big tasks that you grow big. It is some of us

71. Nehru inaugurated the Tirupathur Taluk School Improvement Conference at the Tirupathur taluk on 15 April and at Adaikalapuram and Srivaikuntam on 16 April 1959.

who appear to you big today were not big and are not, perhaps, very big today. But we had the great good fortune to tie ourselves up to great causes, the independence of India, the freedom of India, and because we lived in the shadow of that struggle, we also became bigger than we were.

And so, friends thank you again and may good fortune attend you. Good bye.

Jai Hind!

13. At Rajapalayam: Public Meeting⁷²

Dear friends and comrades,

I suppose you are a little uncomfortable because of the rain. But I think it was very good that there was rain. It is better for you to have the rain for the crops, than to have this speech from me. (Laughter) So I congratulate you on this rain. I have been wandering about for the last three days in these southern districts of the Madras State. I have come here after many years and I have been very happy to be able to visit this part of our country again. First of all, may I say how very deeply grateful and moved I have been by the love and affection shown to me by the people of this area. It has been a moving sight for me to see the people here and I felt very humble on these occasions. I cannot express my feelings adequately. All I can say is that I am exceedingly thankful and grateful to all the people here in these states, whom I have met, who have come to meet me by the roadside, in the towns and villages and at the big meetings, for their love and affection. I know that the affection you show me is not so for me personally as an individual, but because you think I represent something, some cause, the freedom of India, the progress of India, the unity of India—all these which are so dear to me as they are to you and because you think I represent these, come to me and want to listen to what I say. I can say a great deal to you because there is much to be said about what is happening in India.

Even as I toured through the southern districts on this occasion, I saw many changes. I saw many evidences of progress, new works being done and a new life coursing through the veins of the people. Above all, I was happy to see the children here and the children at school. They were so many of them, far more than they were before and I was happy to learn that practically every child is now going to school or will go to school very soon. And on many occasions I

72. Speech at P. S. Kumaraswami Raja Memorial High School Campus, Rajapalayam, Ramanathapuram District, 17 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

have congratulated the Madras Government on their educational policy and the steps they have taken. I saw this for myself not only in the large number of children who go to schools here, but also in their educational improvement conferences, which I saw in two places, great conferences, which show that this movement in education has succeeded tremendously and teachers and pupils and parents alike have been carrying on this work in a dynamic way and your education, schools and children are profiting by it. I want to congratulate you again on this, because the future of our country depends upon our children going to school and if they are properly looked after from childhood up, then the future of our country is assured.

I am much older now than what I was when I came here last, but even now I do not think of the past so much. I think of the future, the future that we are trying to build all over India. Once, long ago, we thought and dreamt of India's freedom, of an independent India. Then it came to pass that we realised the freedom of India and our dreams came true. Now we dream and work for an India, which has to rid itself of poverty and unemployment and disease and where everyone in the country, man, woman and child, share in welfare and has opportunities of growth. That is what we aim at, a country where there is not too much difference between people, too rich and too poor where more or less people are equal, where there are not too great caste differences, high caste and low caste and no caste. All these have been largely removed. A country where people live together, whatever their religion or caste and cooperate with each other as fellow-citizens of India and thus work for their own good and the good of India, of all the people and a country which works for peace in the world and helps the preservation of peace and cooperation all over the world. That is what we dream about and that can only come about when we have made progress and progress can only come through our hard work, not by begging from others, but through working hard and producing wealth ourselves.

So, even as we realised the old dream of swaraj, so we are going to realise the new dream of India, a prosperous, welfare state and with a society patterned after socialism, so that all may prosper, all may co-operate, all may work together and all may reach a higher and higher state of existence. Today therefore, we work for the realisation of this second ideal and we have to work hard, for the realisation must come to all the 400 million people of India, whatever religion they may belong, whatever caste, whatever province, whatever language they speak, because we are all children of India and have equal rights in progress, an equal right in this welfare socialist state. Remember this. So all that you hear about, about Planning Commission, and resolutions and decisions must always be looked upon from the point of view of how they help us to go ahead to realise this idea of ours. Only then will you fully understand them.

Now, we can only reach this welfare state by getting rid of poverty. Ours is a poor country. We have to get rid of our poverty and unemployment. We cannot get rid of it by getting some money from abroad. We have to produce ourselves the wealth that we need. Other great countries which are wealthy today, rich, they produce their own wealth. Wealth is the goods they produce, whether they produce it from the fields or from the factory. So, we shall have to produce more and more from our fields and we shall have to put up more and more factories, big and small and we shall have to work for village industries as well as big industries, so that there will be more employment and there will be more wealth created and that wealth will be largely distributed evenly and people will thus go up even to the extent of their new production. Therefore, we have to remember that the basis of all this is more and more production, more and more production from land, and more production from industry, whether it is cottage industry, small industry or very big industry, with big machines. The more we produce, the more we shall have.

Socialism, you know, means a large measure of equality. Some people think that we can attain socialism by distributing whatever we have equally. But what have we got to distribute today? Our poverty? It is not socialism to distribute poverty. The first essential of socialism is to have something to distribute, that is to say, to have, to produce enough wealth which can be distributed. If we do not produce more and more from our land, and industry, then we have nothing really to distribute except poverty and that is not good and that is not socialism. Therefore, we have to produce more. We are putting up many new big plants and factories and we are putting up what is very important, big plants which will produce machines and new plants. We have begun erecting great new machine-building industry which will produce machines and we are erecting huge steel plants and power plants. These are necessary to build factories. That we are doing. But even so the basic thing for us to do is greater production in land. Because out of what is reduced in land, out of the surplus of that we shall build our industry.

Our country is full of towns but essentially India is a country of villages and it is by the growth of progress of the village that you will be able to determine the progress of India. Eighty per cent of the people live in villages. We must therefore raise these villages. How can we do that? We come back again and again to the question of raising production from land and raising it in such a way so that the village becomes more prosperous, the peasants become more prosperous and produce enough not only for themselves but as a surplus to build up industry. Each village should have more plants of village industry, not only agriculture but other auxiliary activities and all that. Remember that today what we produce from an acre of land is much less than what is produced by

other countries. They produce twice, three times sometimes even four times our production. We can do that. Wherever we have tried we have succeeded and we give prizes for that. If we do that, if we double our production all over India in the next six or seven years, we shall have laid the foundations for big progress ahead. Therefore, we have laid down that in the next few years we must double our production on land. That is basic and you should all remember that. How do we double it? By each farmer trying to double his production and each village trying to do that. This could not be done by orders from above, the Government, or by laws or by officials. Officials can help. Laws should be good. This can only be done by the people themselves. Therefore, we started some four or five years ago the community development movement, community blocks. You must have them here too. The object of those blocks was that people themselves living in villages should organise to do all this, to organise for better agriculture should make their own roads from village to village, build their schools, houses and in every way raise themselves, both men and women and I believe that the community blocks have generally helped to raise the level of villagers, and more important than all, making the people there more active, more alive, more cooperative, because it is only through their own work that they can raise themselves.

Now the community movement is continuing but we have put another ideal before the country and that is that villages should have cooperatives. It is all the same idea of working together and of becoming self-reliant. So now we say that each village should have a strong panchayat and which should have plenty of power given to it and should have a strong cooperative which can look after its economic activities and of course, each village should have a school. So the basis for the whole area is every village should have a school, every village a panchayat, every village a cooperative—that is the basis and the high structure of government rests on it. Now I want to say a few words about the cooperatives. What does this mean? You know cooperatives should lend money, which give credit. That is good. That is necessary. But we want our cooperatives, to do much more. We want all the people living in the village to join in this cooperative, which we call service cooperative. That is, they do many things together through their own elected committees. But the next step for the next three years, is, we have said, we must spread these service cooperatives. We have also said that when the people are willing they should be trained. Afterwards we should like to have joint farming, but only with their own agreement and when they are trained for it, because all this requires training. And cooperation is essentially a voluntary effort. There can be no compulsion in cooperation. The two terms are contradictory. Therefore, we aim at that, but even when there is joint farming, the ownership of land belongs to the individual. Nobody is going to take away

that ownership. He gets his share of the produce as before.

Now, by working together in cooperatives you will produce much more, whether you work in the field or even in small industry. You will produce more and also your activities will extend to petty industries in the village to many things for the benefit of the village and above all you will realise that a country goes ahead much more by working together in a cooperative way than by working separately. That is a lesson which is obvious. Now in the past we have had many cooperatives in India and many have done well and I think one of the best states in India in regard to cooperatives has been the Madras State. Therefore, I have no doubt that progress will now be made in the formation of these further cooperatives and probably more rapidly in Madras than elsewhere. So, I look forward to this happy march of the Madras State in this programme of service cooperatives and panchayats in the village. Your schools are increasing. Your pupils are increasing. Your panchayats are there and I hope the cooperatives will also come and increase rapidly and on that foundation, then, you build so many other things which will take you forward.⁷³

And now, I shall have to go away and tomorrow morning I shall fly to the north of India to carry on my work there.⁷⁴ But I shall carry away with me from here, the most pleasant and durable memory of my tour in South India. I shall remember very long this tour and the friendliness of all the people here, their affection, the affection of the men, the affection of the women and specially the affection of the children. For that is something of inestimable value and I am very very grateful to you for having given me something which is of this tremendous value. Thank you. (Applause)

Now will you say with me three times, Jai Hind!

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Thank you.

73. Nehru also addressed a public meeting on the 16 April at Palayamcottai. According to *The Hindu* of 18 April 1959, p. 1, over a lakh attended; the *National Herald* of 19 April, p. 2 reported two lakhs had waited for nearly two hours, despite rain. Nehru apologised: he had been delayed by innumerable halts en route.

74. Nehru left for Nagpur on 18 April 1959, and went on to Yeotmal. See the next item.

14. Public Meeting⁷⁵

बहनो और भाइयो,

आज पहली बार मैं यहाँ यवतमाल आया हूँ। विदर्भ के और जगहों, हिस्सों में तो पहले आने का अवसर कई बार मिला था, लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य होता है यह याद करके कि कभी मैं यवतमाल पहले नहीं आया। न उस समय जब हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई चलती जाती थी, न उसके बाद। आज आया मैं तो एक तो पुरानी इच्छा पूरी हुई, इसकी मुझे खुशी है। और दूसरे, जिस समय पर आपने जिस काम के लिए मुझे बुलाया, उससे भी मेरा दिल बहुत आनन्दित है।

आप जानते हैं मैं तो एक कोई क्या कहूँ आपसे, यहाँ बड़े-बड़े आदमी मौजूद हैं, तुकड़ो जी महाराज⁷⁶ हैं, वो आपको ऊँचे दर्जे की एक शिक्षा दें और उसको आप सुनें, और समझें। मैं तो एक लड़ने वाला सिपाही रहा हूँ हमेशा। अपने ढंग से लड़ने वाला, सिर फोड़ के नहीं, लेकिन अपने काम के लिए और राजनीति के मैदान में पड़ा रहा और अब भी हूँ और कभी-कभी उसमें परेशानी भी होती है, लेकिन जो जिसका कर्तव्य होता है, उसको पूरा करना चाहिए और औरों के कर्तव्य में दखल देने से न वो अपना कर सकता है, न दूसरे का कर सकता है। तो अपने ढंग से मैं अपने काम को करता हूँ, और उसमें कभी गलती हो जाती है, कभी ठोकर खा लेते हैं, कभी कुछ हो, लेकिन जो कुछ हो सकता है, करता हूँ उस काम में।

और लोग, और लोगों के जो विचार हैं, बाज़ लोगों के, उनका मेरे ऊपर असर होता है, चाहे वो दूसरे ढंग से काम क्यों न करें। जैसे आचार्य विनोबाजी⁷⁷ हैं जोकि हमारे देश के बहुत ऊँचे आदमियों में हैं। और मैं तो आचार्य विनोबाजी का काम नहीं कर सकता, क्योंकि मैं उस काम में एक नालायक हूँ। लेकिन काम करूँ या न करूँ, मैं जानता हूँ कि उनके कार्य ने कितना बड़ा असर देश पर पहुँचाया, देश की हवा बदली और बदलते जाते हैं और एक अपने शान्ति के रास्ते पर चल कर कैसे वो देश के बड़े-बड़े प्रश्नों को हल कर रहे हैं या करने में सहायता देते हैं। तो इसलिए हमेशा मेरे दिल में बहुत प्रेम और आदर आचार्य विनोबाजी का रहा और हालाँकि मैं उनसे कुछ अपना काम करता रहा, उनके काम में तो जा कर नहीं कूद पड़ा...कुछ लोगों ने मुझसे कहा भी कि तुम क्यों नहीं भूदान के काम में पड़ जाते हो तो मैंने जो उचित समझा, जवाब दिया, लेकिन मैं नहीं समझता था कि इस कार्य में मैं उतना अपने काम कर सकूँ, क्योंकि मैं अपने को उसके लायक नहीं समझता था। हरेक अपने काम के लायक होता है, लेकिन मैं करूँ या न करूँ, उस काम का आदर मेरे दिल में बहुत है।

और यह भी मैं आपसे सच्चाई से कह दूँ कि इस काम के पीछे जो दूर तक विचार जाते हैं, पूरी तौर से मेरे समझ में नहीं आते। किस तरह से बाद में ग्राम का संगठन होगा, किस तरह

75. Speech, 18 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

76. Social activist and freedom fighter from Maharashtra.

77. Social reform leader and Gandhian; started Bhoodan movement in India in 1951.

से बहुत सारी बातें होंगी, पूरी तौर से मेरा मन नहीं इनको समझता अब भी, लेकिन एक बात मैं पूरी तौर से निश्चय रूप से जानता हूँ कि विनोबाजी का भूदान, ग्रामदान और यह सब जो कार्य कर रहे हैं उससे हमारे देश का बड़ा लाभ हुआ है, देश की हवा बदलती जाती है, और बहुत सारे काम जो हम करना चाहते हैं ज़मीन के बारे में या और बातों में वो ज्यादा सरल हो जाते हैं। क्योंकि याद रखिए यह ज़मीन के प्रश्न पर और देशों में बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं, गृहयुद्ध हुए हैं, क्रल्ल हुए हैं कितने, और उस प्रश्न को हम अगर पूरी तौर से हल कर दें शान्ति से तो एक बड़ी जीत है।

हमने जब ज़मींदारी, जागीरदारी, ताल्लुकेदारी—इन सबको हटाया शान्ति से, वो भी एक बड़ी जीत हमारी थी। और देशों में ऐसा नहीं हुआ है। हमेशा झगड़े, लड़ाई-झगड़े हुए हैं। और इस तरह से ज़मीन का सवाल बहुत कुछ तो हल हुआ, लेकिन बहुत कुछ रह गया। एक तरफ़ भूमिहीन लोगों का और दूसरे तरफ़ और भी बातें ज़मीन के सम्बन्ध में करनी हैं। अब सब भूमिहीन जो देश में हैं, उनके लिए तो देश भर में ज़मीन नहीं है। ज़मीन कम है, लोग अधिक हैं हमारे देश में। और अगर ज़मीन हम इस वक़्त कहीं बटोर के ले भी आयें तो कल नयी आबादी बढ़ जाती है, उसके लिए नहीं है, बढ़ती जाती है। इसलिए जो प्रश्न उठा करते हैं उनको नये रूप से देखना होता है और नये ढंग से उनका जवाब ढूँढना होता है।

मैंने आपसे कहा कि लोग अधिक हैं हमारे यहाँ, और ज़मीन कम है। हालाँकि बड़ा देश है अगर सारी ज़मीन भी बँटवारे को मिल जाय तब भी काफ़ी नहीं सबके लिए। लेकिन यह कुछ आवश्यक थोड़े है कि सब लोगों की ज़मीन हो आखिर? और भी काम हैं और भी पेशे हैं। अगर आप अंग्रेज़ी राज का इतिहास पढ़िए, भारत में अंग्रेज़ी राज्य का तो आप देखेंगे कि कोई डेढ़ सौ, पौने दो सौ वर्ष हुए जब अंग्रेज़ अपना राज्य यहाँ जमा रहे थे तो ज़मीन पर काम करने वाले लोग कोई मुझे ठीक याद नहीं लेकिन कोई पचहत्तर फ़ीसदी थे, बहत्तर, तिहत्तर या उससे भी कम थे। मुझे याद नहीं, कम थे, फ़ीसदी। ज्यों-ज्यों अंग्रेज़ी राज्य यहाँ जमता गया, अधिकतर लोग ज़मीन पर जा के पड़े। क्या माने इसके? इसके माने ये कि जो लोग और काम करते थे, कारीगरी करें, ग्रामोद्योग करें, छोटे-मोटे कारखाने चलायें, वो सब लोग बेकार हो गये, क्योंकि अंग्रेज़ी राज की नीति ऐसी थी कि उनका काम न चले, विलायत से सामान आये तो हमारे काम करने वाले लोग बेकार हो गये तो जा के ज़मीन पे पड़े। तो पहले से अधिक लोग ज़मीन पर हो गये, और ज़मीन पर बोझ बढ़ गया। और यह एक, बढ़ता गया, सौ बरस तक ज़मीन की आबादी बढ़ती गयी, घटने के बजाय। और देशों में घटती गयी, क्योंकि और देशों में नये-नये काम थे, नये-नये पेशे थे, लोग गये। हमारे देश में जितने पुराने पेशे भी थे वो भी बन्द होने लगे, अंग्रेज़ी नीति की वजह से। और जायें कहा बेचारे वो, जा के ज़मीन पर गये। ज़मीन खाली थोड़े ही थी, ज़मीन पे थे ही लोग। इसलिए ज़मीन के ऊपर बोझ बहुत बढ़ गया और उससे गरीबी बढ़ी। जिस देश में सब लोग ज़मीन पर ही काम करते हैं और [काम] नहीं करते वो गरीब देश होता है।

अब इतनी आबादी हमारी चालीस करोड़ की हो गयी और बढ़ती जाती है। दस बरस

बाद, वो पैतालीस करोड़ की होगी, दस बरस से और कम में शायद पैतालीस करोड़ की हो जाये। ज़मीन से तो उसको पूरा नहीं कर सकते आप। इसलिए हमने और उपाय ढूँढने हैं, और पेशे, और काम ढूँढने हैं कि लोग, सब लोग ज़मीन पर न जायें। ज़मीन पर जो हैं, वो भी कुछ और काम करें। एक तो वो बात है। और काम बहुत हैं। तरह-तरह के काम हैं, ग्रामोद्योग के काम हैं, बहुत काम हैं, छोटे कारखाने हों या बड़े कारखाने हों, या कारीगरी हो या जो भी कुछ हो, बहुत कामों में लोग लग सकते हैं। यह आवश्यक बात है, लेकिन वो ज़मीन हो सकता है ठीक-ठीक कि जब ज़मीन जो है, उसका भी ठीक-ठीक...न्याय से वो बँटे, जहाँ तक बन पड़े। अब इसके माने तो नहीं हैं कि हरेक को बराबर-बराबर नाप के दे दी जाय, वो चीज़ चलती नहीं है। लेकिन यह कि किसी के पास बहुत अधिक ज़मीन न हो, वो अच्छी बात नहीं है। इसीलिए यह प्रश्न उठा कि कोई ऊपरी नाप हो जाय, सीलिंग हो जाय कि उससे अधिक कोई न रखे और दूसरे ये, और जितनी उससे निकले वो भूमिहीन लोगों को दी जाय। इधर आचार्य विनोबाजी ने अपना ढंग निकाला कि लोगों से माँग कर देना, अब आप समझते हैं यह बात कोई सरकारी तरीका तो है नहीं। सरकार जाय माँगने तो फ़िज़ूल बात है वो। लेकिन विनोबा जी जैसे महापुरुष कर सकते हैं ऐसे, हमारी हमदर्दी जो कुछ है। मैं प्रधानमन्त्री की हैसियत से लोगों को कहूँ कि तुम ज़मीन औरों को दे दो तो वो बात तो चलती नहीं। एक निकम्मी बात हो जाती है, लेकिन विनोबाजी करें तो उससे बड़ा लाभ होता है देश को और मेरा कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि मैं जहाँ तक बन पड़े, उनकी सहायता करूँ उसमें।

खैर, मैंने आपको यह बताया कि हमें, हमारे सामने जो देश के प्रश्न हैं, काफ़ी पेचीदा और काफ़ी बड़े हैं और वो कोई एक रास्ते पर चलने से वो प्रश्न हल नहीं हो जायेंगे। पचासों रास्तों पर चलना है। लेकिन किसी रास्ते पर भी चलें उसके पीछे एक वायुमण्डल होना चाहिए काम करने का, शान्ति से काम करने का, सहयोग से काम करने का, प्रेम से काम करने का। वो सबमें आवश्यक है और...तो हम कागज़ पर हिसाब-किताब करके बहुत तरह-तरह के क्रायदे बना सकते हैं। हम पंचवर्षीय योजना को बना सकते हैं और बनाया भी है। लेकिन उसके पीछे क्या वायुमण्डल है, देश में क्या लोगों की भावनाएँ हैं, लड़ाई की, सहयोग की, उसके ऊपर निर्भर है कि क्या होगा।

आप जानते हैं दुनिया में बाज़ लोग जो कहते हैं, हमारे साम्यवादी भाई कहते हैं, समाजवादी भाई, कि दुनिया के हर समाज में क्लास कन्फ़्लिक्ट है, आपस में लड़ाई होती है लोगों में और फिर लड़ाई हो कैर एक दूसरे को दबा देता है। तो किसी क्रूर यह सही बात है। लड़ाई हो या न हो, एक आदमी का लाभ ऐसा होता है कि दूसरे की हानि हो। एक ज़मींदार है, उसका काश्तकार किसान है, ज़मींदार का लाभ होता है तो हो सकता है कि किसान की हानि हो। एक मिल का मालिक है; वो ऐसे काम करे जिससे लाभ ज़्यादा हो तो वहाँ के कामगार की हानि हो। तो इस तरह से ये बातें हैं। और हमारे साम्यवादी मित्र कहते हैं, इसलिए इस लड़ाई को और बढ़ना चाहिए, ख़ूब बढ़ना चाहिए, इतनी बढ़ती जाय, बढ़ती जाय कि बस एक-दूसरे को कुचल दें। तब, अब मुझे स्वीकार है कि ऐसा क्लास कन्फ़्लिक्ट है, है दुनिया में,

लेकिन कैसे उसको अच्छा करें, मुझे स्वीकार नहीं जो साम्यवादी कहते हैं कि हर वक्त लाठी चला कर, लड़ाई करके, बढ़ाते-बढ़ाते इतनी बढ़ जाये कि बस। तो यही और यही सिद्धान्त आप ले सकते हैं अन्तराष्ट्रीय बातों में कि जो देश चाहते हैं दूसरे को दबा के ज़बरदस्ती करके अपना काम करवा लें। अच्छा तो हमारा तरीका इस देश में चाहे अंग्रेज़ी राज को हटाने का जो था महात्माजी के नेतृत्व में वो लड़ाई का था ज़रूर, लेकिन शान्तिमय लड़ाई का, और प्रेम की लड़ाई का और फिर भी लड़ाई का दबाव डालने का और हमने स्वराज हासिल किया, बग़ैर कोई बहुत खून बहाये। हमने इसी तरह से जागीरदारी, ज़मींदारी, ताल्लुक़ेदारी हटायी, सहयोग से।

इन सब बातों में और दुनिया में बड़ी लड़ाइयाँ हुई हैं और बहुत कुछ ज़मीन का सवाल भी हल हुआ लेकिन बहुत कुछ बाक़ी है अब उसको भी हम चाहते हैं पूरी तौर से हल करना। और उसमें यह जो विनोबाजी ने तरीका निकाला, उसमें मैं समझता हूँ हमारे देश को बहुत लाभ हुआ है। और एक जो उन्होंने लाखों एकड़ ज़मीन उन्हें मिली, उससे तो लाभ हुआ ही, मैं उसका नहीं कहता, लेकिन उससे लोगों के दिलों पर जो असर हुआ और एक वायुमण्डल जो बना, उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ। ख़ाली ज़मीन के मामले में नहीं, बल्कि और बातों में भी, इसलिए मैं बहुत इसका आदर करता हूँ।

इस काम में आज श्रीमनजी⁷⁸ ने बताया कि ठीक आठ बरस हुए यह काम शुरू हुआ था। आठ बरस हुए, आज ही की तारीख़ को, अट्ठारह अप्रैल को।⁷⁹ उन्होंने उधर हैदराबाद में शुरू किया था, तेलंगाना में, ठीक आठ बरस हुए और इस आठ बरस में, मैं नहीं जानता किते मील विनोबाजी ने भ्रमण किया है गाँव-गाँव चल कर और मैं सोचता हूँ कि दुनिया में कोई और देश भी है जहाँ ऐसे लोग इस तरह से फिरा करते हैं। जैसे मैं सोचता था कि दुनिया में कोई ऐसा देश भी है, जहाँ गाँधी जैसे लोग पैदा होते हैं और उनका वहाँ आदर होता है और नेता बना दिये जाते हैं। और ये विनोबाजी गाँव-गाँव पैदल फिर रहे हैं, हज़ारों मील चल चुके हैं। एक जगह सन्देश किया, दूसरी जगह, तीसरी जगह और इस तरह से जनता के ऊपर असर डालना, उनके दिलों को पकड़ना, उनकी भावना बदलना, उनके चरित्र को बदलना। तो मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है और खुशी भी होती है और फिर मैं सोचता हूँ कि कैसे हम इस रास्ते पर चल के अपना काम पूरा करें? उस रास्ते पे तो चलना है, लेकिन शायद और रास्तों पर भी चलना है, शान्तिमय रास्तों पे और भी चलना है, क्योंकि सवाल जो हमारे सामने हैं, काफ़ी पेचीदा हैं। ख़ाली भूमि का नहीं है। और सवाल भी बहुत हैं।

हम इस देश को, दरिद्रता से कैसे अलग करें, बेरोज़गारी से कैसे अलग करें। और याद रखिए आप कि यह सवाल और भी पेचीदा और कठिन होते जाते हैं जैसे कि हमारी आबादी बहुत बढ़ गयी है और हमारे देखते-देखते बढ़ी है। इस पचास बरस में बढ़ गयी और बड़ी तेज़ी

78. Shriman Narayan, Member, Planning Commission.

79. On 18 April 1951 at Pochampally village in the Nalgonda diatricht of Andhra Pradesh.

से बढ़ती जाती है। हर साल, हर साल मुझे याद नहीं इस वक़्त, करीब साठ लाख आदमी, हमारी आबादी साठ लाख बढ़ जाती है, साठ-सत्तर लाख। साठ-सत्तर लाख खाने वाले अधिक हो जाते हैं, कपड़े पहनने वाले अधिक हो जाते हैं, रहने को घर उनकी आवश्यकता होती है। स्कूल चाहिए पढ़ने के लिए। इलाज के लिए उनको चाहिए अस्पताल, इत्यादि। काम चाहिए। काफ़ी बड़े प्रश्न हैं और ज़मीन से नहीं हल होते हैं। तो मैंने आपसे कहा, ज़मीन काफ़ी नहीं है। ज़मीन का बड़ा सवाल है, माना मैंने, लेकिन उससे हमारे और सवाल हल नहीं होते। इसलिए यह सब पंचवर्षीय योजना, यह सब आपके लिए बनते हैं जिससे हमारे लोगों को, सभी को काम मिले और काम करके वो कुछ पैदा करें।

काम के माने हैं कि कोई चीज़, कोई देश का धन पैदा करें। देश का धन तो बहुत तरह का होता है। धन से मेरा मतलब सोना-चाँदी नहीं। किसान धन पैदा करता है, ज़मीन से। बढ़ई धन पैदा करता है अपने कार्य से, लोहार पैदा करता है अपने काम से, कारखाने वाला, ग्रामोद्योग करने वाला ग्रामोद्योग से। इस तरह से जो भी नयी चीज़ बनती है, वो देश का धन है। जिस देश में अधिक-से-अधिक धन पैदा हो, सामान पैदा हो, वो धनी देश है। अमरीका बड़ा धनी देश है, इसलिए कि [वे] उसकी ज़मीन और कारखाने से बहुत पैदा कर लेते हैं। हमसे अधिक करते हैं, बहुत ज़्यादा। हमारी एक एकड़ ज़मीन से और देशों में जितना हम पैदा करते हैं, उसका दुगुना-चौगुना पैदा करते हैं। काहे को? हम क्यों नहीं करें? इसलिए कि कुछ नये उपाय लगाते हैं, कुछ विज्ञान से उन्होंने सीखा, कुछ नयी खाद लगायी, जो भी, नये बीज चुन कर लगाये। इस तरह से, नया यन्त्र कोई लगाया, इसलिए धनी हो गये। क्यों न हम अपनी ज़मीन से करें अधिक, हम धनी हो जायें। हमारे किसान को लाभ हो, देश को लाभ हो। आप सोचें अगर हमारे जो खेती से पैदा होता है देश भर का, उसका दुगुना पैदा हो जाय और दुगुना बहुत नहीं है तो देश दुगुना धनी हो जाय एकदम से और किसान भी धनी हों और देश भी हो। तो हम हो सकते हैं और जहाँ-जहाँ हमने कोशिश की है, वहाँ हुआ है। हमारी देश की औसत, ग़ल्ला गेहूँ पैदा करने की, दस मन की समझो है, दस मन एक एकड़ में और जहाँ-जहाँ कोशिश हुई है, वहाँ पचास मन तक पैदा हुआ है एक एकड़ में, चालीस मन, पचास मन, साठ मन तक। कोशिश से हो जाता है, ज़रा भूमि की सेवा की, अच्छी खाद दी, अच्छा हल चलाया, अच्छे बीज दिये, इस तरह से, पानी ठीक लगाया। तो यह तो बहुत है, लेकिन समझो दस मन का बीस मन भी हमने प्रति एकड़ कर दिया तब देश का धन दुगुना हो गया। किसान को तो हमने बढ़ाना है। प्रस्ताव से तो यह नहीं होता, समझ के बढ़ाना है। बड़ी भारी बात है और उससे जो लाभ हो, ज़मीन से हमें तो सब लोगों को खाना पेट भर के मिले और यह न कभी हो जैसे कि आजकल होता है कि हमें विदेश से ग़ल्ला मँगाना पड़े। वो तो बड़ी बुरी बात है कि हम अपने देश से पैसा भेजें अमरीका से ग़ल्ला मँगाने को। तो हमें अपने देश में खुद पैदा करना ही है।

लेकिन उससे हमें अधिक करना है कि उसकी एवज़ में विदेश से हमें कुछ मँगाना हो, यन्त्र वगैरह, मँगा सकें। उसी से हम फिर यहाँ अपने कारखाने वगैरह खोलें। तो यह हमें करना है।

ज़मीन से तो करना ही है। दूसरी तरफ़ हमें, जो कुछ हमें कारख़ाने खोलने हैं काम के सिलसिले में, छोटे-बड़े गाँव में, शहर में, वो एक अलग बड़ा प्रोग्राम तो है ही। उसके लिए भी, उसकी जड़ क्या है, बुनियाद क्या है। उसकी जड़, कारख़ाना, आप जानते हैं, हर चीज़ में लोहे की आवश्यकता होती है आजकल। किसान को भी लोहे की ज़रूरत है तो लोहा हमें पैदा करना है। तो उसके बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं।

अच्छा, कारख़ाने चलाने के लिए शक्ति की ज़रूरत है। कैसी शक्ति? जैसे बिजली की शक्ति। उससे पहिले चलते हैं, बिजली पैदा होती है उससे और कारख़ाने चलते हैं। तो हमें उस शक्ति को पैदा करना है, नदियों को रोक के, नदियों के बहने के वेग से, उससे। इस तरह से हमें बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने मशीन बनाने के करने हैं। वो एक दफ़े हो जायँ, तब उनके बच्चे, छोटे कारख़ाने बहुत सारे भी हो जाते हैं; लेकिन सबमें पहले भूमि का सवाल है कि हम अधिक वहाँ से पैदा करें। अगर हम अधिक नहीं पैदा करते तब न हमारे यहाँ कारख़ाने चलते हैं, न कुछ। कोई भी नहीं यहाँ बात बड़ी हो सकती।

अब भूमि से पैदा करने में दो-तीन बातें आपको याद रखनी हैं। एक तो कोई खास क़ानून भूमि का हो जिससे अन्याय हो तब काम नहीं ठीक चलता। और यह भी कि क़ानून एक समय अच्छा हो सकता है, दूसरे समय अच्छा नहीं होता। एक क़ानून सौ बरस हुए अच्छा हो सकता था, आजकल नहीं होता। जब एक बड़े ज़मींदार की ज़मीन होती है और किसान लगान देता है उसे तो किसान को हमेशा यह ख़याल होता था कि अगर मैं अधिक मेहनत करूँ, अधिक पैदा करूँ तो मेरा लगान बढ़ जायेगा, ज़मींदार ले जायेगा। तो उसका जी भी नहीं चाहता था अधिक करने का और होता भी नहीं था। उसकी खुद ज़मीन होती है तो मेहनत ज़्यादा करता है। तो इसलिए कुछ ज़मीन के बारे में हमें कुछ-न-कुछ और करना है कि सभों को मौक़ा मिले कमोबेश।

दूसरी बात जिसका आपने चर्चा सुना होगा, यह अभी-अभी हुआ है। ये सहकारी संघ का, कोऑपरेटिव का। आपके यहाँ विदर्भ में अक्सर कोऑपरेटिव हैं, अच्छे चले हैं, हालाँकि पुराने कोऑपरेटिव ख़ाली रुपये का लेन-देन करते थे और अब जो हमारा विचार जो कोऑपरेटिव का है, वो बहुत सारे कामों का है। उसके बारे में कुछ आपसे कहा चाहता हूँ, लेकिन उससे पहले मैं आपको बताया चाहता हूँ कि हमारे सामने ग्रामीण जीवन कैसे चलना चाहिए। यानी उसका संगठन कैसा हो, क्योंकि यह आवश्यक है कि संगठन ठीक हो, तब काम ठीक होता है। आजकल हमारा पुराना जो ग्रामीण जीवन था, बहुत कुछ वो टूट गया। नयी-नयी बातें आयीं, नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ आयीं, अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में, बाद में। अब इसको बिलकुल पुराना तो हम कर नहीं सकते, लेकिन फिर भी हम एक गाँव के जीवन को ऐसा बनाया चाहते हैं कि वहाँ लोग मिल कर एक-दूसरे के सहयोग से, सहायता से आगे बढ़ें। एक मामूली किसान की शक्ति बहुत नहीं है। नहीं है, जैसे कि एक बेचारे मज़दूर की शक्ति कारख़ाने में नहीं है। लेकिन वो मज़दूर अपनी मज़दूर सभा बनायें, ट्रेड यूनियन बनायें तो उसकी शक्ति हो जाती है। मिलने से शक्ति है, यह तो मामूली बात है। किसान की अलग शक्ति कुछ अधिक नहीं है। बेचारा उसको कोई

चाहिए; अच्छे हल चाहिए, नहीं मिलेंगे, अच्छे बीज चाहिए, कठिनाई से मिलेंगे। बेचता है तो [...] कम दाम मिले, लाभ न हो। हज़ार कठिनाइयाँ हैं। और आजकल खेती के काम में बहुत तरक्कियाँ हुई हैं जो किसान को नहीं मिल सकी हैं, उसकी शक्ति नहीं है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि वो मिल कर यह सहकारी संघ बनाये और मिल कर काम करे तब उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है। तो हम चाहते हैं कि गाँव का संगठन हो तीन चीज़ों के चारों तरफ़। एक तो पंचायत और पंचायत मज़बूत हो, यानी उसको अधिकार हों। आजकल जिते अधिकार हैं, उससे अधिक अधिकार दिये जायें।

अब मैं जानता हूँ कि पंचायत में अक्सर लोग लड़ाई-झगड़ा करते हैं, दलबन्दी होती है, काम नहीं करते, शिकायतें आती हैं, सब बात ठीक है। लेकिन हम इससे डर जायें तो हम कभी सीखते ही नहीं, इसलिए पंचायत को अधिकार देना चाहिए और उसमें सरकारी अफ़सरों को बहुत दखल नहीं देना चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि गाँव वालों को अधिकार हो, चाहे वो ग़लती क्यों न करें। जो ग़लती करें वो अपनी ग़लती से सीखेंगे, नहीं तो सीखेंगे कैसे? तो मैं नहीं चाहता कि बहुत अफ़सर लोगों का दखल हो। हाँ, अफ़सर लोग जायें, सहायता दें, सलाह दें। दूसरे, सहकारी संघ हो। तीसरे, हर गाँव में विद्यालय हो, स्कूल हो। ये तीन पक्की चीज़ें हों। अगर यह चीज़ अच्छी तरह से चलती हैं तो ग्राम मज़बूत है और हमारा स्वराज है। वो गाँव में अच्छी तरह से स्थापित हो गया है और फिर बाद में और आज भी, ठीक है।

स्वराज ख़ाली दिल्ली में और बम्बई में काफ़ी नहीं है, गाँव तक पक्का हो, तब ठीक होता है। इसलिए हम गाँव पर ध्यान दे रहे हैं। अच्छा, और गाँव में यह नहीं कि ख़ाली खेती करने वाले रहें। गाँव में ग्रामोद्योग चलें, छोटे कारख़ाने हों। हम नहीं चाहते कि गाँव के लोग भाग-भाग कर शहरों में आ जायें। लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि गाँव में रह कर वो काम करें। पढ़ कर आते हैं लड़के आजकल स्कूल-कॉलेज में, वो समझते हैं अब हम गाँव में नहीं रहेंगे, अब जा कर नौकरी करेंगे शहर में। ग़लत बात है। कोई आ जाय, अच्छा है, उसको तो चाहिए अपने गाँव को अच्छा करना, गाँव की सेवा करना। कारख़ाना भी कोई बनाता है छोटा-मोटा तो वहीं बनाये, गाँव ऊँचा हो। या जा के वहाँ खेती करें नये ढंग से, सिखायें अपने साथियों को। तो इस तरह से गाँव को हमें उठाना है, तरह-तरह के काम वहाँ हों। खेती नये ढंग से और अच्छी तरह से हो और यह सब बातें सहयोग से हों।

तो इसके पीछे कई बातें हैं। एक तो यह कि हमें विश्वास हो कि अधिक पैदा होगा इससे और बहुत आवश्यक है हमारे लिए अधिक पैदा करना ज़मीन से। दूसरे ये कि जब गाँव वाले मिल कर काम करेंगे तो वो और काम भी बहुत करेंगे, क्योंकि उनकी आदत मिल कर काम करने की हो जायेगी। तब वो मिल कर अपनी सड़क बनायेंगे, विद्यालय बनायेंगे, पंचायत-घर बनायेंगे, और पचास और काम करेंगे, अपनी-अपनी उन्नति का वहाँ, क्योंकि वो मिल कर वो आदत हो जाती है। छोटे-छोटे कारख़ाने भी शुरू कर सकते हैं। हज़ार बातें करेंगे। गाँव का रंग-रूप बदलने लगेगा। तो यह सहकार, सहकारी समिति के पीछे ख़ाली ज़मीन का काम करना नहीं है, बल्कि और बहुत काम आते जायेंगे, वो करेंगे। यानी वो एक ढंग हो जाता है ग्राम के,

समाज के, संगठन का और एक ऊँचा ढंग। आजकल के संगठन से ऊँचा ढंग और समाज को, हमेशा समाज बढ़ती है इसी तरह से अपने ढंग को बदल कर। मैं तो समझता हूँ कि सहकारी संघ, ज़मीन के लिए खाली नहीं, हमारे उद्योग-धन्धों के लिए भी उचित है और उसे हमें लाना है, पहले छोटे में, फिर बड़े में। और इस तरह से हमारे सारे समाज का और उद्योग-धन्धों का संगठन दूसरे तरह से होना है। जो बहुत बड़े उद्योग-धन्धे हों, बहुत बड़े, उनका तो मेरी राय में सरकार की तरफ़ से करना चाहिए, जिससे कुछ थोड़े-से लोगों के हाथ में होने से उसमें बहुत ऊँच-नीच होती है, और भी और हानि होती है। छोटे धन्धे लोगों के हाथ में हों तो अच्छा है।

तो यह सहकारी संघ का मैंने आपसे चर्चा किया। अभी नागपुर में कॉन्फ़रेंस हुई थी। उसने प्रस्ताव किया। कोई नयी बात नहीं थी। उसमें प्रस्ताव एक पंचवर्षीय योजना का किया और एक यह कि हमारे ज़मीन का जो संगठन हो, समाज का, वहाँ, उस में पंचायत हो और सहकारी संघ हो, और दोनों को अधिकार काफ़ी दिये जायें और उसने एक और बात कही कि हमारा लक्ष्य होना चाहिए कि सहकारी संघ में खेती मिल-जुल कर होनी चाहिए। पहले नहीं, पहले और काम मिल-जुल कर करें जिसको सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव कहते हैं। इसके माने नहीं कि जो अभी करना चाहते हैं मिल-जुल कर खेती वो अब भी कर सकता है। कोई रुकावट थोड़े है। लेकिन हमने कहा यह कि हर गाँव में हम चाहते हैं कि कोऑपरेटिव हो, सहकारी संघ हो, चाहे अभी वो मिल-जुल कर खेती न हो, वो हो जाय। भारत में हर गाँव में यह बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न हो जाता है। भारत में एक माने में साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव हैं। खैर, बाज़ छोटे हैं, ये हैं, शायद दो मिल के हो जायें। तब कितनी बातें होती हैं, ढाई लाख, तीन लाख, तीन लाख सहकारी समितियाँ हों।

अच्छा, आप पूछें कि एक गाँव में क्यों हो? पाँच गाँव में मिल के क्यों न हों? दस गाँव में, बीस गाँव में? वो इसलिए कि हम चाहते हैं कि सहकारी संघ में लोग एक-दूसरे को पहचानें, एक-दूसरे को जानें। एक बड़ा परिवार-सा हो, अगर आप बीस-पच्चीस गाँव की कर दें तो नहीं जानते, तब वो ढंग दूसरा हो जाता है, फिर उसमें या तो अफ़सर लोगों को ज़्यादा दखल देना पड़ेगा या कुछ लोग, अनजान लोग आ के उस पे क़ब्ज़ा कर लेंगे और किसानों को मूर्ख बनायेंगे, इसलिए गाँव का रखने से जो कोऑपरेटिव में, सहकारी संघ में, विशेष बातें हैं कि एक मिली-जुली परिवार की-सी बात हो, मिल-जुल के काम करें। जो अच्छा आदमी है, उसको जानें, जो बुरा है उसको जानें, पहचानें एक-दूसरे को। किसी पर भरोसा है, किसी पे नहीं है, वो बात हो तो वो एक पक्की चीज़ हो जाती है। नहीं तो फिर वो एक सरकारी ढंग हो जाता है। वो चीज़ हम नहीं चाहते। इसलिए हमने कहा कि एक गाँव में हो, एक गाँव छोटा हो तो दो गाँव में, यह और बात है। छोटे-छोटे गाँव, लेकिन बहुत बड़ी न हो और फिर दस-बीस गाँव को मिल के वहाँ के सहकारी संघ की, दस-बीस के, फिर एक उनकी कमेटी हो। दस-बीस सहकारी संघ की, जो उनकी निगरानी करे, देख-भाल करे और जो बड़े बैंक वगैरह से सम्बन्ध रखे, पैसे-वैसे के लेन-देन के लिए, क्योंकि बैंक के लिए आसान होगा उस बड़ी कमेटी से करना, बजाय एक-एक गाँव से करना।

खैर, ये सब बातें तो हल्के-हल्के निकलेंगी और कोई हम नहीं चाहते कि पत्थर की लकीर लिखी जाये कि सब जगह ऐसी ही हो, क्योंकि भारत एक बड़ा देश है, उसमें तरह-तरह के, तरह-तरह के लोग रहते हैं, तरह-तरह की हालत है। फ़र्ज़ करो हमारे ये भाई हैं, ये आदिवासी भाई हैं। अब आदिवासी भाइयों का हम जो संगठन बनायें, उसमें शायद ज़रा दूसरे ढंग का सहकारी संघ रखें, यहाँ का नहीं, क्योंकि हम नहीं चाहते कि उनके ढंग को, रस्मो-रिवाज को हम तोड़ें। इस तरह से किसी प्रान्त में आबादी अधिक है, कहीं कम है, उसी हिसाब से करें। लेकिन जो बुनियादी बात है, वो यही। और हम चाहते हैं, यही मैंने आपसे कहा कि सारी ताक़त लगायी जाये इन सर्विस कोऑपरेटिवज़ पर, इसलिए कि हम चाहते हैं कि यह गाड़ी देश भर में चल जाये ज़ोरों से, फिर उसमें लोग मिली-जुली खेती जब चाहें करने लगे। अब चाहें, अब करें। वो बात नहीं है।

क्योंकि अब इसमें एक बात [की] मैं आपको चेतावनी दे देना चाहता हूँ, वो कोई खाली आपके निश्चय करने की बात नहीं है कि आपने कहा कि हम करेंगे मिली-जुली खेती या हम कोऑपरेटिव बनायेंगे, क्योंकि उसमें कुछ बुद्धि चाहिए, कुछ अभ्यास चाहिए, तज़ुर्बा चाहिए, काम करने का ढंग जानना चाहिए। अगर वो नहीं हुआ तो शायद आपने जो बनाया, वो टूट जाये। फिर उसमें अविश्वास हो जाये, लोग कहें कि चलता नहीं, इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो गया है कि लोग सिखाये जायें कैसे चलायी जाती है, और काफ़ी, काफ़ी गिनती में चलायी जाये, जो बहुत किसी फ़र्ज़ करो प्रदेश में या ज़िले भर का कोई जिसके सुपुर्द हो, उसको तो बहुत सीखना पड़ेगा, काफ़ी, लेकिन और लोग जो हैं ग्रामों में, पंच, सरपंच, ग्राम सेवक उनको यह थोड़ा-थोड़ा सीखना होगा और इसका भी प्रबन्ध सरकारी तौर से और और तरफ़ से काँग्रेस की ओर से और और, यह क्या नाम, विकास योजनाएँ हैं, कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक्स की ओर से इसका प्रबन्ध सिखाने का होगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अधिक-से-अधिक लोग सीखें। मैं नहीं कहता कि सब लोग बड़े पण्डित और आचार्य हो जायें उस में, लेकिन कुछ-न-कुछ सीखना है, क्योंकि बग़ैर सीखे तो कोई काम होता नहीं अच्छी तरह से। और हम इस काम को, बड़े काम को उठा रहे हैं तब उसको सफल हो के दिखाना चाहते हैं, खाली नाममात्र को कह दिया हमने कि सौ, हजार संघ बना दिये, फिर वे चलें नहीं तो उससे कोई लाभ नहीं, उससे तो हानि है। इसलिए सीख के हमें करना है और इसलिए हमने समय दिया है कि देश भर में वो चीज़ चल जाये फिर हल्के-हल्के जो लोग तैयार हों, वे मिल के खेती भी करने लगे।

अब मिल के खेती करने में, वो उसमें मिल के खेती करने के पहले क्या-क्या बातें करें? बहुत बातें हैं, उनको बीज मँगाना है, बीज मिल के मँगायें, अच्छे-अच्छे चुने हुए, खाद मँगानी है, मिल के मँगायें, हल ज़रा नये तरह के मँगाने हैं, मिल के आ सकते हैं आसानी से, कितनी बातें हैं। और जो उनको बेचना-वेचना है, वो भी अपना सहकारी संघ की तरफ़ से करें तो अच्छे दाम मिलें और बीच में, बीच वाले लोग जो लाभ उठाते हैं साहूकार लोग, और बनिये लोग, उनका हिस्सा फिर निकल जाता है, साफ़ बात यह है। फिर या तो लाभ होगा पैदा करने वाले को या [...] खाने वाले को, दो को लाभ होंगे उससे, बीच का लाभ नहीं रहेगा और वो ठीक

है। तो यह सब बातें तो होनी हैं।

अब अगर आप खेती मिल कर करें तो एक तो आजकल छोटी-छोटी ज़मीन के टुकड़े हैं, यह एक बड़ी ज़मीन मिल जाती है और उसमें खेती करना कहीं ज़्यादा सरल हो जाता है। मोड़-तोड़ में, बीच में जो ज़मीन ज़ाया जाती है, कितनी जाती है, तीन-तीन, चार-चार फुट, बीच के खेतों में, वो काम में आ जाती है। याद रखिए, ज़मीन तो आदमी की रहती है उसी की, ज़मीन उससे नहीं छीनी जाती। ज़मीन का हिस्सा तो उसका रहता ही है, मालिक वो रहता है, खाली मिल-जुल के करने से यह एक हिस्सेदार हो जाता है बड़ा। जैसे समझो एक हमारा परिवार है, हिन्दू परिवार होते हैं, चार भाई हैं, पाँच भाई हैं, पाँच हिस्सेदार हैं। अलग-अलग हिस्सा है, वे मिल के खेती करते हैं, अपना हिस्सा बाँट लेते हैं, कोई कठिनाई तो नहीं है। हिस्सा है उनका, जब चाहें हिस्सा ले सकते हैं। तो उसको समझ लो कि ज़रा ज़्यादा बड़ा परिवार है। तो उसमें, और आजकल यह बड़ी बात है, आजकल के यन्त्र आप चला सकते हैं, जो आजकल के नये हल हैं, ये वो, चला सकते हैं आप, उससे अधिक पैदा होता है। वो एक किसान नहीं कर सकता है। मिल के सब लोग कर सकते हैं। सबों का हिस्सा बढ़ जाता है, सबों को लाभ होता है। ग्राम का लाभ होता है और देश का लाभ होता है और सबमें बड़ी बात, एक भावना होती है मिल कर काम करने की, चलो कि बहुत आवश्यक है देश के सब काम के लिए कोऑपरेटिव तरीका, यह देश के सब काम करने के लिए बहुत आवश्यक है। तो जब वो भावना आ जाये तब देश बड़ी तेज़ी से बढ़ता है, सब काम होते हैं।

तो इसलिए यह बहुत अच्छी चीज़ है और हालाँकि एक सीधी चीज़ है, सरल चीज़ है, लेकिन एक माने में एक क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ भी है, क्योंकि सारे अगर यह बात जम जाये और जैसे जमेगी मुझे विश्वास है तो सारे हमारे देहात का रूप बदल जायेगा ग्रामों का। और कुछ हमारे भाई हैं, उसका विरोध करते हैं। मुझे तो आश्चर्य होता है, क्योंकि करते हैं विरोध, क्योंकि यह हो सकता है, और यह कहते हैं किसानों को जा के कि तुम्हारी ज़मीन छिन जायेगी। यह तो एक बात सही नहीं है, यह सत्य बात नहीं है, असत्य है। कोई ज़मीन छिनने का प्रश्न नहीं, उनकी ज़मीन रहती है, उनका हिस्सा ज़मीन में रहता है, लेकिन इस समय तो हम उस बात को भी नहीं कह रहे, इस समय तो हम कहते हैं कि मिली-जुली खेती जब उचित समझो, करो। हमें खुशी होगी, करो। लेकिन इस समय तो हम चाहते हैं कि गाँव-गाँव में यह सहकारी संघ हो, जिसमें मिली-जुली खेती हो या न हो, लेकिन और बातों में मिल-जुल के काम हों और इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि इसमें लाभ होगा सभी का, फ़ौरन फ़ायदा होगा मिल-जुल के काम करने से और बीच के फ़ायदे वाले निकल जायेंगे।

यह एक बड़ा हमारे लिए एक बड़ा इम्तहान-सा हो गया है प्रश्न, देश को उठाने का, क्योंकि देश हमारा उसी समय उठेगा जब यहाँ के गाँव उठेंगे। मोटी बात है। गाँव उठे, ग्रामीण जनता उठे, तब देश उठता है। यह देहली, बम्बई और कलकत्ता, मद्रास के उठ जाने से तो देश नहीं उठता। हाँ, हमारे नगर भी उठें, ठीक है, लेकिन जब एक दफ़े किसान उठता है तब समझो देश, एक बड़ा हाथी फिर उठता है। उसके पहले कुछ और है। इसलिए इधर बहुत ध्यान देना

है और यह कोई सरकारी हुक्म की बात नहीं है, क्योंकि यह तो लोगों के सहकार से, सहयोग से, लोगों के स्वीकार करने से ये बातें होंगी। कोई ज़बरदस्ती तो कोई कर नहीं सकता। लेकिन मुझे आशा है लोग करेंगे, क्योंकि उनके लाभ के लिए है।

अभी मुझसे तुकड़ोजी महाराज कह रहे थे, कि उनको इतना पसन्द है यह नीति सहकारी संघ की, वे देश भर में जा के इसको फैलाना चाहते हैं। वे तो उसका कह रहे थे मिली-जुली खेती का, देश भर में करना चाहते हैं। तो मैंने तो सहर्ष स्वीकार किया। मैंने कहा उससे बहुत लाभ होगा, उनके कहने से। जहाँ-जहाँ उन्होंने काम किया, आप यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं, आप उनके काम को अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं, कितना ज़ोरदार उन्होंने जहाँ-जहाँ बैठे हैं, उन्होंने किया है अपने चेलों के साथ, औरों के। यहाँ गुरुदेव सेवा मण्डल⁸⁰ के बहुत सारे सैकड़ों नवयुवक बैठे हैं, बहुत अच्छे काम करने वाले हैं। तो उनकी सहायता से, सहयोग से यह काम बहुत दूर तक पहुँचेगा। ऐसे ही और लोग भी करेंगे। लेकिन यह तो हुआ, मैं चाहता हूँ आप इन बातों को अलग, वो एक बड़ी आवश्यक बात है, ठीक है। लेकिन उसको एक बड़े नक्शे में देखिए, आजकल भारत के नक्शे में, क्योंकि भारत एक दरिद्रता के दलदल में पड़ा है। उसी के साथ ही, मैं आपसे कहा चाहता हूँ, आपका जो कुछ उसमें अभ्यास हो, तजुर्बा हो, इस पिछले दस-बारह बरस में जबसे हमें स्वराज्य मिला, थोड़ा-बहुत अन्तर हुआ है, अच्छा हुआ है, कुछ आगे हम काफ़ी बढ़े हैं। एक तो कुछ बढ़े हैं और दूसरे आगे बढ़ने के लिए काफ़ी बुनियाद मज़बूत डाली है।

मैं अभी आ रहा हूँ दक्षिण भारत से, मद्रास प्रदेश के बिलकुल दक्षिण ज़िले जो हैं क़रीब-क़रीब रामेश्वर के पास से आ रहा हूँ, बहुत गरीब हिस्सा था और बहुत बरस बाद मैं गया था और जब मैंने देखा यह तो मैं नहीं कहता कि हो गया धनी जैसा वो हिस्सा, लेकिन पहले से काफ़ी फ़र्क़ पाया मैंने। ग्रामों में पक्के मकान, कपड़े ज़्यादा अधिक लोग पहने हुए, साफ़-सुथरे इन्तज़ाम। उनके बच्चे भी बहुत अच्छे, भले मालूम हों, मेरा दिल बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ देख के। यों तो आप कागज़ पे हिसाब लगाइए, देखिए कि हमारी प्रोडक्शन क्या है, पैदावार, देश भर की और यह क्या है, वो क्या है, वो तो और बात है, लेकिन अपनी आँख से देखना कि जनता कैसे लाभ उठा रही है, अच्छी होती जाती है, उससे खुशी होती है।

एक बात मैं आपको और बताऊँ, मद्रास में जो मैंने देखी जो कि बहुत अच्छी है। वो वहाँ के स्कूलों के और स्कूल के बच्चों के बारे में वहाँ की प्रदेश की सरकार ने की है। पहले तो उन्होंने जा के, गाँव में गये और गाँव वालों को सबको जमा किया और गाँव के स्कूल के बच्चों को और उनके माता-पिता को, अध्यापक को, सबको जमा किया। तो उन्होंने कहा कि भाई देखो, तुम्हारे गाँव का एक स्कूल है और इसको अच्छी तरह से चलाने में तुम्हारी ज़िम्मेदारी होनी चाहिए और हम चाहते हैं कि इन बच्चों को दोपहर के समय पर खाना मिले स्कूल में।

80. After Independence, Tukdoji Maharaj established All India Shri Gurudev Seva Mandal for implementing rural reconstruction and village development programme.

बाज़ बच्चे बेचारे खा-पी के आते हैं, बाज़ को नहीं मिलता। खैर, यह सब उन्होंने प्रबन्ध लोगों को समझाया, कहीं राज़ी हुए, कहीं नहीं हुए, लेकिन एक साल, डेढ़ साल के अन्दर यह बात इतनी फैली है वहाँ कि अब अधिकतर मद्रास प्रदेश के स्कूलों को बच्चों को दोपहर के वक्त खाना मिलता है, और अधिकतर वो खाने का सामान गाँव वाले देते हैं। कुछ सरकार भी देती है। दो-तिहाई गाँव वाले देते हैं, एक तिहाई सरकार उसका खर्च बरदाश्त करती है। यानी गल्ला-वल्ला दे देते हैं वे, जा के स्कूल में बन जाता है और उसका नतीजा क्या हुआ कि फ़ौरन छोटे बच्चे हैं बेचारे पाँच-छै-सात-आठ-नौ-दस बरस, प्राइमरी स्कूल का मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ, प्राथमिक शिक्षा के बच्चों का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होने लगा...अक्सर बच्चे थे जिनको, बेचारों को, नहीं ठीक मिलता था खाने को भोजन...स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होने लगा, उनकी पढ़ाई अच्छी होने लगी, सुन्दर मालूम होने लगे, बेचारे दुबले-पतले थे, एकदम से उसका लाभ नज़र आया। अब यह उन्होंने पक्का इन्तज़ाम कर लिया मद्रास सरकार ने दोपहर के खाने का।

और इसी सिलसिले में एक और बात उन्होंने चलायी। हर इलाक़े में एक सभा बनायी उन्होंने, स्कूल इम्प्रूवमेंट सोसाइटी। यानी स्कूल का अच्छा करने की, उन्नति करने की एक संघ। उसके क्या माने थे? कि जितने माता-पिता लोग हैं, वहाँ रहते हैं गाँव में और गाँव में उनको लिख देते हैं कि हम यहाँ स्कूल में इन इन चीज़ों की आवश्यकता है, जो भी हो, स्लेट है, किताब है, कागज़ है, कुर्सी है, मेज़ है और पचासों चीज़ें जो होती हैं, अगर आप कुछ दे सकते हैं जो इनमें से आपको फ़ालतू हो, दे दीजिए आप। तो मैं अभी एक कल, कल ही और एक-दो रोज़ हुए, मैं उनकी गया स्कूल इम्प्रूवमेंट कॉन्फ़रेंस में, उस इलाक़े भर की थी, वहाँ पर एक साढ़े बारह हज़ार अध्यापक थे। अध्यापक-अध्यापिकाएँ, क्योंकि वहाँ स्त्रियाँ बहुत स्कूलों में पढ़ाती हैं। साढ़े बारह हज़ार अध्यापक जमा हुए थे और वहाँ एक बड़ी प्रदर्शनी थी, उस सामान की जो उस इलाक़े के लोगों ने दिया है स्कूलों के लिए। मैं तो हैरान हो गया देख के। फैला हुआ था, एक मैदान भरा हुआ था सामान से, और हर तरह का समान। बहुत सारे बरतन थे, पीतल के बरतन, पकाने के, खाने के, थालियाँ, कटोरे, गिलास, किताबें थीं, वस्त्र थे, दस-बीस रेडियो भी थे, लेकिन ज्यादातर, अधिकतर मामूली चीज़ें तो वो सब स्कूलों में बाँटी जाती हैं, जहाँ-जहाँ आवश्यक हो। और आप देखें यह क़रीब-क़रीब सब वहाँ की जनता के सहयोग से हो रहा है। यह कोई सरकार नहीं कर सकती। खाने का प्रबन्ध, सामान का प्रबन्ध और नतीजा क्या है कि मद्रास में पढ़ाई इस वक्त बड़ी सुन्दर हो रही है बच्चों की, क्योंकि सब खुश हैं, अध्यापक खुश हैं उससे, बच्चे खुश हैं, माता-पिता भी खुश हैं, देखते हैं अपने बच्चों का भला।

तो मैंने आपको यह मिसाल दी। इस तरह से जनता के सहयोग से बहुत बढ़ सकते हैं। सरकार, सरकारी अफ़सर और सरकारी क़ानून से कहाँ तक? देश नहीं बढ़ता। चालीस करोड़ आदमी अपनी शक्ति से बढ़ सकते हैं। हाँ, सरकारी शक्ति और जनता की शक्ति मिल जाती है तो भला होता है। एक शक्ति का काम नहीं होता। वो मिलना चाहिए।

तो मैं देश में भ्रमण करता हूँ, देखता हूँ दो बातें। एक तो कुछ लोगों की हालत पहले से

अच्छी होती जाती है, जितना मैं चाहता हूँ उतनी नहीं। अब भी गरीबी है, अब भी बहुत मुसीबतें हैं। मैं जानता हूँ, दिखता है फिर भी पहले से अच्छे हैं। दूसरी यह कि हमने एक बुनियाद डाली, नींव डाली, डाल रहे हैं हम, ऐसी कि जिसके बाद बड़ी उन्नति हो। जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा हम एक बड़ी योजना बनायें किसी नदी की, पाँच-छै बरस लगते हैं उसके बनने में, लेकिन उसके बाद उससे नहर निकलती है, पानी आता है खेतों में, उससे बिजली पैदा होती है, बिजली से कारखाने चलते हैं। इसमें समय लगता है न, एकदम से लाभ तो नहीं होता, पाँच-सात बरस बाद। हम लोहे के कारखाने बना रहे हैं। हमें एक कौड़ी का लाभ उससे नहीं है, लेकिन कई सौ करोड़ रुपये खर्च रहे हैं। लेकिन जब वो बन जायेंगे तब देश को लाभ होगा। इसलिए शुरू के वर्षों में लाभ अधिक नहीं होता, लेकिन बुनियाद जड़ पड़ रही है देश में मज़बूती की।

मालूम नहीं आपके इधर के लोग जाते हैं कि नहीं, लेकिन आजकल भारत दर्शन की यात्राएँ हुआ करती हैं और रेलों पर दो-दो, तीन-तीन सौ, चार-चार सौ आदमी, विद्यार्थी या किसान या जो कुछ हो, एक महीने घूमते हैं, सब भारत देखते हैं। जैसे मैंने कहा, यात्रा करना तो हमारे देश में बहुत प्राचीन आदत है। यात्रा करें, जाया करते हैं काशीजी और कित्ते रामेश्वर और द्वारिका और पुरी, अमरनाथ, केदारनाथ, प्रयाग और कित्ते हमारी यात्रा के पवित्र मुकाम हैं। जाया करते थे और अब भी जाते हैं। लेकिन अब नयी जगहें यात्राओं की बन गयी हैं, जहाँ बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं, जहाँ जनता के, जनता के सहायता से, सहयोग से बड़े काम हुए हैं, जो लाभदायक हैं सारे देश के लिए, जनता के लिए। वहाँ भी अब यात्राएँ होती हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी। और ठीक भी है वहाँ हों, क्योंकि वो भी एक नये मन्दिर हो गये हैं हमारे।

तो यह सब देश में हो रहा है। लम्बी कहानी है। कैसे मैं आपको बताऊँ? लेकिन सबकी जड़ हो जाती है किसान और ज़मीन, ग्रामीण जनता, गाँव, उसकी तरक्की करना। और उसकी तरक्की के लिए बहुत बातें करनी हैं। हमें अधिक पैदा करना है ज़मीन से। लेकिन उसकी भी जड़ है एक-दूसरे के सहयोग से, और सहकारी संघ के माने क्या हैं? सहयोग करना एक-दूसरे से, जिससे हर एक का लाभ होता है। यह तो हरेक समझदार आदमी जानता है कि जब लोग मिल कर काम करते हैं, उसमें ज़्यादा शक्ति होती है, ज़्यादा काम होता है तो उसमें बहस की क्या ज़रूरत, समझ में नहीं आता? और सबमें अच्छी बात, कि उसमें भावना अच्छी पैदा होती है एक-दूसरे से मिल कर काम करने की। यह नहीं कि एक-दूसरे से लड़ें। रोज़ हमारे यहाँ अदालत में कितने मुकदमे जाते हैं, जाते थे, अब भी जाते होंगे ज़मीन की लड़ाई के कि तुम्हारे खेत एक गज़ इधर हैं कि एक गज़ उधर हैं। लाठी चले, सिर फोड़ें। यह भावना हम नहीं चाहते। अगर ऐसी ज़मीन पर बहस हो तो पंचायत निश्चय करे, सहकारी संघ निश्चय करे और यह भी बात न हो और अगर सहकारी संघ मिली-जुली खेती करे, कोई भी सवाल न हो। तो यह बात, काफ़ी बड़ी बातें निश्चय हुई हैं देश के लिए। और इन बातों के लिए कहूँ कि असली हवा तैयार की विनोबाजी ने अपने भूदान और ग्रामदान के प्रचार से। और मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि जो लोग विरोध करते हैं इस सहकारी संघ का उन्होंने यह देखा नहीं कि विनोबाजी उससे

कहीं आगे बढ़ते गये हैं। विनोबाजी तो कहते हैं कि ज़मीन हर एक की होनी चाहिए। ज़मीन किसी की मिलकियत नहीं होनी चाहिए, जैसे हवा है और पानी है। तो अजीब बात है। दुनिया में, सबमें क्रीमती चीज़ क्या है। सबमें आवश्यक चीज़ क्या है, जिसके बग़ैर आदमी रह ही नहीं सकते? पानी है। पानी के दाम तो नहीं हैं कुछ, इसलिए पानी हर जगह मिलता है। पानी से अधिक कोई क्रीमती चीज़ दुनिया में नहीं है। अब यह सही है कि ज़मीन इतनी नहीं है, जैसे पानी है। सही बात है। इसलिए...लेकिन फिर भी हमें प्रबन्ध ऐसे करने चाहिएँ सहकारी संघ इत्यादि के कि मिल-जुल के इन चीज़ों से लाभ हो।

मैंने आपसे कुछ कहा नहीं, हमारे देश के बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं और हमें उनको हल करना है विज्ञान से। विज्ञान ने जो नयी बातें सिखायी हैं, उनसे लाभ उठा के, और विदेशी देश जो बढ़ गये हैं, वो विज्ञान से बढ़े हैं। हम पिछड़ गये। तो विज्ञान से तो हमें लाभ उठाना ही है और विज्ञान के जो बच्चे बहुत पैदा हुए हैं, उनसे उठाना है लाभ। लेकिन उसी के साथ हमें जो हमारे ढंग हैं काम करने के उनको नहीं भूलना है। हमारे ढंग क्या, हमारा जो मैं क्या कहूँ, परम्परा कहिए, जो कुछ कहिए आप, क्योंकि मैं दुनिया को देखता हूँ और फिर अपने देश को देखता हूँ। दुनिया में बड़ी ज़ोरों से लड़ाई-झगड़े की बातें, बड़े-बड़े देश तैयार होते हैं लड़ने के लिए, बड़े-बड़े हथियार, ऐटम बम, और ऐसे एक-दूसरे को धमकियाँ देते हैं, गोया कि धमकियों से कोई दब जायेगा। दबते हैं नहीं धमकी से इसलिए और लड़ाई का डर, भय बढ़ता जाता है।

अभी तो हमारा ढंग आप जानते हैं। औरों से हम जो कुछ सीख सकते हैं, सीखेंगे। हम विज्ञान सीखेंगे, अपना विज्ञान बनायेंगे। जो चीज़ हम सीख सकते हैं, सीखेंगे। लेकिन हम निश्चय खुद करेंगे क्या हमें करना है, क्या नहीं करना है, अपने ढंग से, और किसी देश से हम दुश्मनी नहीं लिया चाहते हैं, मित्रता चाहते हैं हम। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम उनके अनुगामी हो जायें, उनकी नक़ल करें, उनकी हर बात मानें, यह नहीं, लेकिन यह तो आसान बात है। अगर दो आदमियों की एक ही राय हो, तब तो बड़ी आसानी से मित्र हो जाते हैं, लेकिन इम्तहान तो जब होता है कि जब दो रायें हों, तब भी मित्र रहें। तो हम और देशों से मित्रता किया चाहते हैं बग़ैर, बग़ैर उनकी हर बात की नक़ल किये, यह हमारी नीति है। यह हमारी नीति अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय बातों में है। दुनिया में है, हमारे देश भर में है। लेकिन इसमें आजकल की दुनिया में बड़े-बड़े पेंच उठते हैं, बड़ी कठिनाई होती है, क्योंकि और लोग इस चीज़ को समझते नहीं।

अब नया प्रश्न उठा है, तिब्बत का प्रश्न उठा है। और उसके जो एक बड़े नेता थे दलाई लामा जी आप जानते हैं, हमारे देश में कुछ सात-आठ दिन हुए, दस दिन हुए, आये हैं, हमारे मेहमान, और एक शायद एक सप्ताह में या कुछ और में मैं उनसे मिलूँगा। हमारी हमदर्दी भी होती है तिब्बत वालों से। और कठिन सवाल हैं। हल करने की कोशिश करते हैं। लेकिन हमारे क्राबू के तो नहीं हैं सब सवाल। इसलिए हम चाहते भी नहीं कि और दुनिया के सवालों में फँस जायें, क्योंकि हम अपनी दुनिया को सँभालें, अपने देश को। हमारा देश सँभल जाय हमसे तो हम और दुनिया को सँभालें। अगर हम अपने देश को नहीं सँभाल सकते तो और

दुनिया को क्या नेक सलाह दें? इसलिए हम घूम-घाम कर अपने देश पर आ जाते हैं। अपने देश के प्रश्न, दरिद्रता इत्यादि को हल करें और छोटे-मोटे झगड़ों में न पड़ें।

हमारी कठिनाई तो यह है कि बात करते हम झगड़ने लगते हैं। हमारे देश का इतिहास आप देखिए बड़े ऋषि-मुनि महापुरुष कित्ते हुए हैं, वीर पुरुष, बड़े पण्डित और क्या-क्या। लेकिन ये भी आप देखेंगे कि आपस में फूट बहुत हमारे देश में हुआ करती थी। बात करते फूट हो, लड़ाई हो, और बड़े वीर पुरुष भी एक-दूसरे से लड़े और ऐसे ही देश दुर्बल हो जाता था। बाहर से आ के हमारे देश पर कब्जा कर लेते थे लोग। कभी खैर, राजा लोग लड़ते, कभी यहाँ धर्म के नाम पर लड़ाई होती है, कभी जाति के नाम पर, कभी भाषा के नाम पर, किसी-न-किसी बात पर, और यह नहीं बात देखी जाती कि हमारे देश का बढ़ना एक ही तरह से हो सकता है कि हम सब लोग हम लोगों में एकता हो, मिल कर हम आगे बढ़ें। नहीं तो कोई भी नहीं बढ़ सकता है। फिज़ूल बातें, छोटी-मोटी बातों पर गुल मचाना और झण्डे हिलाना। इस तरह से देश बढ़ता है? यह तो छोटा दिमाग मालूम होता है इससे, कि बड़ी बातों को समझते नहीं हैं, छोटी बातों में पड़े रहते हैं।

तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप लोग सब समझें आजकल की दुनिया में क्या क्रान्तिकारी बातें हो रही हैं। आप सोचें कहीं कोई कहता है हम चाँद पे भेजेंगे अपने रॉकेट, चन्द्रमा पे भेजेंगे और चाँद पर लोग जा के उतरेंगे। यह तो दुनिया आजकल की है, अजीबो-गरीब दुनिया। और यहाँ पड़े हैं जाने किस पुराने ज़माने में, अपनी-अपनी खिचड़ी अलग-अलग पकाने में और खिचड़ी पकाने से अलग से काम नहीं होता है, कुछ और भी काम करने होते हैं, ज़रा दुनिया को समझना होता है, देश को समझना होता है और बड़े कामों में पड़ना होता है, और परिश्रम करना होता है। बग़ैर परिश्रम के कोई बात नहीं होती है। वो ज़माना गया कि झण्डे हिला के काम हो जाय। और परिश्रम, विशेषकर हर एक को अपना कर्तव्य करना है।

अब यहाँ बहनें बैठी हैं। मैं उनसे कहूँगा, कि यह देश को उठाना, ज़ाहिर है, उनका उतना ही कर्तव्य है जितना पुरुषों का। शायद उससे ज़्यादा, अधिक हो, क्योंकि स्त्रियों के ऊपर बोझ पड़ता है, बच्चों के पालने का। जैसे स्त्री हो, वैसा बच्चा होगा, जैसे उसका पालन करें। इसलिए स्त्रियों को पढ़ाई ज़्यादा आवश्यक है, पुरुषों से कहीं ज़्यादा, क्योंकि उनके ज़रिये से बच्चे, आखिर में गोद में बच्चा सीखता है पहले बात, लेकिन हमें स्त्री-पुरुष का सवाल, सभी को उठाना है, सभी को इस काम में हिस्सा लेना है, और परिश्रम करना है, क्योंकि बग़ैर परिश्रम के कोई काम नहीं होता। यह आप समझ लें, और उसमें हम बड़ी नीति और 'वाद' का सुनते हैं बहस, ये साम्यवाद और पूँजीवाद और गाँधीवाद और समाजवाद, ये सब बड़ी बहस करते हैं लोग। लेकिन कोई वाद आप लें, उसके पीछे परिश्रम है। आप चाहे अमरीका के पूँजीवाद में जाइए, बड़ी मेहनत करते हैं लोग। रूस के साम्यवाद में जाइए, मेहनत करनी है, बग़ैर मेहनत के कोई नहीं बढ़ता है। तो हमें मेहनत करनी है। बात सच यह है कि हमारे यहाँ इन देशों के मुकाबले में काम करने वाले कम होते हैं, यानी कम काम करते हैं। एक तो हमारे यहाँ खुट्टियाँ इतनी होती हैं कि पूछो नहीं, दुनिया में इतनी खुट्टियाँ हैं नहीं, जितनी यहाँ होती हैं, और और

छुट्टी माँगते हैं हमेशा। तो बगैर काम के, बगैर परिश्रम के, देश का काम नहीं होता, जिता अधिक काम होगा उतना ही देश बढ़ेगा।

मैंने आपसे दो-चार बातें जो मेरे मन में थीं, वो आपके सामने रखीं, और कहने को तो बहुत बातें होती हैं, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कुछ आप विचार करें कि नक्शशा क्या है। हम पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ वगैरह कहते हैं, उसको समझने की कोशिश कीजिए, क्योंकि वो कदम-ब-कदम हमें बढ़ाना है आगे। एकदम से कुछ नहीं होता। यह तो एक पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं, मालूम नहीं दूसरी, तीसरी, चौथी, पाँचवीं, छठी, सातवीं, आठवीं, यह सिलसिला, यह तो होता ही जायेगा, क्योंकि देश का बढ़ना तो नहीं रुकता। एक तरफ़ से हमें परिश्रम करना है, मेहनत करनी है, विज्ञान को सीखना है, सब बातें हैं, और इन सब बातों को अपने ढंग से करना है, भारत के ढंग से, भारत की परम्परा से, भारत की एक शान्ति के विचार से, जो हमें प्राचीन समय से आया, गाँधीजी ने हमें बताया, क्योंकि अगर हम उसको छोड़ देते हैं तो न हम इधर के रहते हैं, न हम उधर रहते हैं। हममें माददा नहीं है कि हम एक, एक बाहर के देशों की नक़ल करके हम उनके आगे बढ़ें। अगर अपने रास्ते पर हम नहीं चलते तो दूसरे के रास्ते पर चल भी नहीं सकते। लेकिन हम क्यों नहीं अपने रास्ते पर चलें जिससे हमें स्वराज मिला और जिससे हमें आशा है कि और भी हमें आगे बढ़ कर और भी हमें मिलेगा।

जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

I have come to Yeotmal for the first time today. I have had the opportunity of visiting other parts of Vidarbha before this. But I am surprised that I have never come to Yeotmal before, either during the freedom struggle or since then. So, by coming here, an old wish of mine has been fulfilled today; and secondly, I feel very happy about the time and the purpose for which you have invited me here today.

You know I am a...what should I say to you...there are many great men present here today, there's Tukdoji Maharaj⁸¹ who can give you excellent advice which you must listen to and follow. I have always been a mere soldier fighting my own kind of battle, not by breaking heads, but in the political field where I am still working. Sometimes I feel tired but one has to do one's duty and one cannot do that by interfering in other people's affairs. So I do my work my own way and sometimes make mistakes or stumble occasionally. But I try to do my best.

I am influenced in my work by the thoughts of others, at least a few of them, even if their work lies in some other field. For instance, Acharya Vinoba

81. See fn 76 in this section.

Bhave⁸² is one of India's great men. Now I cannot do Vinobaji's job because I am unfit for it. But whether I do it or not, I know the great impact his work has had on the nation and changed the atmosphere in the country. He continues to do his work and is helping to solve the great problems of the country by his own peaceful methods. Therefore, I have always had great love and respect for Acharya Vinobaji. But I have not jumped into his field of work but continued to do my own. People have sometimes suggested that I should take up the work of bhoodan and I have replied what I thought best, but I do not think that I am suited to that task. Each individual is suited for some task or the other. Still, whether I participate in it or not, I have great respect for it in my heart.

However, I would also like to tell you quite frankly that I have not been able to understand fully the thought and philosophy behind bhoodan. I cannot grasp even now how the village society will be organised and how a number of other things will be done. But I know one thing quite definitely, and that is, that Vinobaji's bhoodan, gramdan, etc., are doing great good to the country. The entire atmosphere in the country is changing and many of the things that we want to do about land become easier. Please remember that in other countries, civil wars have been fought and there has been much bloodshed over the question of land and if we peacefully solve it in its entirety, it will be a great victory for us.

We accomplished the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and taluqdari systems peacefully which was also a great victory for us. It has never happened in any other country. They have always led to fighting and violence. So, we have solved the question of land to a large extent, but a great deal remains to be done, especially about the landless and other problems concerning land. Now there is not enough land for all the landless in the country. There is less land and more people and even if we manage to scrape together some land for them today, there will be no land for the growing population. Therefore, these questions have to be examined from a new angle and there has to be a search for new kind of answers.

I have told you that there are more people and there is not enough land, though it is a large country. And even if the entire land available is parcelled out, it will not be enough for everyone. But it is not necessary that everyone should work only on land. There are other tasks waiting to be done; there are other occupations and professions. If you look at the history of British rule in India, in the beginning when they were establishing themselves here about 150 to 175 years ago, I think—I do not remember exactly—the percentage of population working on land was seventy-five or even less. Gradually, as the

82. See fn 77 in this section.

British rule became firmly established, more and more people began to depend solely on land. Why did that happen? It implied that the people, who used to work at other crafts and village industries, etc., were rendered jobless because the British policy was to discourage these things so that the British made goods could be sold in India. So, more and more people became dependent on land and the pressure on land mounted. So the population on land increased instead of decreasing as was the case in the other countries where new avenues of employment were opening up. In India, even the old occupations and small industries which existed began to die out due to the British policy and having nowhere else to go, the poor people turned to land which was already overburdened. A country where practically the whole population works on land is bound to get impoverished slowly.

Today the population in India is forty crores and is steadily increasing and within the next ten years or less, it will become forty-five crores. So we cannot provide land to all of them. Therefore, we have to look for new avenues of employment to relieve the pressure on land. Even the farmers must have another source of income. Moreover, there are all kinds of jobs available, cottage industries, carpentry, masonry, small industries and what not. This is very essential. But it can be done only when the land that is available is distributed among the people equitably, as far as possible. Now that does not mean that land can be measured and distributed. However, it must be ensured that no single individual should own too much land. That is not a good thing. And so, the question arose of fixing an upper ceiling on the possession of land and distributing the rest among the landless. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has evolved a new method of asking for donation of land from the people and distributing it. But the government cannot do this. Only great men like Vinobaji can do it and we sympathise with his cause. I cannot say in my capacity as the Prime Minister that you should donate your land. That is absurd. But Vinobaji is doing great good to the country and so it is my duty to help him as much as I can.

Well, I am trying to point out to you how complicated and grave are the problems facing the country. They cannot be solved by following one method. We will have to follow fifty different methods. But whatever path we follow must be backed by the right kind of atmosphere of hard work and cooperation and love. That is most important. We may make any number of rules and regulations on paper. But everything ultimately depends on the atmosphere in the country and whether the people are hostile or cooperative.

As you know, our communist and socialist colleagues believe that in every society in the world there is class conflict and ultimately one of them suppresses the others. This is true to some extent. Whether there is war or not, the interests of an individual invariably clash with those of others. For instance, a zamindar

can benefit only at the expense of the farmers or the mill owner at the expense of the workers. The communists believe that this class conflict should be encouraged to such an extent that ultimately the classes are crushed. I am ready to accept this theory of conflict but I am not prepared to accept the communists' emphasis on violence. This theory could be extended to international affairs and the stronger nations may then with impunity suppress the weak and have their will. Now, we did fight against the British under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, but it was a peaceful war and we achieved Independence without shedding any blood. We abolished the zamindari and jagirdari and talukdari system peacefully, in a spirit of cooperation.

Great wars have been fought over these issues in other countries. A number of problems connected with land still remain and we want to solve them as quickly as possible. I think the method evolved by Vinoba Bhave has benefitted the country greatly, not only because it has yielded millions of acres of land, but more important, because of the atmosphere that it has created and the impact it has had on the people, not only about the land question but in other things too. Therefore, I have great respect for it.

As Shrimanji⁸³ has told you today, this movement was started exactly eight years ago on this very day. Vinobaji started it on the 18th of April in Telangana in Hyderabad.⁸⁴ Eight years have gone by and I do not know how many miles Vinobaji has traversed, from village to village. I feel that such a thing can happen only in India just as I wonder whether there is any other country in the world which could have produced a Gandhi or revered him as we have done. Vinobaji has traversed thousands of miles carrying his message and is gradually influencing people's minds and hearts, changing their thinking and moulding their character. All this fills me with amazement and happiness and then I wonder how to reach our goals by following this path. We will have to follow this as well as other paths, peaceful paths because the problems before us are extremely complicated and concern not only land but other things too.

How are we to remove poverty and unemployment from this country? Please remember that these questions are becoming even more complex and difficult as the population is growing very rapidly. It has grown very fast during the last fifty years and at the moment it is increasing at the rate of sixty or seventy lakhs a year. So every year there are sixty to seventy lakh extra mouths to feed, to clothe and house, provide schools, hospitals, jobs for, and what not. They are enormous problems and cannot be solved merely by solving the land problem. As I told you, there is not enough land. I agree that land is a major issue. But it

83. See fn 78 in this section.

84. See fn 79 in this section.

does not solve our other problems. The five year plans have been drawn up in order to devise ways of providing productive employment which will add to the national wealth.

By wealth I do not mean gold and silver. National wealth can be of many types. What the farmer produces from land or a carpenter or an ironsmith makes with his skill, or the goods that are produced from factories, cottage industries, etc., all constitute the wealth of a nation. The more goods a country produces, the richer it becomes. The United States of America is extremely rich because an enormous amount of goods are produced from land and industries there. They produce three or four times as much as we do from an acre of land. Why is it that we are not able to do the same thing? They have adopted new scientific techniques of agriculture and use good seeds, fertilizers, and have mechanised the entire process. Why should we also not do the same thing and increase agricultural production which will benefit the farmers and the country? If we double our agricultural production all over the country, the national wealth will immediately be doubled. It is not a very difficult thing to do. Wherever an effort has been made, it has been done. The average yield per acre of land in India is about ten maunds and wherever effort has been made, it has gone up to fifty or even sixty maunds per acre. It requires a little effort and the use of good seeds, better ploughs, fertilizers, proper irrigation, etc. Even if we double the average yield per acre, the country's wealth will immediately be doubled. But this will have to be done by the farmers themselves; it cannot be done by passing resolutions. It will be a big step because the food problem will be solved and we will not have to import food grains from other countries as we have had to do these days. It is very bad that we have to spend our precious foreign exchange on importing food grains. We must become self sufficient in food production.

If we have surplus, then we can export food grains and get essential machinery or equipment from abroad for our industries. So we must increase our agricultural production. On the other hand, we must set up industries in villages as well as towns. It is a separate programme. What is the basic requirement of industrialisation? The most essential requirement is steel which even the farmer needs. So we must produce steel in the country for which huge plants are being set up.

Well, we need power to run the factories. What sort of power? For instance, we need electric power. We must produce electricity by building dams on the large rivers. Then we have to set up machine making industries. Once that happens, the other ancilliary industries will come up. But above all, the first priority is to increase agricultural production because, without that we cannot industrialise the country or do any of the big tasks that need to be done.

You must remember a couple of things about agricultural production. One,

if the land laws are inequitable or unjust, production cannot go up. It is also true that some laws which may be relevant in one era may not be suitable in the other. For instance, under the zamindari system the farmer did not benefit in any way by his labour because the profits went to the big zamindar. So there was no incentive to increase production. When the farmer owns his land, he works harder. Therefore, the land laws have to be just.

Secondly, you must have heard of cooperative societies. There are many cooperatives in Vidarbha which are very well run. Though the older cooperatives only gave loans, etc., today their role has to be a wider one. I want to tell you something about that. But before that I want to tell you what the village-structure ought to be. The old way of life in the rural areas is disappearing fast. New changes are taking place and new forces are making their appearance. We cannot go back to the old pattern of society. But we want the village structure to be one of cooperation and mutual help. An ordinary farmer does not have the capacity to do very much, just as an individual labourer cannot do very much on his own. But the moment he organises himself into a trade union, he becomes very strong. It is common knowledge that there is strength in unity. The farmer, on his own, cannot get good seeds and ploughs, etc., and he will face great difficulties in selling his produce too. He cannot benefit by the modern techniques and progress that has been made elsewhere. Therefore, it is essential that he should form a cooperative society. There is no doubt as soon as he does things jointly he becomes stronger. So, we want the village social structure to be based on three things. Firstly, there should be a strong panchayat with wider powers than it enjoys today.

I am aware that often there is factionalism in panchayats, people fight among themselves and do not work. All this is true. But if we shy away from giving them responsibilities, they will never learn. There should be no official interference in their working. I want the villagers to enjoy wider powers even if they make mistakes. Secondly, there should be a cooperative society in every village. Thirdly, there should be a good school in every village. If these three institutions function smoothly and effectively, the structure of the village will be stable and democracy will be strengthened in the country.

It is not enough for swaraj to function only in large cities like Bombay and Delhi. It should put down roots at the village level. Therefore, we are paying more attention to the villages. And then, there is no need for the villagers to be dependent entirely on agriculture. Small industries, cottage industries should be set up. We do not want the villagers to run away to the cities. We want them to live and work in the villages. Educated young boys do not want to go back to their villages but look for jobs in the cities. That is wrong. They must go back to their villages and serve them. Small industries will gradually increase the

status of the villages. The educated youth can teach new and modern techniques of agriculture to the other farmers or set up small scale industries.

We have to work in this manner for the uplift of the rural areas. It can be done only by cooperation. For one thing, we must have faith that it will increase production which is most essential for us. Secondly, once the villagers learn to work with one another, they will be able to do many things for their village, like building schools, roads, panchayat houses, and fifty other essential tasks for their general progress and development. They can even start small industries. Therefore, the cooperatives are meant not only for agriculture, but for the general betterment of the village. It will become a way of life, a superior organisation of village society. A society progresses only by changing its way of life. I think it is essential to form cooperative societies not only for agriculture but in industries too and we should try to bring it about first in the small industries and later in the bigger ones. We must gradually change the entire pattern of our life and society. The big industries should be in the hands of the government because if they are privately owned by a few individuals, it creates great disparities which is very harmful. The small industries can be in the private sector.

All right, I talked to you about cooperative societies. A resolution was passed in the Nagpur Congress which did not say anything new. One resolution was about the five year plan and another was regarding land tenure and social structure based on panchayats and cooperative societies. It has been proposed to give wider powers to them. The resolution also talks about cooperative farming. Earlier, we have had only what are known as service cooperatives. Anybody who wishes to take up cooperative farming can do so even now. There is no obstacle to that. But we want that there should be a cooperative society in every village even if joint cultivation is not taken up immediately. This is a very important thing for rural India. There are five and a half lakh villages in India and some are very small, so, if for the smaller ones there is one cooperative society for two villages, there will still be two and a half or three lakh cooperative societies in the country.

You may ask why there should be a cooperative society for each village and not for ten or twenty villages together. It is because we want that the members of the cooperative society should know one another and work like one large family. In larger cooperative societies the members will be strangers to one another and then the whole way of functioning becomes different. Then either there will be more official interference or a few clever ones will capture them and take advantage of the ignorance of the farmers. Therefore, the cooperative society should be like a large family with full confidence in one another. Only then will it be a strong institution. Otherwise it will become an official body

which we do not want. So, we want that there should be a cooperative society in each village or for two villages together, but not larger than that. Then, ten or twenty cooperative societies could form a bigger society which will supervise the activities of the smaller societies, protect their interests and deal with banks for loans, etc., instead of each society trying to do it separately.

Well, anyhow, all this will emerge gradually. We do not want to draw a rigid line that everywhere it should be so, because India is a huge country with different kinds of people and different conditions prevailing in the various parts. Now, take our tribal brethren, for instance. There should be a slightly different kind of society for them, because we do not wish to interfere in their way of living. Similarly, in some provinces the population is large and in others less and the cooperative societies should be formed accordingly. But the fundamental thing is to form service cooperatives all over the country and later, the people can take up joint cultivation if they wish. If some people wish to do it now, they can do so.

I would like to give you a word of warning about this. It is not merely a question of our deciding to form a cooperative society or to take up joint cultivation, because it requires experience and training. Without that, the cooperatives cannot function properly and people will lose faith in them. Therefore, it is essential to train people in large numbers. Those who will be in charge of cooperative societies for an entire province or district must of course be given intensive training. But even at the village level, the panch, sarpanch, gramsevak etc., must be given some training. We are making arrangements for this through the community blocks, because I want that the maximum number of people should be trained. I do not say that everybody should become experts. But they must have some training because without that, they cannot function efficiently. When we are taking up such a big task, we would like to make it a success. We do not want to form a hundred or thousand cooperatives for a mere show, because if they do not function well, it will cause more harm than good. Therefore, the people must be trained and that is why we have given time for the idea to take firm roots in the country. Later on, joint cultivation may also be taken up.

A cooperative society enables a farmer to do many things which he would not be able to do on his own. For instance, he can get good seeds, fertilizers, good ploughs, etc., through the cooperative societies. Besides, the society can undertake the business of selling the produce so that the profit may not go to the middle man. In this way the farmer as well as the consumer will benefit.

Apart from all this, if cooperative farming is taken up, the land which is divided into various small portions becomes one large tract which makes cultivation easier. Breaking up into smaller pieces also means wasting land

between the boundaries which can otherwise be brought under cultivation. Please remember that the farmers retain their title to the land which nobody can take away. Cooperative farming only ensures greater profits. For instance, in our large Hindu joint families, four or five brothers do joint farming, although they have their individual shares marked out, and divide the profits. There is no difficulty in that. They can get their share of the land whenever they wish. The cooperative society should be regarded as a larger joint family. It will also enable the farmers to use modern mechanised methods for agriculture, which will increase production. This will benefit everyone, the villagers and the country as a whole. Above all, it creates a habit of unity and cooperation which is very essential in national tasks. The cooperative method is very essential for all national tasks. Once this habit grows among the people, progress will be rapid.

Therefore, it is a very good thing and at the same time very simple and straight forward. It is, nevertheless, a revolutionary idea because once it takes roots, I am convinced that the entire rural area will be transformed. I am amazed that some people should oppose this idea and spread rumours among the farmers that their land will be taken away. This is wholly wrong and untrue. There is no question of taking away anyone's land. Their title will remain absolutely intact. We are not even willing to ask the people to take up joint cultivation. We want them to do it when they feel like it. At the moment we want that there should be cooperative societies in every village and whether there is joint cultivation or not, there should be cooperation in other matters. There is no doubt that everybody will benefit from this and the middleman's role will be finished.

This has become a great challenge for us. We can uplift the country only when there is progress in the villages. It is a broad fact that the country can progress only when the people in the rural areas progress and not through the progress made in a few cities like Bombay, Delhi, Madras or Calcutta. It is a good thing that the cities should prosper, but once the farmers in the rural areas awaken, it will mean the awakening of the whole country. Therefore, it is extremely important to pay attention to this aspect. It cannot be done by a governmental decree but requires the cooperation of the people and their acceptance of the idea of cooperation. Nobody can force these things down their throats. But I hope that the people will do it because it is in their interest.

Just now, Tukdoji Maharaj was saying that he likes the policy of forming cooperative societies so much that he wants to go all over the country propagating the idea. He wants to go one step further and spread the idea of joint cultivation all over the country. I have gladly accepted his offer, because his word is bound to have an impact. All of you who are sitting here are well aware of the good work that he has done with his disciples. There are hundreds of young men

here belonging to the Gurudev Seva Mandal⁸⁵ who are doing good work. So their cooperation and help will go a long way towards helping this idea. I hope more people will come forward to help. This is essential, I agree. But at the same time, I want you to see this in the larger context of India. The country has been in a mire of poverty for centuries. I would also like to point out that whatever may have been your experience, there has been some difference in the last ten to twelve years since we got freedom. We have made some progress and secondly, we have been able to lay the strong foundations of future progress.

I have just returned from the South, from the southernmost tip of Madras province, from near Rameshwaram. It was an extremely poor area. When I went there this time after many years, I saw that there has been a great deal of difference in their condition. I do not say that the people have become rich. But the villagers look better clothed, there are pucca houses, the streets are clean and I was happy to see that the children looked better fed than before. Whatever the statistics may be about our national production and per capita income and what not, the proof lies before our eyes of the extent to which the people are benefitting and becoming better off.

I saw a very good thing being done in the schools in Madras. The State Government sent people all over the state to assemble the villagers and teachers and school children together and told them that the responsibility of running the school would be theirs. They were told that the government wanted to start a midday meal scheme for the children in schools because many children do not get enough to eat. Anyhow, the arrangements were explained to the villagers; some agreed, but others did not. Yet, within a year or eighteen months the idea has spread so fast that in most of the schools in Madras today, children get a meal in the afternoon. Most of the food grains are given by the villagers and the government also helps. I think the villagers contribute two-thirds and the government one-third and the food is cooked in the schools. The result was that the health of the little children in the primary schools, from about the age of five to ten immediately began to show an improvement. There are many children who do not get two square meals a day in the villages. With this scheme, their health improved and so did their studies. The improvement was very marked in the thin, emaciated and undernourished children. The Madras Government has made a proper arrangement for the mid-day meal scheme.

In this connection they have also constituted a school improvement society in each area. What did it imply? The society would unite all the villagers apprising them of the things that were needed in the schools like slates, books, chairs, tables and other things and to contribute whatever they could. I visited

85. See fn 80 in this section.

a school improvement conference a day or two ago in which about 12,500 teachers from the area were participating. They held an exhibition of the things that had been donated for the school. I was amazed to see the spread. An entire field was filled with things, all kinds of things like brass vessels, plates, bowls, glasses, books, clothes, etc. There were some radios, too, but by and large they were things of ordinary utility which were distributed to the various schools. So you can see how practically the whole thing was being run with the cooperation of the people. No government can do all this on its own. The result is that school education in Madras State has been organised beautifully and the teachers and children and the parents are happy.

I have given you this example to show you how a country can progress with the cooperation of the people. It cannot be done by governmental decree or by government officials. Forty crore people can go very far on their own strength. If governmental effort and people's cooperation could be linked together, we can work wonders.

I go all over the country and am struck by two things. The first is that the condition of the people is gradually improving though it is not as much as I would wish. There is poverty still in the country and innumerable difficulties. Yet their condition is far better than it was before. Secondly, we are laying the foundations of the future progress of the nation. As I told you, if we take up any major project like building a dam or something else, it takes five to six years. But once it is done, the benefits will be immense. Like canals can be dug, so that water for irrigation is available; also, electricity can be produced which can be utilised and agricultural and industrial production increases. But all this takes time. It cannot be done at once. Similarly, we are putting up steel plants investing crores of rupees but with no profit at all at the moment. Once they are set up, the whole country will benefit. So, though there is no great benefit in the initial few years, gradually the foundation is being laid for making the country strong.

I do not know if people from this area go around the country or not. But nowadays Bharat darshan trips are being made in groups of hundreds of students or farmers or whatever. They go by train all over the country and see what is happening. As I said, travelling is an old habit of ours. People have always gone on pilgrimages to Kashi, Rameshwaram, Dwarka, Puri, Amarnath, Kedarnath, Prayag and other holy places and they still do. But now there are new places of pilgrimage in the country where new projects are being taken up with the help and cooperation of the people. People go to see these things which will ultimately benefit the entire country. These are our new temples of today.

So, all this is happening in the country these days. It is a long, long story.

How can I tell you all about it? But, the question of land and the improvement of the people in the rural areas lies at the root of everything. We have to do many things for their progress. We must increase agricultural production for which the fundamental requirement is cooperation. What does a cooperative society imply? It means the coming together of people for the mutual benefit of everyone. I think every sensible person would realise that when people work together, their strength and the capacity to work increases. So, I cannot understand the need for any arguments on this score. But more importantly, it creates a feeling of good will and the people learn not to fight with one another. Every day there are innumerable cases which are taken to court often involving just a few yards of land. Heads are broken and ill feeling is created which we do not want. If there is any dispute over land, the panchayats or the cooperative society should decide it. In fact, if everyone is a member of a cooperative society, then there should be no question of any disputes.

So, these are very crucial decisions for the country. I would like to mention that the atmosphere has been cleared by Vinobaji through his bhoodan and gramdan movement. I am amazed that there are people who oppose the cooperative movement for they do not seem to realise that Vinobaji has gone far beyond this idea. He believes that land like air and water belongs to everyone and must not be owned by a few. What is the most precious thing on earth without which no man can live? It is water but it is free for everyone and costs nothing. Yet there is nothing more valuable than water in the world. It is true that land is not as valuable as water. Still, we must make some arrangement (like cooperative societies) whereby more people can benefit from it.

We are facing great problems in the country today which can only be solved with the help of science by taking advantage of the new techniques that have been discovered. The West has advanced through the medium of science, while we have remained backward. So we must also take advantage of modern scientific progress and its various offshoots. But at the same time we must not forget our traditional moorings and values. I look at the world and then I look at my country. I find the world is reverberating with talk of war and the preparations for it, arms are being piled up and threats are hurled at one another. Consequently, fear of war is steadily mounting.

You are aware of the path that we follow. We will learn whatever we can from others, adopt modern scientific methods and make our own discoveries, etc., but we will evolve a path for ourselves according to our own values and beliefs. We believe in friendship with all countries and enmity with none. But that does not mean that we will copy others or accept everything that they say. It is generally easy for people who hold the same views to be friends. But the real test of friendship is if they are friends in spite of divergent views. So, our

policy is one of friendship with all countries without trying to copy them in any way. This is our policy in international as well as internal affairs. But it creates complications in the world of today because most people fail to understand our policy.

Now, the question of Tibet has arisen. As you know, their leader, the Dalai Lama, has sought refuge in India about ten days ago. He is our guest and I shall meet him soon. Our sympathies are with the people of Tibet and the issue is a complicated one which we will try to solve. But these things are not entirely in our control. Moreover, our first priority is to stabilise the internal affairs of the country instead of getting involved with the problems of the world. We must first become strong and stable as a nation before getting involved in the affairs of others. If we cannot solve our own problems, how can we advise the world? Therefore, we come round once again to the question of the internal situation in the country, the poverty and unemployment in India, etc. We must solve these problems instead of getting involved in petty quarrels and disputes.

The difficulty is that we tend to fight with one another on the slightest pretext. If you look at the history of India, you will find that there have been great men, warriors and intellectuals and scholars, etc., in our country. But you will also find that there has always been tremendous disunity and internal feuds. Even the great warriors and heroes fought among themselves and, consequently, the country became weak and vulnerable to foreign invasions. People fought in the name of religion, caste, language or something else, without realising that progress depends entirely on the people being united. How can the country progress if the people are constantly engaged in petty feuds and keep making noises about trivial issues? This shows narrow mindedness and a failure to understand the larger issues of the country. So I want that all of you should understand the revolutionary events which are taking place in the world today. Rockets are being sent to the moon and soon man will land on the moon. So, we are living in an extraordinary world today, and cannot afford to live in separate compartments or continue in our old, narrow grooves. We must understand the modern world and our own country. We will have to take up the big tasks that are waiting to be done and work very hard because nothing can be achieved without hard work. The days are gone when we could achieve something by waving a flag. Every individual must do his duty.

I would like to tell the women who are sitting here that uplifting the nation is as much their duty as of the men, if not more, because the burden of rearing children rests with them. A child is strongly influenced by his mother and the kind of upbringing that he is given. Therefore, the education of women is even more important than that of men, because the child learns his first lesson in his mother's arms. Anyhow, every man and woman in the country must participate

in the national tasks and work hard because nothing can be achieved without hard work. No matter which ideology you wish to follow, whether it is capitalism, communism, Gandhism or socialism, it has to be backed by hard work. You will find that people work very hard whether it is in the Soviet Union or the United States. It is true that the people in India work very much less than in other countries. For one thing, we have far too many holidays. In no other country in the world are there so many holidays. So, no task in the country can be done without hard work and the more the people work, the faster the country will grow.

I have shared some of my thoughts with you because I want you to understand what we are trying to do. Please try to understand what the five year plans are about because we have to move step by step. Nothing can be achieved in a hurry and the process will go on; and, we may have six, seven or eight plans. The life of a country is never ending. So we must work hard and learn modern science and fit all this into the old traditions and the culture of India, by peaceful methods as has been our custom down the ages and has been reinforced by Gandhiji. If we give it up, we will be neither here nor there. We cannot progress by copying others. If we fail to evolve a path for ourselves, we cannot adopt someone else's ways either. In any case, why should we give up the path that has led to our freedom and we hope will lead to greater progress and prosperity in the future?

Jai Hind!

(iv) Patna

15. Public Meeting⁸⁶

यहाँ नेपाल के महाराजाधिराज आये थे और शिलान्यास उस बराज का किया था।⁸⁷ कल एक और बड़ा काम बिहार के और हिन्दुस्तान के लिए है कि मुकामे में गंगा का पुल बना है जिससे उत्तर और दक्षिण भारत [बिहार] जोड़े जा रहे हैं। तो वहाँ भी मैं जाऊँगा,⁸⁸ लेकिन श्री बाबू⁸⁹

86. Speech, 30 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

87. King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah of Nepal laid the foundation stone of the Kosi Barrage in Bhimnagar, Nepal, on 30 April 1959. See item 171. pp. 546-548.

88. Nehru inaugurated a mile-long two-decker bridge across the Ganga at Hathidah, near Mokameh in Bihar, on 1 May 1959. It was named Rajendra Bridge after President Rajendra Prasad.

89. Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar.

ने आपसे ठीक कहा कि खाली कोसी के लिए या गंगा के पुल के लिए मैं यहाँ नहीं आया, हालाँकि आता उनके लिए भी, बड़े काम हैं वो, लेकिन मेरे मन में एक बोझ था। कुछ दिनों से है। और उसका ज़िक्र, चर्चा श्री बाबू ने दर्द-भरी ज़बान से किया, जो यहाँ सीतामढ़ी में हुआ, दूसरे दिन शायद आख़्ता में हुआ, उन बातों का।⁹⁰ मैं उस ज़माने में जब ये वाक़यात हुए थे बिलकुल हिन्दुस्तान के दक्षिण में रामेश्वर और कन्याकुमारी के पास था। कई दिन वहाँ दौरा किया, वहाँ के देहात का। तो वहाँ कुछ ठीक ख़बर मुझे नहीं पहुँची, लेकिन जब कुछ दिन बाद मैं वापस आया और हल्के-हल्के कुछ ख़बरें आने लगीं, सीतामढ़ी की, आख़्ता की, कुछ भोपाल में वाक़यात हुए,⁹¹ कुछ उत्तर प्रदेश में मुबारकपुर⁹² में तो मेरे सामने कुछ थोड़ी देर के लिए अँधेरा-सा छा गया, क्योंकि कोई भी एक बाहरी दुश्मन हो, मुखालिफ़ हो, ख़तरा हो उससे, आम तौर से मुझे कोई घबराहट नहीं होती, आख़िर पचास बरस से ऊपर के कुछ अभ्यास हैं, तजुर्वे हैं, बहुत ऊँच-नीच देखी। लेकिन जब अपने अन्दर कुछ कमज़ोरी हो, खराबी हो, अपना इलाज कैसे करें? बाहर का इलाज कर सकते हैं, बाहर के ऐब का, और जब एकदम से दिमाग़ जिन बातों में पड़ा है, यानी देश में क्या हो और पंचवर्षीय योजना और ये और वो, हम उससे निकल कर ऐसी बातों में पड़ जाते हैं तो ख़याल आता है कि किस ज़माने में हम रहते हैं? क्या हमें कुछ धोखा तो नहीं हो गया कि हम इस बीसवीं सदी के बीच में तेरहवाँ वर्ष हमारी आज़ादी का है कि हम कोई जाने किस पिछड़े हुए पुराने ज़माने में हैं जहालत के, उससे अभी निकले नहीं।

ये विचार आने लगते हैं, क्योंकि मोटी बात है कि कित्ता ही हम योजनाएँ बनायें, कित्ता ही हम नक्शे बनायें, और बनाये हैं हमने बहुत, और कामयाबी से चला भी रहे हैं, लेकिन उसकी जड़, बुनियाद, नींव जो है, अगर वो कमज़ोर पड़ जाय तब वो सारी इमारत कायम नहीं बहुत दिन तक रह सकती। मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान भर में उसकी बुनियाद कमज़ोर पड़ गयी है, लेकिन फिर भी क्यों ये हो कि इस तरह से हमारे लोग, हमारे भाई बहक जायें, गुस्से में आ जायें और ग़लत रास्तों पर चलें। कौन लोग? आपके बिहार में, किसान यहाँ के, अच्छे तगड़े लोग हैं, हमेशा से उनकी मुझे क़दर है, बहादुर लोग हैं। तो क्यों वो बहक जाते हैं? क्यों ऐसी फ़िज़ा हो जाती है? कोई-न-कोई हममें कमज़ोरी बाक़ी है और शायद सबमें बड़ी लड़ाई हमारी यही है कि हम इस कमज़ोरी को अपने से निकालें। बुरा-भला मैं किसको कहूँ, और जाँच-पड़ताल होती है और शिकायतें होती हैं और अख़बारों में चर्चा और होता है। ठीक है, वो हो। लेकिन मुझे इस बात की बहुत फ़िक्र नहीं कि इसका कुसूर कि उसका कुसूर, मुझे तो फ़िक्र है कि ऐसी फ़िज़ा क्यों, ऐसा वायुमण्डल क्यों कि इस तरह से लोग बहक जायें, गुस्से में आ जायें, और भाई भाई को मारे। बुरी बात है यह।

90. On 17 and 19 April 1959, in which several people were feared dead. See also item 22, pp. 280-281.

91. There were clashes in Bhopal, 29 March to 3 April 1959. See item 32, pp. 290-291.

92. On 25 March during Holi. See item 52, p. 317.

फिर खयाल आता है कि यह भी हमने देखा है और बड़े पैमाने पर देखा है और उस पर फ़तह पायी है, मुकाबला करके। हमने देखा जो आज़ादी के फ़ौरन बाद हुआ, जब हिन्दुस्तान का एक बड़ा टुकड़ा अलग हो गया तो जो उस वक़्त हुआ, पाकिस्तान में हुआ, उत्तर-भारत में हुआ, उसको अपनी आँखों से देखा। एक भयानक चीज़ थी। वो देखी। लेकिन उसका भी मुकाबला किया और क़ाबू में लाये। हमने देखा कि हमारे बड़े-से-बड़े लीडर, नेता, जिन्होंने भारत को, आजकल के हिन्दुस्तान को बनाया, जो आज़ादी लाये, उनको एक हिन्दुस्तानी लड़के ने गोली चला कर मारा। क्या इससे बड़ा धक्का लग सकता है हिन्दुस्तान को? लेकिन फिर एकदम से खयाल आया कि ऐसे मौक़े पर हमें कोई अफ़सोस से गिर जाना है या सुस्ती से या जहालत से, कि मुकाबला करना है और हमने मुकाबला किया। हमने से मेरा मतलब मैंने नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों ने। मुकाबला किया हमने और उस पर भी हम हावी हो आये। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि सारे हमारे ऐब दूर हो गये, कमज़ोरियाँ दूर हुईं, लेकिन क़दम-ब-क़दम हम बढ़ते गये और उस अन्दरूनी दिल की कमज़ोरियों को हमने गिरफ़्तार किया, पकड़ा, क़ाबू में लाये।

तो फिर कभी-कभी फिर फोड़ा-फुंसी निकलता है हिन्दुस्तान के शरीर पर तो रंज होता है और याद आता है कि अभी बीमारी अन्दर कहीं है जो इस तरह से निकलती है। और यह बीमारी ऐसी है कि वो और हमारे काम को बेकार कर दे सकती है और हमारी और हिन्दुस्तान की मेहनत को किसी क़दर ज़ाया कर दे सकती है।

इसलिए ठीक है, जैसे श्रीबाबू ने कहा, कि हम लोग होशियार हो जायें, यह एक चेतावनी है और महज़ एक ख़ामोशी से यह न समझें हर बात ठीक है बल्कि आगे बढ़ कर इसका मुकाबला करें और सँभालें और ख़ासकर हमारे जो भाई हैं, किसान हों या शहरों में हों, उनमें पहुँच कर उनके दिल में जो रंजिश हो, जो डर हो, जो अदावत हो, उसको निकालने की कोशिश करें। सबमें बड़ी कोशिश तो होती है अपने बर्ताव से, अपने अमल से और मिल कर काम करने से। क्या बात क्या है? क्योंकि यह जो बात होती है, मुझे इस बात की बिलफ़्रेल फ़िक्र नहीं किसका कुसूर, किसका नहीं, ये एक जंगलीपन है, वहशत है, अंग्रेज़ी में इसको बारबरिज़्म कहते हैं। तो हम लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कहते हैं और ये बारबरिज़्म में पड़े हैं, इस जहालत में। दुनिया में सर नहीं उठा सके हम। सोचें आप। आप गुनहगार नहीं हैं, मैं आपसे इस माने में नहीं कहता, लेकिन हम और आप और सब गुनहगार हैं कि हम, एक हमने शायद काफ़ी कोशिश नहीं की, तभी है ये। कुछ-न-कुछ तो हमारा कुसूर ज़रूर है। क्या हम करें? क्या हम प्रायश्चित्त करें, इस बात की? किस तरह से इसको निकालें? क्योंकि यह अव्वल काम हो जाता है।

नौजवान हैं यहाँ, बहुत सारे होंगे इस जलसे में और उनके सामने सारी ज़िन्दगी पड़ी है और ऐसे मौक़े पर जब कि हिन्दुस्तान बन रहा है, बढ़ रहा है, हज़ार दिक्कतें हैं, हज़ार परेशानियाँ हैं, लेकिन बन रहा है और बढ़ रहा है, और [...] उस बोझ को उनको उठाना है और उसके बढ़ने से उनको भी बढ़ना है और फ़ायदा उठाना है। लेकिन अगर आपका बढ़ना वग़ैरह सब रुक जाय इन बातों से, तब जड़ उसकी खुद जाय तो यह आपके लिए या मुल्क

के लिए यह भला होगा? तो यह बात नहीं है एक महज़ लापरवाही की कि उस गाँव में कुछ हुआ। हुआ साहब, बेवकूफी से हो गया। या हम कह दें उसका कुसूर था, उसे उकसाया और यह काफ़ी नहीं है। हमें उसका मुकाबला करना है जोरों से और खासकर मेरी यह अपील नौजवानों से है, क्योंकि उनका सारा भविष्य इस पर दारोमदार है। यह चीज़ रोकी जाती है, दबायी जाती है या एक घुन-सी लग जाती है, हमारी समाज में।

घुन तो बहुत सारी है हमारी समाज में इसके अलावा और खासकर बिहार में, आपसे मैं पहले भी जिक्र कर चुका हूँ। ये जातिभेद, कास्ट वगैरह, जो हैं जो कि काफ़ी खराब था अपनी जगह पर और फैला और हमारी राजनीति में और सियासत में भी फैला और उसमें भी खराबियाँ रहीं। कहाँ आजकल का दुनिया का ज़माना, कहाँ ये बातें! आप सोचें, मैंने आपसे कहा कि आपके सामने क्या दुनिया खुलती आती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि नौजवानों के सामने काफ़ी दिक्कतें आजकल हैं। हमारे लाखों लड़के-लड़कियाँ कॉलेज से निकलती हैं उनके सामने दिक्कतें होती हैं। काम क्या करें, क्या न करें, सब सवाल हैं।

लेकिन फिर भी मैं एक बात आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। एक क्या, एक से ज्यादा। कुछ दिन हुए एक यूनिवर्सिटी में वहाँ के यूनियन के प्रेसिडेंट साहब ने कहा एक मुझसे नहीं, बल्कि एक हमारे बड़े नेता थे वहाँ, हमारे वाइस प्रेसिडेंट साहब थे, उनसे कहा कि हमारे सामने क्या है, हमारी ज़िन्दगी के सामने क्या है, सिर्फ़ निराशापन है, नाउम्मीदी है कि कुछ क्या करना है हमें। दरवाज़े बन्द हैं ये। तो वाइस प्रेसिडेंट ने उनसे कहा कि ज़रा थोड़ी देर के लिए तुम सोचो कि जब मैं—यानी वाइस प्रेसिडेंट साहब—जब मैं तुम्हारी उम्र का था, पचास वर्ष हुए, तब हमारे सामने क्या था? उनके सामने या अब जवाहरलाल के सामने क्या हिन्दुस्तान का नक्शा क्या था? व्यक्तिगत रूप से नहीं, लेकिन आम नक्शा उस ज़माने में यहाँ के नौजवानों के लिए क्या था? ज़रा कभी सोचा उस ज़माने का? कीजिए, आप कभी मुकाबला कीजिए, मैं इस वक़्त आज़ादी का नहीं कह रहा हूँ, वो तो एक चीज़ माकूल है ही, लेकिन कौन दरवाज़े खुले थे हिन्दुस्तान के नौजवानों के लिए? पचास वर्ष हुए या चालीस वर्ष हुए या तीस वर्ष हुए या बीस वर्ष हुए? कौन खुले थे? और अब कितने रास्ते खुले हैं? दरवाज़े खुलते हैं, महज़ ज़मीन पर नहीं, बल्कि आसमान तक। हाँ, मुश्किलें हैं, हज़ार सवाल हैं, मैंने माना हैं, लेकिन...और आप गौर करें उन मुश्किलों को तो आप देखिए वो जितनी मुश्किलें आपकी हैं, करीब-करीब सब वो ऐसी हैं जो कि बदलते हुए और बढ़ते हुए मुल्क की होती हैं। वो प्रोग्रेस की, तरक्की की मुश्किलें हैं। अगर आप उसी तरह से पड़े रहते हैं जैसे बीस-तीस वर्ष हुए हिन्दुस्तान था तो अजीब बात यह है कि मुश्किलें आपकी ज्यादा न होतीं, यानी कम-से-कम आप महसूस नहीं करते, क्योंकि हम सब, आप कीचड़ में पड़े रहें तो सिवा इसके कि कीचड़ की तकलीफ़ हो, कोई आपको जो चलने के और दौड़ने के ख़तरे होते हैं, वो नहीं आते। अब ख़तरे हमारे हैं—चलने के और दौड़ने के। अभी फिसल कर गिर जाने के, फिर उठ कर चलने के और इस तरह के और ऐसे मौक़े पर जब दुनिया में, दुनिया भी एक ख़तरों से भरी है।

तो ज़रा सोचिए, कभी-कभी आप मुकाबला कीजिए कि बीस बरस और तीस बरस और

दस बरस हुए क्या हाल था, क्या हुआ है। मैं नहीं कहता कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो हुकूमतें हैं, चाहे वो दिल्ली की हो या पटने की, या कहीं की, वो गलतियाँ नहीं करतीं। हजार गलतियाँ हम करते हैं और की हैं और यकीनन कोई भी गवर्नमेंट होगी वो करेगी। लेकिन जो बात देखने की है, वो ये कि आखिर किस तरफ़ मुल्क बढ़ रहा रहा है, बढ़ाया जा रहा है, उसके पीछे क्या दिमाग़ है, क्या ताक़त है। वो एक रास्ता सही है कि नहीं, मोटी बात देखनी है और फिर ज़रूर आपको, हमें, हरेक को अख़्तियार है कि जो गलतियाँ हों और वो दिखायें।

अब पंचवर्षीय योजना आती है या आपसे अभी ज़िक्र हुआ वो जो नागपुर में कुछ प्रस्ताव हुए थे। ठीक है, क्योंकि अब असल में अगर आप अन्दाज़ा किया चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में क्या हो रहा है, क्या पिछले दस-बारह वर्ष में हुआ जब से हम आज़ाद हुए और क्या हमें उम्मीद है करने की तो इन बातों में आपको जाना है। ऊपर की बातों में नहीं। ये ऊपर की, उधर क्या हुआ, इधर क्या हुआ। यों तो आप ऊपर से भी देख सकते हैं, होता है हिन्दुस्तान में। बहुत लोग घूमते हैं। भारत दर्शन की यात्रा। सैकड़ों, बल्कि हजारों किसान हर दूसरे-तीसरे दिन किसान, विद्यार्थी, प्रोफ़ेसर, तरह-तरह के लोग, मज़दूर सब घूमते हैं रेल पर, स्पेशल गाड़ी ले कर देखने को कि भारत में क्या हो रहा है। पुरानी जगह यात्रा की वो जाते हैं मज़हबी, नयी जगह यात्रा की वो जाते हैं जो मज़हबी नहीं हैं या उनको कहिए कि क़ौम का मज़हब, यानी क़ौम की तरक्की, वो जाये भाखड़ा पर और दामोदर पर और हमारी बड़ी-बड़ी उद्योगशालाएँ हैं, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने हैं और हमारी विकास योजना है, कम्यूनिटी डेवलपमेंट हैं और जो बाहर से आते हैं सैकड़ों आदमी उनको देखने, में टूरिस्ट का नहीं कह रहा हूँ। क्या चीज़ है, कुछ हो रहा है हिन्दुस्तान में। कुछ खलबली है, कुछ फ़र्मेण्ट है, हिन्दुस्तान के दिमाग़ में, हिन्दुस्तान के हाथ-पैर चल रहे हैं। हो सकता है उत्ती तेज़ नहीं चलते जित्ता आप और हम चाहें, लेकिन चलते हैं।

तो यह अच्छा नहीं लगता मुझे कि मैं मुक़ाबला करूँ अपने मुल्क का और मुल्कों से। लेकिन फिर भी ज़रा निगाह डालिए इधर-उधर के मुल्क और भी हैं, और इस दस-बारह बरस में और कहाँ क्या हुआ, किस ढंग से हुआ, कहाँ पहुँचे और हमारी तरह। तो गरज़ कि जो बात मैं आपके सामने रखा चाहता हूँ, वो ये कि हिन्दुस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान के चालीस करोड़ आदमी एक सफ़र पर हैं, यात्रा पर हैं, हिल गये हैं, उठे हैं, चल रहे हैं, कभी-कभी दौड़ने की कोशिश करते हैं, कभी-कभी ठोकर खा कर गिरते हैं, लेकिन चल निकली हिन्दुस्तान की गाड़ी और चाहे जो भी हमारे ऊपर दिक्कत हो, मुसीबत हो, वो गाड़ी अब कोई रोक नहीं सकता है, वो चलती जायेगी। ये कहेँ आप कि किस मंज़िल पर पहुँचेगी! हाँ, एक माने में तो कहिए कि मंज़िलें कोई एक नहीं होतीं, और जैसे हम एक मंज़िल पर पहुँचेंगे, दूसरी मंज़िल के लिए रवाना होना होगा। क़ौम की तरक्की में कोई आखिरी मंज़िल नहीं होती है। हमारी एक यात्रा थी, एक सफ़र था लम्बा, आज़ादी का, स्वराज का। हमारे सामने उस वक़्त वही बड़ी मंज़िल थी। और बातों की तरफ़ हम कम ध्यान देते थे। हम वहाँ पहुँचे। लेकिन जैसे ही पहुँचे, वैसे ही देखा कि दूसरी यात्रा करनी है उससे कठिन, उससे लम्बी और फिर जो कुछ असबाब था, पीठ पर लाद कर

फिर चलना पड़ा, आराम का मौका नहीं था।

हाँ, जो आजकल के नौजवान हैं, उन्होंने उस ज़माने का कुछ हाल सुना, शायद कुछ पढ़ा, लेकिन महसूस नहीं किया। तो एक जबरदस्त ज़माना था वो। पिछले पचास-साठ बरस का, आज़ादी के पहले का और जिसके एक हमारे लीडर गाँधीजी थे और कोई ऊँच-नीच काफ़ी थी। कोई कह नहीं सकता था कब हम कामयाब हों, कब न हों। चलते थे। लेकिन हमारी कितनी ही ऊँच-नीच हो, हमारे दिलों में एक बुरा लफ़्ज़ है, मैं कहता हूँ, एक अभिमान था। किस बात का अभिमान? इस बात का कि हम बड़े कामों में लगे हैं। कोई व्यक्तिगत शख़्सी बात नहीं थी। गुरुर था। वो हमें रखना था और हम यह सवाल नहीं किसी से करते थे जा कर, जो आजकल के नौजवान ने, मैंने आपसे कहा, किया कि क्या, भविष्य हमारा क्या है, अँधेरा है। उस वक़्त हम नहीं करते थे इस सवाल को। चाहे हमारा भविष्य था कोशिश करने का, इस अपनी आज़ादी की लड़ाई में हिस्सा लेने का था या जो कुछ उसका नतीजा हो, हमारे दिल ठण्डे थे, गरम भी थे और ठण्डे भी थे। हमें इस बात की फ़िक्र नहीं थी, क्योंकि हमें इत्मीनान था कि हम एक बड़े काम में लगे हैं, हिन्दुस्तान को उठाने के, हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों को उठाने के और जब कोई आदमी बड़े काम में लगता है तो बड़े काम का साया उस पर पड़ता है और वो भी शख्स बड़ा हो जाता है। वो ही लोग छोटे रहते हैं जो छोटी बातों में पड़ें। छोटे इन झगड़ों में पड़ें, एक-दूसरे से लड़ते रहें। वो छोटे रहेंगे।

तो अब इससे ज़्यादा बड़ी बात आपके लिए क्या हो सकती है आज के ज़माने में कि इस हिन्दुस्तान को उठाना, तेज़ी से उठाना, हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों आदमियों का उठाना और दूसरी तरफ़ से, ये जहालत जो है, यही आपके जातिवाद, जातिभेद की, इसको हटाना। हमारे बात करते मज़हब के नाम से, धर्म के नाम से, हम लाठी चलायें और बन्दूक चलायें। मैं तो हैरान होता हूँ कि कहाँ हम एक तरफ़ से बढ़ते जाते हैं, कहाँ एकदम से खाई में पड़ जाते हैं, जहालत की और बेवक़ूफी की और मूर्खता की। क्या जोड़ है यहाँ हमारे मुल्क में? तो इस बात को सोचें।

लेकिन ख़ैर, मैं दूसरी तरफ़ आपका ध्यान दिलाता हूँ किधर हम जा रहे हैं, किधर जा रहे हैं। आप सुनते हैं, नारे उठाते हैं और सुनते हैं नारों को तरह-तरह के समाजवाद और साम्यवाद और गाँधीवाद और पूँजीवाद और क्या-क्या। और बड़े-बड़े रेज़ोल्यूशन भी पास होते हैं, हमारे विद्यार्थी भाई पास करते हैं, दुनिया को सलाह देते हैं कि दुनिया क्या करे और हिन्दुस्तान को सलाह देते हैं। अच्छी बात है औरों को सलाह देना। उससे ज़्यादा अच्छा होता अपने को सलाह देना कि हम क्या करें और मैं देखता हूँ अपने को सलाह बहुत कम लोग देते हैं, क्योंकि अपने को सलाह देने में कुछ ज़िम्मेदारी कुछ हो जाती है, खुद कुछ करने की। औरों को सलाह देने में कोई ज़िम्मेदारी नहीं है, दिल खोल कर हम सलाह दे सकते हैं। तो एक सबक अगर आप उस समय के इतिहास को पढ़ें जब यकायक गाँधीजी हिन्दुस्तान के राजनीति के मैदान में कूदे थे तो एक चमकता हुआ सितारा एकदम से आया और जिते हमारे बड़े नेता थे, बड़े और मँझले और छोटे, सब हिल गये। एक ज़लज़ला आया, तूफ़ान आया, क्या कहिए। और आया किस

शक्ति में बहुत नर्म अल्फाज़ में, धीमी आवाज़ में, लेकिन एक भूकम्प आया, जिसने लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों को हिलाया। उस वक्त तक हमारी काँग्रेस में—और और संस्था[एँ] तो ख़ैर, नाम मात्र को थीं—काँग्रेस में यह आदत थी कि बड़े लम्बे-चौड़े रेज़ोल्यूशन हम किया करें। पहले जब काँग्रेस हुई थी तब तो बहुत धीमी संस्था थी, वो बहुत अदब से पेश आती थी अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के सामने, हल्के-हल्के उसकी आवाज़ तेज़ होने लगी। आपस में काँग्रेस में, आप जानते हैं नरम दल और गरम दल के झगड़े हुए, बहस हुई और काँग्रेस की शक्ति बढ़ती गयी और उसकी आवाज़ ज़्यादा तेज़ होती गयी। उसके तेज़ी के ज़माने में भी जो प्रस्ताव उसके होते थे, ज़ोरों के होते थे। हम अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत से डिमाण्ड करते हैं, माँगते हैं, करो यह। हम साल में एक दफ़े मिल कर बड़े ज़ोरों से माँग कर फिर घर चले जाते थे अपने, लेकिन वहाँ ख़ास असर किसी के ऊपर नहीं होता था। जब गाँधीजी आये तो पहले ही उन्होंने कहा कि रेज़ोल्यूशन ग़लत है। ये क्या, ख़ामखाह लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें कहना। सवाल तो यह है, तुम करोगे क्या। जब से ये सवाल उन्होंने पूछे हम सभी से...मैं तो ख़ैर, लड़का था...हमारे बुजुर्गों से तो किसी के पास ख़ास जवाब नहीं था कि हम करेंगे क्या, क्योंकि किसी ने सोचा ही नहीं था कि हम करेंगे क्या, सिवा इसके कि इस रेज़ोल्यूशन के बाद एक और रेज़ोल्यूशन पास करेंगे।

तो गाँधीजी ने कहा, यह तरीक़ा नहीं है। कोई आपको सख़्त रेज़ोल्यूशन मंज़ूर करने की ज़रूरत नहीं। हाँ, आप अपनी तरफ़ ध्यान दीजिए और ये कहिए कि आप क्या करेंगे। आपकी माँग तो है, जो कुछ है स्वराज यह जो कुछ है वो तो एक रख दिया आपने बहुत सफ़ाई से रख दी कि ये हमारी माँग है, ये रख कर फिर आपके रेज़ोल्यूशन हो कि हम क्या करेंगे। ये मुश्किल बात थी, क्योंकि किसी ने इस पर सोचा ही नहीं था। ख़ैर, उन्हीं के दिमाग़ से निकलीं बातें। आप जानते हैं वो तो हिन्दुस्तान के तारीख़ की, इतिहास की हो गयी बातें। नॉन कोआपरेशन, असहयोग, तर्कमवालात, सत्याग्रह, वगैरा, वगैरा। ये सब, एक के बाद एक आयीं। वो सब बातें करने की थीं। प्रस्ताव करने की नहीं। खुद अमल करने की और अमल करने के माने यह थे कि अमल करने का जो नतीजा हो, उसको भुगतना था। और इसको भी किस तरह से उन्होंने एक दिन में नहीं, दस बरस, बीस बरस, तीस बरस में हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को सिखाया, ट्रेन किया। लेक्चरबाज़ी से बहुत कम, हालाँकि लेक्चरबाज़ी भी बहुत होती थी नहीं, उन्होंने सिखाया अभ्यास से, वाक़यात के बोझ से सीखना। इस तरह से उन्होंने सिखाया और आप देखें किस तरह से, कैसे वो एक सख़्त स्कूल मास्टर थे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के—कि जहाँ वो ग़लत रास्ते पर चलते थे हिन्दुस्तान के लोग, बेधड़क वो सारी अपनी कार्यवाही को रोक देते थे, हिन्दुस्तान भर में, करोड़ों आदमियों को रोक दिया। इसलिए कि दस-बीस-पचास आदमियों ने ग़लती की, ख़याल तो कीजिए। हम लोग हैरान हो जाते थे उनकी इन बातों पर, गुस्सा चढ़ता था, कुछ जवानी का जोश था, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के देखते थे कि जो उन्होंने किया ठीक किया, क्योंकि उनके सामने क्या बात थी, ये नहीं थी कि गुल-शोर मचा कर, अंग्रेज़ों को डरा कर भगा दें यहाँ से। वो जानते थे कि अंग्रेज़ इस तरह से डर कर भागेंगे नहीं, वो जानते थे कि दस-बीस-पचास अंग्रेज़ों को कोई बम के गोले से मार दे तो अंग्रेज़ी सरकार उससे कमज़ोर नहीं

हो जाती है। और ताक़त होती है उसकी, क्योंकि मारने के मामले में अंग्रेज़ी सरकार के पास ज़्यादा हथियार थे, ज़्यादा मज़बूत, हिंसा के लिए चलाने को। हमारे पास लाठी थी तो उनके पास बन्दूक थी, हमारे पास पिस्टल थी तो उनके पास ब्रेनगन थी, स्टेनगन थी, बड़ी-बड़ी लम्बी बन्दूकें थी। तो फिर उनका मुक़ाबला ऐसी बातों में क्यों करें जिसमें उनकी ताक़त ज़्यादा है, अलावा उसूल के, छोड़िए उसे। तो डर कर नहीं भागते थे। तो फिर उन्होंने कहा कि रेज़ोल्यूशन पास करके तो भागेंगे नहीं वो, तो फिर कुछ और करना है और वो, और उनकी जो अमली कार्यवाही, जो उन्होंने बतायी थी।

मुझे अब तक याद है कि जब पहली बार तो वो इन बातों को कहते थे, मैं भी एक कोने में बैठता था, बुजुर्ग लोग सामने बैठते थे हमारे और मैं देखा करता था कि और लोगों पर हमारे नेताओं पर क्या असर है इनका। बड़े नेता थे, बड़े अक्लमन्द लोग, बहादुर लोग थे, लेकिन एक नया विचार उनके सामने आया और आखिर नया विचार एक आदमी एकदम से नहीं पकड़ लेता। मेरे जैसा आदमी अपनी बेवक़ूफी में, जोश में उसको पकड़ ले और न आगे देखे, न पीछे देखे तो और बात है, लेकिन जो समझदार लोग थे, उनको आगे-पीछे देखना था और देखते थे और सोचते थे, कहाँ ये ले जायेगा? क्या इसके माने हैं? क्या इस रास्ते पर चलने से ये हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों लोग इसको मंज़ूर करेंगे कि नहीं करेंगे? ये सब सवाल आते थे।

खैर, हल्के-हल्के पर्दे उठते गये इस हिन्दुस्तान के जबरदस्त तमाशे में और नये-नये सीन आये उसमें और हल्के-हल्के ये हमारे जो बुजुर्ग थे पुराने, वो और नये लोग और खासकर हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों लोग, सीखते गये, ट्रेन होते गये, ट्रेन होते गये अपने तजुर्बे से—नारे से और किताब पढ़ने से नहीं। और वो तजुर्बा कैसा था मैंने आपसे कहा, खाली धूम-धाम से जेल जाना या गोली खाना नहीं, लेकिन जब कोई ग़लती हो, धम्म से हुक्म आता था कि रोक दो सबको।

मैं जेल में था लखनऊ के जब चौरी चौरा का वाक़या हुआ था, उत्तर प्रदेश के छोटे-से गाँव में। जहाँ कुछ किसानों ने वहाँ के, गुस्से में आ कर किसी बात पर एक थाने पर हमला किया, छोटा गाँव का थाना और थाने को जला दिया और पाँच-छै-सात-आठ पुलिस वाले भी उसमें जल गये। बुरी बात थी। हम सबने माना कि बुरी बात थी, लेकिन जब हमने सुना कि इसकी वजह से गाँधीजी ने सारे हिन्दुस्तान की हमारी तहरीक हमारी मूवमेंट रोक दी, एकदम से। हम सब जेल में पड़े हैं, एक पचास हज़ार आदमी जेल में हैं, एक हिन्दुस्तान भर में जोश है, गुस्सा है, सब कुछ है, एकदम से गाड़ी को उल्टा दिया। उन्होंने कहा पीछे चलो और रोक दो इसको। परेशान हमारी तबियत हो गयी कि क्या करें, क्या तमाशा है कि साहब इस तरह से तो हमेशा कोई-न-कोई ग़लती करे, हम आगे कैसे बढ़ेंगे। खैर, बाद में सोचा, देखा तो महसूस किया कि उनके सामने एक ही बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों को ट्रेन करना, सिखाना, उनके चरित्र को उनके कैरेक्टर को, उनके जज़्बात को। जज़्बात हों, लेकिन क़ाबू में हों, नहीं तो हवा की तरह निकल जाते हैं और इस तरह से उन्होंने दो-चार-दस-पाँच आदमियों को उन्होंने अपने आश्रम में नहीं ट्रेन किया, उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों को ट्रेन किया और मैं समझता हूँ कि दुनिया

में कोई मिसाल नहीं है, तारीख में या किसी मुल्क में इस तरह से एक बड़े मुल्क की बड़ी आबादी, ऐसी बात में ट्रेन की जाय और बहुत दर्जे ट्रेन हो जाय, पूरी तौर से नहीं, हम कोई फ़रिश्ते तो नहीं हो सकते थे, लेकिन फिर भी कमाल था कि इस तरह से हुए।

तो मैं आपको दिखाता हूँ कि स्वराज गाँधीजी ने लिया। हम तो उनके मामूली सिपाही थे। किस तरह से उन्होंने लोगों को ट्रेन किया और लोगों से काम करवाया। तो उनका सबक ख़ाली बलिदान का भी नहीं, बलिदान, कुर्बानी तो करनी ही है, क्योंकि जो नहीं करने को तैयार है तो उसको तो कुछ भी मिल सकता। लेकिन उसके पीछे एक काम परिश्रम है, मेहनत से काम होता है और आखिर में उनका सबमें बड़ा सबक, अगर आप मुझसे पूछें तो, क्या था, क्योंकि उनके बहुत बड़े-बड़े सबक थे, तो वो था कि दिल में डर न रखो, निडर हो जाओ, फ़ियरलेस हो, क्योंकि अगर तुम्हारे दिल में डर है तो डर से तुम झूठ बोलोगे, झूठ बोलोगे तो डरते हो। और कम-से-कम गाँधीजी ने, अक्सर बातें मेरी समझ में नहीं आती थीं, अब भी नहीं आती हैं उनकी बातें, लेकिन एक बात तो पक्की तौर से समझ में आ गयी थी कि उस शख्स के दिल में डर नहीं था। इत्ता बहादुर आदमी, निडर आदमी, मैंने कहीं नहीं देखा दुनिया में। और कुछ उनकी ये हिम्मत और बहादुरी, ये निडरपन, कुछ उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के हम कमज़ोर लोगों को भी दे दिया और हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों को दे दिया और हिन्दुस्तान एक निडर मुल्क हो गया, हालाँकि गुलाम मुल्क था, मुसीबतज़दा मुल्क था, ग़रीब मुल्क था, लेकिन निडर था और उसका सिर ऊँचा था। यह जादू उन्होंने किया, अगर जादू ऐसे हो सकते।

तो ये तस्वीरें [...] याद आती हैं मुझे और आजकल का ज़माना मैं देखता हूँ जबकि बहुत कुछ बन्धन हमारे हट गये, हम आज़ाद हुए, हज़ारों रास्ते खुले हैं हमारे काम-काज करने को, हमारे प्रोफ़ेशनल नौजवानों को। अगर महज़ एक पेशा ही चाहिए, कोई एक चाहिए तो हमारी फ़ौज है, हवाई जहाज़ हैं, समुद्री हैं, जबकि हिन्दुस्तानी कोई अफ़सर भी नहीं हो सकता था। अब बड़े-से-बड़े अफ़सर हैं। हमारी साइन्स है, कितनी साइन्स में तरक्की हो रही है। हमारे कितने बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने हैं, ये हो रही है। हमारी एक डिप्लोमैटिक सर्विस है, सारी दुनिया में हमारे मिशन हैं, वो हो रहे हैं। कौन हैं वहाँ पर? कोई अंग्रेज़ हैं उनमें? हिन्दुस्तानी लड़के और लड़कियाँ हैं, नौजवान हैं, सब दुनिया में फैले हुए हैं। हमारे हज़ारों काम बढ़ते जाते हैं, पेशे बढ़ते जाते हैं, सब रास्ते खुले हैं। ये सब हैं, और सब में बड़ा रास्ता ये हिन्दुस्तान के आगे बढ़ने का...ज़ाहिर है, ये कोई छिपी हुई बात तो नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान की ग़रीबी का सवाल हमारे क़ाबू में नहीं है इस वक़्त, और न एकदम से होगा। वक़्त लगेगा। मेहनत करनी पड़ेगी, तब होगा। होगा, यकीनन होगा। लेकिन परिश्रम से होगा, महज़ गुल-शोर और नारों से नहीं।

तो एक तरफ़ से तो आपको इत्ते पचासों हज़ारों रास्ते खुल गये बढ़ने के और ऊँची-से-ऊँची जगह बढ़ने के, अगर आप में माद़दा हो, क्योंकि ये सवाल नहीं है, आप जा कर किसी-न-किसी तरह से एक यूनिवर्सिटी का इम्तहान पास कर आयें। यूनिवर्सिटी के इम्तहान पास करने वाले बहुत होते हैं, लेकिन ज़िन्दगी के इम्तहान पास करने वाले उससे कम हैं, क्योंकि ज़्यादा मुश्किल इम्तहान है और उसमें कोई रटा हुआ सबक का सवाल नहीं है या वक़्ती कोई आपने बात कर

दी। उसकी तैयारी सारी आपकी ज़िन्दगी की है आपके चरित्र की है, आपके दिमाग की है, आपके शरीर की है, आपकी हिम्मत की है, तब आप ज़िन्दगी का इम्तहान पास करें। वो सब हैं और उसके साथ यह बात, यही कि इस वक़्त हिन्दुस्तान में ये जो हिन्दुस्तान के बढ़ाने की कोशिश हो रही है, ये जो एक बड़े सवाल हैं। इससे बड़ा सवाल दुनिया में कौन हो सकता है कि करोड़ों आदमी एक सफ़र करें, आगे बढ़ें, मिल कर बढ़ें, चालीस करोड़ आदमी। सोच कर दिल बड़ जाता है कि हम भी इसमें शरीक हैं। अगर आप सोचें, अगर आप इसको समझें कि हम इस काम में, हम भी एक इस बड़ी फ़ौज में सिपाही हैं जो फ़ौज बढ़ रही है हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की आगे तो आपका दिल बढ़ जायेगा, आपकी हिम्मत बढ़ेगी और इसी तरह से आप छोटे कामों में भी हों, हालाँकि कोई काम छोटा नहीं होता, वो सब बड़े काम के जुज़ हैं, अगर ठीक तौर से आप उनको देखें—चाहे वो किसान हो, चाहे वो बढ़ई हो, चाहे वो एक लोहे का कारख़ाने में एक मज़दूर हो, वो काम अगर ठीक ढंग से करे सोच कर तो वो सारे भारत का काम हो जाता है, ख़ाली उसकी मज़दूरी लेना नहीं हो जाता है। वो लोहे के कारख़ाने में काम कर रहा है, लोहे के कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं, एक बड़ा भारी जुज़ है हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना में। उन लोहे के कारख़ानों पर हम सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये ख़र्च कर रहे हैं। क्यों ख़र्च रहे हैं? फ़ाक़्रेमस्त मुल्क? क्यों करता है, कहाँ से ला कर कई सौ करोड़ रुपये ख़र्च कर रहे हैं उनके ऊपर? इसलिए कि सारा दारोमदार है हमारा बढ़ने का, लोहा पैदा करना, एक-एक चीज़ है जिस पर हिन्दुस्तान का बढ़ना, न बढ़ना निर्भर है।

तो जो मज़दूर लोहे के कारख़ाने में काम करता है, उसको सोचना है कि मैं इस वक़्त एक इस हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी लड़ाई में, जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की गरीबी के खिलाफ़ हो रही है, मैं भी एक सिपाही हूँ, काम कर रहा हूँ। जो किसान है, उसको यह सोचना चाहिए, मैं अपनी ख़ाली कमाई नहीं कर रहा हूँ, बल्कि मैं एक इस वक़्त इस बड़ी यात्रा में मैं भी हूँ भारत के आगे बढ़ने की ओर इस तरह से जो भी कुछ हो और आप जो नौजवान स्कूल-कॉलेज कहीं भी आप पढ़ते हैं, आपके लिए तो ज़िन्दगी उखड़ी हुई है और आप में क्या इत्ता दम भी नहीं है कि आप बैठ कर महज़ सोचें कि आपको कोई फुटकर नौकरी इधर मिल जाय, उधर मिल जाय या डिप्टी क्लेक्टर हो जायें या क्या हो जायें, क्या इत्ता ही आप में शान है और गुरूर है अपना। अगर गुरूर भी हो, ऐम्बिशन हो तो लम्बी-चौड़ी होनी चाहिए, छोटी फुटकर नहीं, तब दूर तक आप जाते हैं। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि डिप्टी क्लेक्टर साहब कोई नाचीज़ हैं, बड़े शरीफ़ आदमी हैं, हों साहब, और भी हैं अच्छे, अपनी जगह पर काम करते हैं। लेकिन किसी आदमी का यह हो कि मैं डिप्टी क्लेक्टर हो जाऊँ या तहसीलदार हो जाऊँ या और कुछ हो जाऊँ, कोई नौकर हो जाऊँ तो ये कोई ऐम्बिशन की बात नहीं है। हाँ, मिली है, अच्छा है, उस काम को करे वो भली तौर से। ये ज़्यादा अच्छा ऐम्बिशन है कि आप जा कर थोड़ी-सी ज़मीन को ले कर आप कहें कि यहाँ दस मन गेहूँ पैदा हुआ है, एक एकड़ में, मैं बीस मन पैदा करूँगा। फ़ौरन आप एक काम कर रहे हैं जो जुड़ जाता है हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की से।

एक शख्स ने, एक अंग्रेज़, एक इंग्लैण्ड के प्रधानमन्त्री ने एक दफ़े कहा था जो आदमी

एक घास के क्या कहते हैं ब्लेड को मुझे हिन्दी शब्द नहीं याद आया, लायक आदमी बैठे हैं, एकदम से मुझे बता नहीं सका कोई (हँसी) खैर, अंग्रेजी में उन्होंने कहा था कि जो आदमी घास की एक ब्लेड को, (तिनका कहते हैं, तिनका तो नहीं है, लेकिन बहरसूरत मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है मैं क्या कहूँ उसको) दो कर देता है, वो दुनिया को भला पहुँचाता है। ठीक है। मतलब यह है कि जो आदमी अपनी मेहनत से या अक़ल से कुछ दुनिया में ज़्यादा अधिक पैदा करता है, वो एक दुनिया का भला करता है। पैदा करने के माने क्या? एक आपके साहूकार हैं, बड़े शरीफ़ आदमी साहूकार होते हैं। कभी-कभी वो अपना पैसा पैदा करते हैं साहूकारी से। वो दुनिया का धन नहीं बढ़ाते हैं आ कर। वो एक जेब का दूसरे की जेब में आ जाता है, चाहे सूद से आये चाहे कैसे आये। दुनिया का धन उतना ही रहता है तो उन्होंने नहीं कोई फ़ायदा दुनिया को पहुँचाया, चाहे वो लखपति हो जायें। लेकिन जिस आदमी ने एक तिनके से दो तिनके घास के पैदा किये या गेहूँ के पैदा किये, उसने दुनिया का भला किया अपनी मेहनत से, अक़ल से, उसने परिश्रम से पैदा किया। किसी और की जेब से निकाल कर नहीं रख दिया वहाँ पर।

तो हिन्दुस्तान में जो बड़े-बड़े वाद आप सुनते हैं, साम्यवाद और समाजवाद, ठीक हैं वो और उनको हमें सोचना चाहिए, समझना चाहिए और पढ़ना चाहिए। लेकिन समझने की कोशिश में हमेशा यह याद रखना चाहिए कि हमें हिन्दुस्तान में काम करना है। हम एक किताब पढ़ें जिसमें बताया कि इंग्लैण्ड में क्या हुआ और क्या होना चाहिए या अमरीका में या जर्मनी में या रूस में, उसको हम पढ़ें ज़रूर, क्योंकि उससे कुछ-न-कुछ हम सीखेंगे, फ़ायदा होगा। बहुत सारी बातें हमें सीखनी हैं, इंग्लैण्ड में क्या हुआ और अमरीका में और रूस में। लेकिन हमेशा हमें याद रखना है कि हमें हिन्दुस्तान में काम करना है। हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के लिए और हिन्दुस्तान के हालात में काम करना है और आजकल के ज़माने में। जो सौ वर्ष हुए उस ज़माने में नहीं। वो जो पचास वर्ष हुए इंग्लैण्ड में काम हुआ था, उससे हम सीखें। अब वो पिछड़ गया ज़माना उनके लिए, हमारे लिए और भी। तो हमें अपने मुल्क में घास के एक तिनके दो बनाने हैं। गेहूँ के एक के दो बनाने हैं। हर चीज़ के एक के दो और तीन और चार बनाने हैं, क्योंकि आखिर में ग़रीबी का मुकाबला करना कैसे हो? हेरा-फेरी से, साहूकारी से तो न हो कि एक की जेब से दूसरे की जेब में जाय।

आप कहें कि साहब कुछ लोग बड़े अमीर हैं उनको नहीं होना चाहिए। कुछ थोड़ी-सी बात यह सही है। पूरी सही नहीं है। सही इस माने में है कि जिस समाज को हम बनाना चाहते हैं, उसमें ऊँच-नीच बहुत नहीं होनी चाहिए, उसमें अमीर ग़रीब नहीं होने चाहिए। कुछ फ़र्क़ होगा ही, क्योंकि आदमियों के शरीर की ताक़त है, बुद्धि है, फ़र्क़ होते हैं, लेकिन बहुत ऊँच-नीच नहीं होनी चाहिए और हमारा लक्ष्य यह है कि ऐसी समाज हो। लेकिन अगर आप पहला क़दम यह उठावें कि जो आदमी आपसे ज़रा ज़्यादा ताक़तवर है उसको आप दुर्बल कर दें, जो आपसे ज़्यादा अक़लमन्द है उसको आप बेवकूफ़ बनाने की कोशिश करें, जो आपसे ज़्यादा ऊँचा है उसका सर काट दें कि बराबर हो जाय आपके तो उससे आप इस मुल्क के आगे चलने की

गाड़ी को नहीं चलाते, आप अपनी गरीबी का बँटवारा कर सकते हैं। गरीबी के बँटवारे से फ़ायदा क्या? हम तो अमीरी का बँटवारा किया चाहते हैं। हम तो चाहते हैं लोगों की हालत अच्छी हो, खुशहाल हों सब लोग। तो इसलिए हमें सोच-विचार कर चलना पड़ता है कि कोई क्रदम हम उठायेँ, उससे जहाँ हम जाना चाहते हैं उधर हम जायँ, महज़ एक अपना, एक दिल की रंजिश की वजह से कोई बात हम करें जिससे फ़ायदा न हो तो हानि हो जाय।

यह सोचना पड़ता है और पहली बात ये हमें सोचनी है, कोई वाद भी हमारा हो चाहे समाजवाद, साम्यवाद, पूँजीवाद, कुछ, कि हमें मुल्क की दौलत बढ़ानी है। और दौलत और धन के माने सोना-चाँदी नहीं है। वो तो व्यापार की चीज़ है। जो चीज़ आप ज़मीन से, कारखाने से पैदा करें वो धन-दौलत है या कारीगरी से। जित्ता अधिक आप पैदा करेंगे सामान, उत्ता ही धन होगा।

अमरीका बड़ा धनी देश है। क्या धन है उनके पास? कोई सोना-चाँदी का धन है? होगा थोड़ा-बहुत सोना-चाँदी। उनका धन है जो हर साल वो अपने कारखानों से, ज़मीन से, पैदा करते हैं वो उनका धन है और बेशुमार पैदा करते हैं। क्यों पैदा करते हैं इतना? इसलिए कि दो बातें हैं। एक तो परिश्रमी लोग हैं, मेहनती लोग हैं; दूसरे, वो लाभ उठाते हैं साइन्स, विज्ञान से। वो विज्ञान से और जो प्रकृति की ताकतें वो समझे हैं, नेचर की फ़ोर्स को समझे हैं। साइन्स ने समझाया उन्हें, विज्ञान ने, कि प्रकृति की क्या शक्ति है। उस शक्ति को वो अपने प्रयोग में लाते हैं। बड़ी ताकत हो जाती है। क्या है? ये बिजली आप देखते हैं, क्या है? प्रकृति की शक्ति है न एक, नेचर की। कोई जादू तो नहीं है। आप बिजली पैदा कर सकते हैं। कोई कर सकता है जो ज़रा थोड़ा-सा सीख ले। लेकिन महान शक्ति है जो हम पैदा कर सकते हैं, जो हम अपने नदी के वेग से बहते हुए, पहिये चलाते हैं, उससे पैदा करते हैं, हाइड्रोइलेक्ट्रिक पावर हो जाता है। जो हम कोयला जला कर थर्मल पावर पैदा करें, जो कुछ हो। वो कहते हैं स्टीम है, भाप है, शक्ति है प्रकृति की, मामूली चीज़ है, हर घर में है भाप। लेकिन एक अक्लमन्द आदमी ने उसको पकड़ कर रेल का इंजिन चलाया।

इसलिए यूरोप के लोगों ने विज्ञान से फ़ायदा उठा कर, प्रकृति की शक्ति को पकड़ कर उस पर अपना क़ाबू किया। आप अलिफ़ लैला की कहानियों में पढ़ते होंगे कि बड़े-बड़े जिन्न आये और जिन्न को क़ाबू किया और जो चाहें आप जिन्न आपको कर दे ला के। आप देखते नहीं कि अलिफ़ लैला के जिन्नों से बड़े जिन्न को आजकल की दुनिया ने क़ाबू किया है। ये बिजली और भाप और अणुशक्ति और ऐटॉमिक एनर्जी—इससे बड़ा जिन्न, कहीं यह जिन्न आज तक अलिफ़ लैला में हुआ है? तो उन्होंने इनको क़ाबू में किया विज्ञान से और उससे उनकी शक्ति आयी, उससे उन्होंने दौलत पैदा की ज़मीन से कारखाने से। हमें उस बात को करना है, विज्ञान के ज़रिये से करना है, अपने परिश्रम से और विज्ञान से।

पहली बात तो आप यह समझ लीजिए, नारों से नहीं आ जाती हैं ये बातें और ये साम्यवाद वगैरह, समाजवाद, ये नाम आये हैं जो, ये कब आये हैं दुनिया में, ये आपको मालूम है? जब इस शक्ति से, विज्ञान की शक्ति से यूरोप के मुल्कों में कारखाने बढ़े, बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन

चली, इण्डस्ट्रियलाइज़ हुए, तब समाजवाद वगैरह का चर्चा उठा है यहाँ। यानी जब कोई सामान मिला उनके पास बँटवारा करने को, तब सवाल उठा : कैसे बाँटें। गरीबी को बाँटने का सवाल नहीं था कोई।

इसलिए हमारे सामने सबसे पहला सवाल धन पैदा करने का है। सामान पैदा करने का है। ज़मीन से, कारखाने से, कारीगरी से, हर तरह से। दूसरा सवाल आता है कि जो सामान पैदा हो, उसका बँटवारा कैसे हो। यानी थोड़ी-सी जेबों में चला जाय, लखपति, करोड़पति हो जायें या आम जनता को मिले। यहाँ पर समाजवाद और साम्यवाद आते हैं और ठीक आते हैं और उसका हमें प्रबन्ध करना चाहिए, जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि बराबर से बँटवारा हो। इसके माने नहीं है कि एक थैले में बैठ कर हम बराबर से बाँट रहे हैं, लेकिन समाज का संगठन ऐसा हो कि जिसमें लोग अपने परिश्रम से करीब-करीब बराबर का कमा सकें। जिते परिश्रमी हों, उता कमायें। लेकिन हर सूरत...ये तो ठीक है...लेकिन हर सूरत से पहला काम यह है कि हम अधिक पैदा करें और उसमें विज्ञान से फ़ायदा उठायें, विज्ञान से फ़ायदा नहीं उठाते, तब वही, उसी चक्कर में पड़े हैं, परिश्रम ज़्यादा करें, कुछ अधिक पैदा कर लें, लेकिन ज़्यादा नहीं बढ़ते। आप देखते हैं, बिजली का कहा जाता है, बिजली का या और शक्ति का सौ हॉर्सपावर या हजार हॉर्सपावर या दस लाख हॉर्सपावर तक होता है। खैर, वहाँ कोई घोड़े तो उसमें नहीं जुते होते, वो तो नाम होता है। लेकिन माने उसके क्या होते हैं कि एक आपके पास एक मशीन या बिजली से आप एक हजार आदमियों का काम कर सकते हैं। देखो, कितनी शक्ति आपके पास आ गयी या देश के पास।

मैं अभी वहाँ था राजस्थान में, एक बड़ा वहाँ, बड़ा एक फ़ार्म है, पच्चीस हजार एकड़ का, जहाँ हम एक आजमाइश कर रहे हैं,⁹³ रेगिस्तान का वो, अब वहाँ कुछ पानी आने लगा। कोई किसान वगैरह नहीं थे उस समय। बहुत कम थे। तो हमने वहाँ बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें लगायी हैं आजमाने को, क्योंकि वहाँ किसान तो थे नहीं कुछ। पानी जो आया तो जहाँ पानी पहुँचा तो रेगिस्तान में बड़ा अच्छा, उससे बहुत लाभ हुआ। लेकिन थोड़ी-सी मशीन है मामूली एक नाला खोदने की, जिसमें पानी जा सके, एक नाली, नाला बहुत बड़ा नहीं, एक पाँच फुट समझो, ऊपर से चौड़ा और इस तरह से जैसे अंग्रेज़ी का 'वी' होता है, उस तरह का। अच्छा वो मशीन बिलकुल सीधी-सादी वो चलती थी और एक घण्टे में दो मील खोदती थी और बिलकुल पक्का बन जाता था, पक्का नहीं बिलकुल तैयार था, कुछ और नहीं करना था। आठ घण्टे के काम में वो सोलह मील खोदती थी। वहाँ हिसाब लगाया गया कि सोलह मील अगर खोदी जाय एक दिन में तो तीन हजार आदमियों का काम था वहाँ। तो ज़ाहिर है इस तरह से ये मुल्क बढ़ गये आगे।

अब हमें भी बहुत कुछ विज्ञान से फ़ायदा उठाना है, तभी हम बढ़ सकते हैं। ये कहा जाता है कि मशीन चलाने से लोग बेकार हो जाते हैं और यह बात सही है, हमें होशियारी से करना

है। ये बात सही है, लेकिन फिर भी ग़लत है। सही इस माने में है कि एकदम से आप मशीन कोई लायें, जैसे फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि यहाँ एक कपड़े की मिल खड़ी हो जाय तो हो सकता है कि एकदम से वो कपड़ा बुनते हैं, कातते-बुनते हैं, वो बेकार हो जायें। यह बात ठीक है। हम नहीं चाहते इस ढंग से हो। लेकिन वाक़्या तो यह है कि अगर आप समझ-बूझ कर नयी मशीनें लगायें तो काम बढ़ता जाता है, घटेगा नहीं और इसका सबूत यह है कि जिन मुल्कों में ये मशीनें वग़ैरह हैं, वहाँ बेकारी नहीं है, या बहुत काम है, काम बढ़ता जाता है, और बढ़ेगा यहाँ। तो यह है।

अब ये करें कैसे हम, कैसे हम बढ़ायें? अब आप देखें अपने खेती में देख लें। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि आपके यहाँ बिहार में क्या औसत एक एकड़ में पैदा होता है गेहूँ या धान, मुझे नहीं मालूम। शायद गेहूँ दस मन हो। ख़ैर, हिन्दुस्तान का औसत है गेहूँ का दस मन है, सब बुरा-अच्छा मिला कर। और मुल्कों की औसत है पच्चीस-तीस मन, सोचिए आप, तिगनी तक, चौगुनी तक। अगर हम अपनी औसत कर दें बीस मन तो एकदम से हिन्दुस्तान की दौलत क़रीब-क़रीब दुगुनी हो जाती है, एकदम। किसान को फ़ायदा होता है, मुल्क को फ़ायदा होता है, तरक्क़ी के लिए हमें पैसा मिल जाता है और दस मन को बीस मन करना, कोई बहुत मुश्किल बात नहीं है, क्योंकि जहाँ हमने कोशिश की वो हो गयी, बीस मन नहीं, तीस मन। मैं अभी इलाहाबाद ज़िले में कह रहा था, एक किसानों की मीटिंग में, एक बेचारा किसान आया, कुर्मी किसान, बहुत मामूली हैसियत का, कहने लगा कि बाबूजी मैंने अपने एक एकड़ ज़मीन पर पचास मन गेहूँ पैदा किया है। तो मुझे कुछ ताज़्जुब हुआ। मैंने पूछा इधर-उधर, लोगों ने कहा, हाँ साहब, इसने किया है। अफ़सर लोग जो बैठे थे, उन्होंने भी कहा किया है। और फिर मैं गाँव-गाँव गया तो हर गाँव में हमने इनाम दिये, जिन लोगों ने ज़्यादा पैदा किया था।⁹⁴ हर गाँव में, किसी ने चालीस मन किया था, किसी ने पैंतालीस मन, किसी ने चालीस और पचास के बीच में। हर गाँव में कुछ लोगों ने किया। मामूली लोग थे, याद रखिए, कोई ट्रैक्टर वग़ैरह चलाने वाले लोग नहीं थे। तो ये हो सकता है कि उसने अच्छी खाद दी या फ़र्टिलाइज़र दिया, अच्छे बीज चुन कर सेवा की, पानी वग़ैरह दिया, किया, परिश्रम की बात है, मेहनत की बात है और अक़ल की बात है।

और बात यह है हमारे किसान जो अच्छे-तगड़े हैं लेकिन ऐसे पुराने ढंग में पड़ गये हैं कि ज़्यादा उनको फ़ायदा नहीं होता उससे। उससे उनको निकालना है और निकलेंगे। उनका फ़ायदा होगा, औरों का फ़ायदा होगा। इसी तरह से हमें कारख़ाने चलाने हैं, क्योंकि हमारे लोग खेती बहुत करते हैं, ज़मीन पर बहुत [निर्भर] हैं। उनको काम मिलना चाहिए, चाहे ग्रामोद्योग हो, छोटे कारख़ाने, बड़े कारख़ाने, ज़मीन से, अधिक लोग न हों ज़मीन पर। यह सब करने हैं, बड़े कारख़ाने, छोटे।

अच्छा, हमें बड़े कारख़ाने चलाने हैं। तो कारख़ाने हम कैसे चलायें? मशीन कहाँ से लायें? वहाँ जर्मनी से लायें जा के, विलायत से लायें, कहाँ तक लायें और कहाँ से पैसे दें उसको? पैसा

94. See items 1-6, pp. 1-86.

उसका लगता है, बड़ा पैसा लगता है। तो अगर हमें कारखाने चलाने हैं यहाँ तो हमें अपने घर में मशीन बनानी है। तो मशीन कैसे बने, मशीन को मशीन ही बनाती है। छोटी मशीन को बड़ी मशीन बनाती है। बड़ी मशीन को उससे बड़ी मशीन बनाती है। तो यानी हम अपने मुल्क में मशीन बनाने का कारखाना खोलें। एक नहीं बहुत, बड़ी मशीन बनाने का।...छोटी तो फुटकर बनती हैं आजकल। ऐसा खोलें कि हमें वो लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं बड़े-बड़े जिसमें सौ-सौ, डेढ़-डेढ़ सौ करोड़ लगता है सोचो। सौ करोड़ रुपया चला जाता है विदेश में।...तो हम ऐसे लोहे के कारखाने की मशीन हम अपने मुल्क में बनायें। और और भी बनायें जितने हों, सीमेंट और ये और वो, अपने यहाँ। तो फिर पैसा हमारे मुल्क में रहेगा और तेज़ी से छोटे-मोटे कारखाने बनेंगे, लोगों को रोज़गार मिलेगा, लाखों आदमियों को और धन पैदा होगा। ठीक है। लेकिन फिर घूम-घाम के बात आ जाती है, वो बड़ी मशीन बनाने का पैसा कहाँ से आये। आखिर पैसा जो हमारे पास आयेगा वही पैसा होगा जो देश में बचता है, जो आप सब मुल्क के देश वाले, आपकी आमदनी होती है, जो आपका खर्च होता है, जो बचेगा उसी बचे हुए रुपये से हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। जैसे आप अपने व्यक्तिगत रूप से देखें, अपने घर के, आपकी फ़र्ज़ करो दो सौ रुपये महीना आमदनी है और आपका खर्च ठीक दो सौ रुपये है तो आप तरक्की नहीं करेंगे, वहीं-के-वहीं रहेंगे। हाँ, और अगर आपका दो सौ से ज़्यादा खर्च है तो आपके दिवाले निकल जायेंगे। लेकिन अगर दो सौ आमदनी है और कहिए पौने दो सौ आपका खर्च है तो पच्चीस रुपये बच जाते हैं जिससे आप तरक्की कर सकते हैं। चाहे आप उसको कहाँ लगायें किसी काम में, चाहे आप उससे पोस्टल सर्टिफ़िकेट्स ले लें या किसी काम में लगायें या दुकान में लगायें, वो है जिसको आप लगाते हैं, जिससे आप बढ़ते हैं, मुल्क बढ़ता है।

तो मुल्क उत्ता ही बढ़ता है जित्ता कि उसके पास पैसा बचता है। खर्चने के बाद, तरक्की में लगाने के लिए। इन्वेस्ट करता है वो तरक्की में। ये छोटा-सा आपको मैं एक नुस्खा बता देता हूँ कि जित्ता मुल्क [को] अपनी आमदनी से [...] उसके खर्चने के [...] [बाद] बचेगा, उत्ता ही उसको फ़ायदा हो सकता है। हो सकता है कि जो बचे उसको फेंक दे वो, यानी फ़िज़ूल बातों में लगाये। तो वो ज़ाया हो जाता है। लेकिन ठीक काम में लगे तो उत्ता बढ़ गया। तो अब इसके माने हो जाते हैं कि हम बचायें रुपया मुल्क का सब। और मुल्क के माने हैं लोग बचायें अलग-अलग। अपने अलग बचायें, कारखाने वाले कारखाने से जो बचे उसको रखें। या जो कुछ है। टैक्स आपको लगता है, अलावा टैक्स के जो मुल्क के काम करने में लगे, पढ़ाई, लिखाई, सड़क, स्वास्थ्य, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन वगैरह जो बचता है वो मुल्क की तरक्की में लगना चाहिए। क़र्ज़ा आपसे लिया जाता है, गवर्नमेंट लेती है, किसलिए? इसलिए कि आप बचायें रुपये को, जो कि मुल्क की तरक्की में लगेगा और जिससे फिर आपको फ़ायदा होगा। ख़ैर, उसका आपको सूद भी मिलता है और उसके अलावा मुल्क की तरक्की में आपको फ़ायदा है।

गरज़ कि घूम-घाम के बात यह हो जाती है कि हमारी आमदनी बढ़े। आमदनी बढ़े और हम उसमें से बचायें काफ़ी, ताकि ये तरक्की का सिलसिला, गाड़ी चलने लगे। जब एक दफ़े ज़ोरों से वो चलने लगती है तब वो अपने आप चलने लगती है अपनी ताक़त से। जैसे अमरीका

में, जैसे अंग्रेजों के यहाँ। उनके यहाँ तो गाड़ी चल गयी है न। अमरीका वाले इत्ता रुपया ज़ाया करते हैं, फेंकते हैं, फ़िज़ूलखर्ची करते हैं, फिर भी बचा रहता है उनके पास और बहुत बच रहता है, जिसको लगाते हैं वो अपनी तरक्की में। रूस वाले, बाद तीस-चालीस वर्ष की मुसीबत के, अब ऐसी जगह पहुँचे हैं, काफ़ी पैदा कर रहे हैं वो अपने कारखानों से, ज़मीन से। बचा रहता है और बच रहता है तो बड़ा खर्चते हैं, बड़ा रुपया तरक्की में लगाते हैं। और इसमें भी लगाते हैं करोड़ों रुपया चाँद पर आदमी को भेजने में, और कहाँ-कहाँ। गरज़ कि इन सबका नतीजा यह हुआ न कि हमें अपने मुल्क की पैदावार, उत्पादन बढ़ाना है, ज़मीन से, कारखाने से और कारखाने में जो हम बढ़ाया चाहते हैं अगर कारखाने के लिए पैसा हमें लाना है तो घूम-घाम कर वो ज़मीन से ही निकल सकता है। यानी ज़मीन से इत्ता पैदा हो कि उसको खाने-पीने के बाद जो बचे, उससे हम कारखाने बनायें। तो घूम कर हम ज़मीन के ऊपर आ गये कि ज़मीन की पैदावार, उत्पादन हमें बढ़ाना है। यह बहुत ज़रूरी हो गया और यों तो यों भी ज़रूरी है कि अजीब बात है हमारे मुल्क में खाने की कमी हो। क्या तमाशा है कि एक देहाती मुल्क में भी खाने की कमी हो। तो फिर मुल्क बढ़े कैसे? वो तो पूरा करना है। लेकिन पूरा करना काफ़ी नहीं है। हमें ज़्यादा करना है ताकि उससे हम अपनी और तरक्की, कारखाने वगैरह की, कर सकें।

अब आपका, बिहार को आप लें। बिहार प्रदेश एक आम तौर से बिल्कुल देहाती है और उसमें उसकी खूबियाँ हैं और उसकी खराबियाँ हैं और उसकी गरीबी भी है। जो ख़ाली देहाती प्रदेश अगर नये ढंग से, नये ढंग से खेती न करे तो ग़रीब देश होगा कोई शक नहीं। हाँ, नये ढंग से करने में ग़रीबी कम हो सकती है, फिर भी अमीर नहीं हो सकता ख़ाली खेती करके। इसमें कोई शक नहीं। इधर बिहार के एक कोने में आप जानते हैं, बड़े-से-बड़े कारखाने बन चुके हैं और बनेंगे, क्योंकि आपके सौभाग्य से वहाँ लोहा और कोयला है और लोहा और कोयला सोने-चाँदी से बहुत ज़्यादा क़ीमती चीज़ है। लोहे और कोयले ने अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य को बनाया इन पिछले दो सौ बरस में। जर्मनी की शक्ति बढ़ायी, अमरीका की बढ़ायी। जो-जो देश बढ़े हुए हैं वो लोहे और कोयले से बढ़े हैं, क्योंकि उसी से सारी उनकी इण्डस्ट्री और कारखाने बढ़े। आपके बिहार राज्य में हैं वो बड़ी भारी बात है आपके लिए और बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं, बन रहे हैं। खैर, वो तो बनेंगे ही, जो कुछ है।

लेकिन बिहार राज्य में खेती में तरक्की होनी है, पिछड़ी हुई है, कोई शक नहीं पिछड़ी है, हालाँकि यहाँ के किसान अच्छे हैं। कैसे वो बढ़ें आगे, इस पर आपको विचार करना है और ज़ोर लगाना है और वो महज़ एक व्याख्यान से नहीं बढ़ सकते हैं, कहने से। किसान तभी समझता है जब वो आँखों से देखता है कैसे फ़ायदा होता है। किसान को आपको दिखाना होगा, किसान को आपको पढ़ाना होगा, ये बात आप समझ लीजिए, ये मुल्क नहीं तरक्की कर सकता बगैर पढ़ाई के फैलाये। एक-एक बच्चे को पढ़ना है, ख़ाली किताब पढ़ने के लिए नहीं। इसलिए कि जब वो पढ़ेगा तो खेती ज़्यादा अच्छी करेगा। इसलिए नहीं कि वो बाबू हो जाय, जा के नौकरी करे। हमें नहीं चाहिए देहात के लोग शहरों में आ कर बस जायें और नौकरी

दूँटें। हम चाहते हैं गाँव के लोग पढ़ें, अच्छा पढ़ें, और वहाँ रह कर अपने गाँव को उठावें, अपनी खेती को अच्छा करें। अपना लाभ करें और मुल्क का लाभ करें। यह तरक्की। तो यह बड़ी आवश्यक बात हो गयी।

अब नागपुर के अधिवेशन में दो प्रस्ताव हुए। एक तो पंचवर्षीय योजना का। उसमें दूरन्देशी है। योजना के माने क्या हैं? प्लैन करने के माने क्या हैं? यह नहीं कि बैठ कर चलो भई लिख दें, यहाँ हम एक कारखाना खड़ा कर दें, वहाँ एक कर दें, वहाँ एक नहर बना दें। यह योजना नहीं हुई। योजना के माने होते हैं कि हम सोचें, कहाँ हम जा रहे हैं। हम दस बरस में कहाँ पहुँचा चाहते हैं। और पाँच बरस में या बीस बरस में कहाँ पहुँचा चाहते हैं। अब ऐसे क्रम लें कि एक-एक क्रम हमें दूसरे क्रम लेने में लाभ पहुँचाये, आसान कर दे। एक बात से जुड़ जाती है वो जंजीर, वो कड़ियाँ हो जाती हैं, एक बड़ी एक-एक काम की, वो लम्बी जंजीर बन जाती है आगे हमें बढ़ाती है।

कारखाने हम बनायें। एक मामूली आदमी जिसके पास पैसा है वो कारखाना शुरू करेगा इसलिए कि चलो भई कारखाना बनायें हमें उससे फ़ायदा होगा, अपने लाभ के लिए। तो ऐसी चीज़ का कारखाना करेगा जिससे उस समय उसको लाभ है। मुझे अगर यह योजना मैं करूँ देश की तो मुझे इस बात का नहीं सोचना है कि मुझे इस वक़्त लाभ क्या होता है। मुझे सोचना है इस कारखाने से क्या लाभ होगा हमारे दस बरस के अन्दर देश को या बीस बरस के अन्दर। कौन आदमी है, कितने लोग हैं जो जा के लोहे का कारखाना बनायें जिसमें डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये लगे और एक पैसा नहीं मिलता है पाँच-छै-सात वर्ष तक। किसी की हिम्मत नहीं हो सकती। लेकिन हमें देखना है बीस बरस और सौ वर्ष आगे। हम उसको बनाते हैं। इसीलिए कि पचास-साठ-सत्तर और सौ वर्ष तक उससे लाभ हो देश को। तो नज़्शा दूसरा हो जाता है। हम जानते हैं इस वक़्त कि हम सौ करोड़ रुपये के बजाय, डेढ़ सौ, पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये हम लगा रहे हैं, लोहे के तीन कारखानों में। हम अगर छोटे-छोटे कारखानों में उसको लगाते तो हमें उससे अधिक लाभ होता इस वक़्त। कुछ आपको भी लाभ होता, जनता को होता कुछ। लेकिन आज लाभ होता, वैसा-का-वैसा ही देश क़रीब-क़रीब रहता, तरक्की नहीं होती। इसलिए हम सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये इन लोहे के कारखानों में खर्चते हैं, क्योंकि लोहे के बग़ैर हमारी तरक्की नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए हम सैकड़ों करोड़ रुपये इन बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों की योजनाओं में खर्चते हैं, दामोदर और क्या-क्या और भाखड़ा। इसलिए हम करोड़ों रुपये खर्च रहे हैं विज्ञान की उद्योगशालाओं में, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया की जड़ विज्ञान है। हिन्दुस्तान में चालीस करोड़ आदमी हों और चालीस करोड़ आदमी नारे उठावें तो कुछ नहीं कर सकते। ये कोई गिनती नहीं है। भेड़-बकरी की भी गिनती होती है। यह देश बढ़ते हैं विज्ञान से, पढ़ने से। इसलिए हमें विज्ञान बढ़ाना है, इसलिए हमें एक-एक बच्चे को पढ़ाना है। खेती बढ़ाने के लिए हमें पढ़ाना है, नौकरी दिलाने को नहीं, और सब काम करने को। अच्छा पढ़े-लिखे बच्चों से, और लोग पढ़ेंगे, और ऊपर जायेंगे, कॉलेज-युनिवर्सिटी में और इन्स्टीट्यूट्स में और कहाँ-कहाँ।

अच्छा तो मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि नागपुर में दो प्रस्ताव हुए। एक तो योजना का, वो

अभी से हम सोच रहे हैं कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में क्या हम करें। अभी दो बरस उसके [शुरू होने में] बाकी हैं और साल भर से हम सोच रहे हैं। काफ़ी पेचीदा बात है, कैसे हम सोचते हैं। मैं आपको बताऊँ कि तीसरी योजना के अन्त तक जिसके माने हैं आज से सात वर्ष में, हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी क्या होगी। हिसाब लगाया गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी अड़तालीस करोड़ होगी। आजकल समझा जाता है चालीस करोड़ है। अड़तालीस हो जायेगी। इसके माने ये हैं, ज़रा भयानक है यह बढ़ता जाना आबादी का यहाँ, याद रखिए, क्योंकि वो बोझ बढ़ता जाता है। अभी पिछली मर्दुमशुमारी हुई थी जाने कितनी छत्तीस, सैंतीस करोड़ था और आज से सात वर्ष बाद अड़तालीस करोड़ हो जायेगा। और उसके बाद साठ, सत्तर, अस्सी, नब्बे, सौ करोड़ हो जायेगा। और इसलिए मैं ज़िक्र इसका इसी वक़्त कर दूँ, इसलिए यह बड़ा सवाल उठा है कि आबादी के बढ़ने को काबू में लाना और यह बहुत ज़रूरी बात हो गयी है। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि मैं आपसे कहूँ कि आप बच्चे न पैदा करें, लेकिन समझ-बूझ के पैदा कीजिए। और ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा न पैदा कीजिए। यह हँसी की बात नहीं है। यह आप देखें किसी पहलू से अगर मुल्क के, ज़ाहिर है कि अगर इस तरह से बढ़ती गयी आबादी तो मुल्क ग़रीब होता जायेगा। कोई शक नहीं इसमें। अभी आप खुशहाल नहीं हो सकते, क्योंकि मुल्क पर बोझ बढ़ता जायेगा खिलाने का, पिलाने का, कपड़े का, रहने का, घर का, पढ़ाने का, हर बात का। नहीं बरदाश्त होगा, गिरते जायेंगे।

तो खैर, हम तो...गरज़ के हम सोचते हैं कि अड़तालीस करोड़ होगी, इसलिए हमें तीसरी योजना में अड़तालीस करोड़ लोगों के लिए खाना पैदा करना है। अड़तालीस करोड़ के लिए कपड़ा पहनने का करना है, अड़तालीस करोड़ के लिए घर रहने को करने की कोशिश करनी है, चाहे कामयाब न हों, लेकिन कोशिश करनी है। अड़तालीस करोड़ में जो बच्चे हैं, उनको पढ़ाने का प्रबन्ध करना है, उनके स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध करना है। तो हमारा सवाल यह हो जाता है। सवाल यह नहीं कि चलो, फुटकर यहाँ ये कर दो, वहाँ वो, कि हमें अड़तालीस करोड़ आदमियों के लिए जो-जो ज़रूरी बातें हैं, वो पैदा करनी हैं और आखिर में उनके लिए काम पैदा करना है कि रोज़गार मिले। अब मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि हम सात बरस के अन्दर सब सवाल को हल कर देंगे, शायद नहीं कर सकेंगे, यह और बात है, दो-चार बरस और लेंगे, पाँच बरस, यह तो और बात है। समझ लें। लेकिन यह सवाल है।

तो फिर खाना पैदा करना है अड़तालीस करोड़ के लिए। आजकल का नहीं खाना। जो बढ़ जायेगी आबादी आठ करोड़ आज के बाद, उनके लिए भी। तो इसको योजना बनाना कहते हैं कि एक तरफ़ से हम ज़मीन से अधिक-से-अधिक पैदा करें, खाने का सामान और और सामान जो है, जो कि कारखानों में जाता है, कपास है, जूट है, क्या-क्या है जिसकी ज़रूरत है, गन्ना है। दूसरी तरफ़ से कारखाने बढ़ाने के काम हम करें। उसके लिए ज़रूरी है लोहा। हम लोहे के कारखाने बना रहे हैं। इसके लिए ज़रूरी है [...] मशीन बनाने के कारखाने, ये भी हम बना रहे हैं। उसके लिए ज़रूरत है ताक़त, पावर, शक्ति, बिजली की और...और उसकी भी हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं पैदा करने की। उसके लिए ज़रूरी है कोयला काफ़ी पैदा हो तो कोयला हमें

लाना है। इस तरह से आप देखिए सब बातें बढ़ती जाती हैं। इन सब बातों के लिए जरूरी है कोयला, हमें ले जाना है, कैसे जाता है कोयला, रेल बनानी पड़ती है। कारखाने में सामान जो बनता है उसको लाना है। कैसे? रेल से, सड़क से। सड़क बनानी, रेल बनानी है।

तो आप देखें एक चीज़ से दूसरी चीज़ जुड़ी हुई है। अलग नहीं है। तो योजना बनाना बड़ी पेचीदा बात हो जाती है और आखिर में सबमें आवश्यक चीज़ जो योजना में होती है, वो आदमी होता है। लोहा और सब बातें अलग हैं, आदमी सब करता है। कैसा आदमी। सीखा हुआ आदमी। ट्रेण्ड आदमी और ट्रेण्ड के माने ठीक है कि अगर आप बी.ए. या एम.ए. हैं, कुछ आपने सीखा है, उससे लाभ हो सकता है। लेकिन यह भी हो सकता है, उस ट्रेनिंग से पूरा फ़ायदा हम न उठा सकें और तरह की ट्रेनिंग चाहिए। खैर, गरज़ कि ट्रेण्ड आदमी की जरूरत है। हम लोहे का कारखाना बनाते हैं और उसके बनाने में पाँच-छे-सात वर्ष लगते हैं, लेकिन जो आदमी उस कारखाने को चलायेगा यानी जो उसका जनरल मैनेजर हो, उसको बनाने में बीस वर्ष लग जाते हैं, सिखाने में, सिखाने के, तजुर्वे के और जो वहाँ मामूली कारीगर भी काम करेगा उसके सीखने में भी चार-पाँच वर्ष लगते हैं।

तो सब में मुश्किल बात है लोगों को तैयार करना। इस वक़्त हमारे सामने सवाल है यही। सब में बड़ा सवाल, रुपये का सवाल है ही। और हैं, लेकिन उससे बड़ा है लोगों को तैयार करना। और जो हम योजना बनाते हैं, प्लैन करते हैं तो हर काम के लिए हमें नक़्शा बनाना पड़ता है कि इसके लिए कित्ते हमें इंजीनियर चाहिए। इस क्रिस्म के कित्ते इंजीनियर, वैसे कित्ते; बढ़ई, कित्ते लोहार, कित्ते ये, सब नक़्शा बनाना पड़ता है। अब मैं आपको बता सकता हूँ कि हाँ, हम एक लोहे का कारखाना शुरू करें तो उसमें कित्ते लोग, दस हजार, बीस हजार आदमी, कित्ते लगेंगे। हम एक योजना बनायें नदी की उसमें किस-किस क्रिस्म के लगेंगे। और फिर उनको ट्रेण्ड करना पड़ता है। उनको अभी से, क्योंकि उस समय अगर लोग न हों तो हम क्या पाँच बरस, दस बरस के लिए अपने कारखाने को रोक दें। तो ये सब बातें साथ देख कर चलनी पड़ती हैं। अब उसमें गलतियाँ होती हैं, हमारा हिसाब-किताब गड़बड़ा जायेगा, यह और बात है, लेकिन इस तरह से चलना है।

और दूसरी उसके योजना बनाने की यह है कि हम गरीबी के दलदल में पड़े हैं, आबादी बढ़ती जाती है। अगर हम अपना जो धन कमाते हैं देश भर का, आप समझिए कि दो फ़ीसदी हम हर साल तरक्क़ी करते हैं तो देश की आबादी भी दो फ़ीसदी बढ़ रही है। तो इसके माने ये हैं कि हमने जो अधिक धन कमाया वो बढ़ी हुई आबादी उसको खा गयी। कुछ बचा नहीं हमारे पास अब, तरक्क़ी के लिए बचा नहीं। इसलिए हमें दो फ़ीसदी से अधिक पैदा करना है। कुछ तो हमें करना चाहिए इसलिए कि जो आजकल बड़ी तकलीफ़ लोगों को है वो दूर हो। काफ़ी तकलीफ़ है। देहात में विशेषकर कुछ-न-कुछ अमेनिटीज़ जो कहते हैं, उनको मिलें। तो उसके लिए भी आप दो फ़ीसदी रखिए। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए और कुछ पढ़ाना, लिखाना, बहुत इसमें है और फिर इससे भी तरक्क़ी नहीं होती। तो तरक्क़ी से थोड़े ही मतलब कि हम ज़्यादा

कारखाने खोलें, ज्यादा और बातें करें तो उसके लिए भी कुछ रखना है। दो फ़ीसदी उसके लिए रखें तो यह सब जोड़ कर छै फ़ीसदी हो गया, हर साल बढ़ना कि हमारा उत्पादन छै फ़ीसदी हर बात को मिला कर बढ़े नैचुरल वेल्थ बढ़े। मुश्किल है। लेकिन करना ज़रूरी हो जाता है। अगर न करें तो हम दब जाते हैं अपनी बढ़ती हुई आबादी में। तरक्की नहीं कर सकते। तो इसलिए ये सब हिसाब लगाने पड़ते हैं और ज़ोर से। और एक ज़माना आता है, आ सकता है और आया है और मुत्कों में, जब कारखाने और खेती से अधिक पैदा होने लगा, जब कि वो तेज़ी से बढ़ने लगते हैं। वो कहा जाता है कि वो ग़रीबी के दलदल से इस समय निकल गये। अब हम चाहते हैं कि हम ज़ोर लगा कर निकल जायें उससे। एक दफ़े निकल गये उससे, तब बढ़ना हमारा तेज़ हो जायेगा और तरक्की का नतीजा भी हम देखेंगे। जित्ते हल्के हम बढ़ते हैं उता ही हम या तो बहुत ज़माना लग जाता है या हम बढ़ते ही नहीं, अजीब बात यह है, इसलिए यह ज़रूरी है कि हम इस तीसरी योजना में हम काफ़ी बढ़ें, क़ाबू में ले आयें इस ग़रीबी को। मैं नहीं कहता कि हम दौलतमन्द और अमीर हो जायें, लेकिन कम-से-कम हमारी रफ़्तार बढ़ने की इत्ती हो जाय कि हम इस दलदल से निकल जायें। ये बड़ा सवाल है।

अब मैं ज्यादा तफ़सील में कहाँ जाऊँ, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आप सोचें कि ये नक्शे कैसे हों। ये ख़ाली एक महज़ एक अललटप्प कर देना, कुछ यहाँ करो कुछ वहाँ करो, नहीं है। सोचना पड़ता है, किसका क्या नतीजा कहाँ हो सकता है, ज़मीन पर, ये और वो। तो एक रेज़ोल्यूशन वहाँ का इस बात का था, तीसरी योजना का, क्योंकि इन सब बातों के माने होते हैं कि हमें बहुत ज़ोर लगाना पड़ेगा, परिश्रम करना पड़ेगा, क्योंकि बाज़ लोग कहते हैं कि भई, बड़ी हमने मेहनत की अब आराम करें हम, या मेहनत कम करें, या तीसरी योजना को दूसरी योजना से कम बनाओ। जो लोग ऐसी बात करते हैं, वो समझे ही नहीं हैं योजना बनाना क्या होता है। वो बिलकुल ही ग़लत बात है। अगर हम ज़रा भर कम करें हम ख़त्म हो गये, हमारा देश तबाह हो गया, ग़रीबी के दलदल में ऐसा पड़ेगा कभी निकल न सके। हमें इसलिए इस तीसरी योजना में दूसरी योजना की बनिस्वत बहुत ज्यादा, मालूम नहीं कह नहीं सकता, दुगुना या जो कुछ हो, परिश्रम करके पैदा करना है। तब पाँच-सात बरस के बाद हम कुछ क़ाबू में लायेंगे इस ग़रीबी के सवाल को। और ज़रा मज़बूत बुनियाद डालेंगे तेज़ी से बढ़ने के लिए। ये बातें नागपुर के रेज़ोल्यूशन में लिखी हैं।

दूसरा उसका रेज़ोल्यूशन, प्रस्ताव ये है, ज़मीन के बारे में कि ज़मीन पर हमारे देहात में क्या संगठन हो। आप जानते हैं ज़मीन के लिए, इसी ज़मीन, देहाती सवालों के, गाँव के लिए हमारी विकास योजनाएँ बनी थीं, चल रही हैं, कम्प्यूनिटी ब्लॉक। और तीन लाख गाँव में हिन्दुस्तान के फैल गयी हैं और उनसे काफ़ी लाभ हुआ है और होगा। अब हमने बताया कि हम चाहते हैं...क्योंकि भारत का बढ़ना तभी हो सकता है जब हिन्दुस्तान का गाँव बढ़ेगा, किता ही शहर बढ़े, वो एक ऊपर की चीज़ है। तो किसान बढ़ें। तो गाँव कैसे बढ़े। पंचायत। हमने कहा तीन चीज़ें होनी चाहिए गाँव में। मज़बूत पंचायत, सहकारी संघ, स्कूल। ज़ाहिर है, स्कूल होना चाहिए पढ़ने-लिखने को। पंचायत है भी आजकल, उसको मज़बूत होना चाहिए और

उसको और अधिकार मिलने चाहिए। और मैं जानता हूँ आपके पंचायतों में बड़े लोग लड़ते-झगड़ते हैं, दलबन्दी होती है, सब होता है, लेकिन फिर भी उनके हाथ में अधिकार देने चाहिए, क्योंकि इसी तरह से वो सीखते हैं और उसमें बहुत दखल अफसरों का नहीं होना चाहिए। यह अच्छा है। मुझे स्वीकार है। कि वो लोग पंचायत वाले गलती करें, ठोकर खा कर गिरें, हानि उनकी हो, सब कुछ हो, मुझे मंजूर है। इसी तरह से वो सीखेंगे। मैं नहीं चाहता कि वो सरकारी अफसर जा कर बहुत दखल दें और उनको तजुर्बा हासिल करने में रुकावटें डालें।

तो एक तो पंचायत और पंचों और सरपंचों की बड़ी जिम्मेदारी बढ़ती है। दूसरे, और जिस पर बहस अधिक है, यह सहकारी संघ, कोऑपरेशन। मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है कि लोग इस पर बहस करते हैं, क्योंकि दुनिया में, किसान दुनिया भर में, जो मुल्क जिस मुल्क ने तरक्की की है, वहाँ आप पायेंगे सहकारी संघ किसानों के। मोटी बात है, अगर बड़े-बड़े ज़मींदार हों तो उनकी शक्ति है। अगर वो चाहें तो अपने विज्ञान से, मशीन से, इससे-उससे, ज़मीन से कुछ तरक्की करें। लेकिन जो हमारे यहाँ छोटे किसान हैं, किसी का एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, चार एकड़, ज़मीन है, उनकी शक्ति नहीं है, वो कर नहीं सकते। वो विज्ञान से फ़ायदा नहीं उठा सकते। उनकी ताक़त नहीं है, न ख़रीदने में, न बेचने में, न कोई चीज़ लेने में, न अपना ग़ल्ला बेचने में। अब तक आप जानते हैं, वो बनिये के हाथ में थे, क़र्ज़ा लेते थे, दबते थे, सब, ये बातें ग़लत हैं। हमारे सहकारी संघ जो अब तक चले हैं वो रुपये देने क्रेडिट के लिए चले। ठीक है, वो तो होना ही है। लेकिन अब हम चाहते हैं वो सहकारी संघ और भी काम करें। करीब-करीब सब जो आर्थिक काम किसान के हैं, वो करें। क्या आर्थिक काम हैं? बहुत सारे हैं। मैं तो सब जानता नहीं हूँ। अच्छे बीज दें उनको ला कर, खाद दें, फ़र्टिलाइज़र दें। अच्छे हल दें। या कोई और वो और तरह-तरह। और दूसरी तरफ़ से उनके बेचने का प्रबन्ध करें, जो वो पैदा करें। और बीच का फ़ायदा करने वाले जो होते हैं, उनको फ़ायदा न हो। कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है बीच वालों की, इण्टरमीजिएरीज़ की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है। हम हटाना चाहते हैं। फ़ायदा होगा, वो सहकारी संघ कोऑपरेटिव्स को होगा, यानी किसानों को खुद होगा। तो इसको सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव कहते हैं कि वो मिल कर अपना प्रबन्ध करें, लेन-देन का, ख़रीदने का, बेचने का। उसमें जो लाभ-हानि हो, उन्हीं की है, दूसरे की नहीं और बीच का फ़ायदा उन्हीं को होता है। लेकिन सबमें बड़ी बात यह है कि जहाँ एक गाँव के लोग मिल कर करते हैं, सौ किसान परिवार, दो सौ, जो कुछ हों, उनकी शक्ति एक से कहीं बढ़ जाती है। वो फिर दब नहीं जाते। वो तरक्की कर सकते हैं। बेच सकते हैं अच्छे भाव पर, ले सकते हैं, जो भी कुछ हो। तो सारी दुनिया में हुआ है, बहस की बात तो है ही नहीं। ख़ाली जो लोग बिलकुल अनपढ़ हैं, जाहिल हैं, वो इसके खिलाफ़ कुछ कह सकते हैं। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कुछ लोग ज़ाहिरा पढ़े-लिखे ऐसी बातें कहते हैं।

दूसरी बात है जो हमने कहा कि ये जो सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव्स हैं, ये सहकारी संघ हैं इसका एक अगला क़दम यह हो बाद में कि मिल कर वो लोग अपने गाँव की खेती करें। इसके माने

नहीं कि किसी की ज़मीन की मिल्कियत ले ली जाती है, यह माने नहीं हैं। उनकी मिल्कियत, उनकी ओनरशिप रहती है और उसी के हिसाब से जो पैदा हो उसमें, उनको हिस्सा मिलेगा। लेकिन इसमें मुझे कोई शक नहीं है कि वो गाँव वाले, बहुत बड़ा नहीं है, वो गाँव वाले मिल कर अपनी खेती करें तो उनकी पैदावार अधिक बढ़ जायेगी, लाभ होगा उन्हें। एक तो छोटी बात है कि जो उनकी ज़मीन ज़ायाम होती है बीच-बीच में खेतों के, वो आ जायेगी उसमें, यह छोटी बात है। लेकिन बड़ी बात तो यह है कि मिल कर खेती करने में वो आजकल के विज्ञान के तरीके चला सकते हैं। यों अलग-अलग नहीं कर सकते। उनकी शक्ति नहीं है, थोड़ी ज़मीन पर नहीं कर सकते। उससे फ़ायदा होगा और तीसरी बात, यह बहुत आवश्यक बात है कि हल्के-हल्के यह मिल कर काम करने से ऐसी भावना पैदा होती है कोऑपरेटिव सहकारी भावना जिससे देश को और उनको बहुत लाभ होता है। सारे काम, वो मिला कर सारे अपने गाँव को चला सकेंगे और बातें, स्कूल चलायेंगे, कारखाने चलायेंगे, ग्रामोद्योग चलायेंगे, हज़ार बातें। जो एक किसान नहीं कर सकता।

तो ये तो सीधी-सी बात है। हाँ, एक उसमें याद रखने की बात है। दो बातें। एक तो ये कि ये तो कोई सवाल नहीं है कि हम ज़बरदस्ती लोगों से कहें कि मिल कर खेती करो, कोई ज़बरदस्ती का सवाल नहीं है। सहकारी काम के माने ही ज़बरदस्ती के नहीं हैं। सहकार क्या, मिल कर करना क्या, कोई लड़ कर भी मिलता है? तो ये तो उनकी रज़ामन्दी से होगा। हाँ, हम चाहते हैं लोगों को समझा-बुझा कर रज़ामन्द करना। वो भी सवाल अभी नहीं उठता है। पहले है सर्विस कोऑपरेटिव का, फिर हमने कहा कि कुछ बरस बाद तीन बरस तक इसी पर ज़ोर दें और फिर दूसरा क़दम उठायें। हाँ, अब भी अगर कोई मिली-जुली खेती करना चाहता है तो करे। कोई रुकावट थोड़े ही है। लेकिन हमारी तरफ़ से कोई दबाव नहीं है। वाक़या तो यह है कि इस वक़्त भी देश में मेरा ख़याल है हज़ार-डेढ़ हज़ार, ये मिली खेती के गाँव हैं, गाँव की ज़मीन है। तो ये बातें करनी हैं। इसलिए कौन-सी बहस की बात, कौन-से आश्चर्य की बात, मेरी समझ में नहीं आती। सीधी बात है। और इस तरह से हम किसानों को एक ज़्यादा ऊँचे दर्जे में ले आते हैं समाज संगठन के, क्योंकि समाज का संगठन इससे कोऑपरेटिव ढंग से ऊँचे दर्जे का गिना जाता है। इससे सारे उनकी मानसिक ट्रेनिंग दूसरी होगी। देश की होगी। हम बढ़ेंगे।

खैर, थोड़ा-सा मैंने आपसे कहा। कहने को तो बहुत हो सकती हैं बातें। लेकिन हाँ, यह बात आप याद रखें जो मैंने कहा कि ये। हाँ, एक बात और कहनी है। एक तो यही कि मिल कर करें। दूसरे ये कि कोऑपरेटिव, सहकारी संघ महज़ इच्छा से नहीं हो जाते हैं। ये इसको अगर आप ठीक तौर से चलाना चाहते हैं तो आपको सीखना पड़ेगा, कैसे चलायें। अगर कोई अनाड़ी लोग हैं तो नहीं चला सकते उसको, सीधी बात है। याद रखना है। इसलिए इस बात का प्रबन्ध करना है कि लोग हज़ारों-लाखों की तादाद में इसको सीखें। कैसे सीखें? कुछ लोगों को तो बहुत सीखना चाहिए। ज़रा जो ख़ास यानी जो अफ़सर जिनको यह काम सुपुर्द किया जायेगा, उनको तो ऐसा सीखना चाहिए कि एक साल भर जा के उसे सीखें किसी एग्रीकलचरल

कॉलेज में या जहाँ यह कोर्स रखा जाय, पक्की तौर से सीखें। कुछ लोग और छै महीने सीखें। लेकिन अधिकतर लोगों के लिए एक महीना काफी होगा। एक महीने का कोर्स काफी है और अलावा इससे, मैं समझता हूँ कि जो पंच-सरपंच हैं उनको मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए कुछ, दो-दो, तीन-तीन दिन के लिए जमा करके उनको सिखाना। इसके अलग-अलग पहलू। कुछ समझ जायें। उनमें से बाज़ लोग ज़्यादा लम्बा कोर्स लें महीने का, लेकिन सब लोगों को कुछ समझना है। तो जित्ता वो सीखेंगे, उतना जल्दी ही उसमें कामयाब होंगे। अवश्य कामयाब होंगे, होने ही हैं। लेकिन अक्सर लोग बग़ैर सोचे-समझे कर देते हैं। तब फँस जाते हैं और ज़ाहिर है सफलता उसमें पूरी नहीं होती।

तो इस ढंग से इन कामों को करना है। पक्के ढंग से, मज़बूती से। एक-एक क़दम मज़बूत करके दूसरा क़दम उठाना। और मुझे कोई शक नहीं है कि इससे सारे हमारे देहात का, गाँव का रूप बदल जायेगा। ख़ाली खेती में अधिक लाभ हो, वो तो होवेगा ही, लेकिन सारा रूप बदल जायेगा, शक्ति बदल जायेगी, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि देहात के लोग शहरों में भागे-भागे आयें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि देहात में शहर के आराम हल्के-हल्के हों। शहर की चीज़ें हों। सब तो नहीं हो सकतीं, लेकिन बहुत कुछ हों। और इस तरह से हमारे गाँव बढ़ें।

तो मैंने कुछ कोशिश की आपको इसको समझाने की। यह कहानी-क़िस्से तो बहुत लम्बे-चौड़े हैं, भारत में क्या-क्या हो रहा है, कहाँ तक आपको मैं बताऊँ। लेकिन कुछ आप सोचें कि कितने तरफ़ भारत ने जो हमारी ग़रीबी का और लाइल्मी के अँधेरे हैं कितने चिराग़ जल रहे हैं चारों तरफ़, लैम्प जल रहे हैं रोशनी फैलाने के और हल्के-हल्के रोशनी होती है। हल्के-हल्के रोशनी रास्ते दिखाती है। लेकिन ये सब मेहनत की बातें हैं, परिश्रम की बातें हैं आरामतलब क्रौम नहीं कर सकती ये। और इस वक़्त दुनिया में जिस मुल्क को आप देखें, चाहे वो कम्युनिस्ट हो, साम्यवादी हो, समाजवादी हो, पूँजीवादी हो, आप देखेंगे, बड़ी मेहनत करते हैं। जर्मनी में बड़ी मेहनत करने वाले जर्मन हैं। रूस में बड़ी मेहनत करने वाले हैं। जापान में, पूँजीवादी देश है, बड़ी मेहनत करते हैं। चीन साम्यवादी है, बड़ी मेहनत करते हैं। मेहनत से बढ़ता है सब लोगों में और यह भी न समझिए इत्ता बड़ा फ़र्क़ है साम्यवाद, समाजवाद और पूँजीवाद में, फ़र्क़ तो है, लेकिन अगर किसी बड़े कारख़ाने में आप जायें रूस में, फ़र्क़ करो लोहे के कारख़ाने में और अमरीका में तो आप बहुत फ़र्क़ नहीं देखेंगे। उसी ढंग से वही मशीनें वहाँ चल रही हैं, वही मशीनें वहाँ। आप यहाँ पढ़ते हैं कॉलेज में तो आपने कभी सुना है कि कोई कम्युनिस्ट कैमिस्ट्री है और कोई कैपिटलिस्ट जियोलोजी है। वो तो नहीं है। साइन्स, विज्ञान, इल्म, कम्युनिस्ट और कैपिटलिस्ट नहीं होता। हाँ, उससे आप नतीजे निकाल सकते हैं इधर-उधर के। वो सब इत्ता मिला-जुला है, हम समझते हैं कि बस हम कम्युनिस्ट हो गये या सोशलिस्ट हो गये तो हमने सब हल कर दिये सवाल। वो तो कुछ भी नहीं हल किया आपने। वो तो सिर्फ़ यह है कि आपका दिमाग़ एक तरफ़ झुका है। इन दोनों बातों में 90 फ़ीसदी तो कॉमन है, रशिया में और अमरीका में। मेहनत में और सीखने में और मेहनत में ख़ासकर। हाँ, दस फ़ीसदी है जिधर, इधर-उधर वो फिरते हैं ओर नये रास्ते लेते हैं। तो हम तो पहले ही दर्जे

पर हैं। तो उसको हमें समझना है, लेना है।

क़रीब डेढ़ घण्टा मैं आपसे बोला। माफ़ कीजिएगा, आपका वक़्त लिया इत्ता। अब जी चाहता है जब इत्ते भाइयों को देखता हूँ वहनों को, कि बहुत सारे दिल में विचार हैं, वो आपके सामने रखूँ। लेकिन अब कहाँ तक दिल के जज़्बात और वलवले आपके सामने रखूँ। आपका वक़्त लूँ। आप भी थक जायें और और सब थक जायें। फिर भी यहाँ आ कर (कोई बीच में बोलता है) अरे, अरे, अरे। तो फिर आप मेरे साथ जय हिन्द तीन बार कहिए। जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

The King of Nepal had come here and laid the foundation stone of the Barrage.⁹⁵ Tomorrow is another momentous day in the history of Bihar and India because the bridge on the Ganga at Mokameh connecting the north and the south Bihar has been completed. I shall go there also.⁹⁶ But Sri Babu⁹⁷ said very rightly that I have not come here merely to see the Kosi or the bridge on the Ganga, though they are important enough for a visit. But there has been a load on my mind for the past few days. Sri Babu has talked in sorrowful words about the incidents which took place in Sitamarhi and Akhta.⁹⁸ When these events occurred, I was at the tip of India in the South, around Rameshwaram and Kanya Kumari and the rural areas in that area. I did not get the full report until I got back and learned that there were incidents in Sitamarhi, Akhta, Bhopal,⁹⁹ and in Mubarakpur in Uttar Pradesh¹⁰⁰ which perturbed me deeply. We can fight against an external danger or enemy and I would not normally be perturbed by it. After all, I have behind me the experience of over fifty years and seen a great many ups and downs in that time. But the problem is how to treat a weakness, a malaise, which is within us? External disorders can be treated. But when in the midst of one's preoccupations with India's progress and the five year plans, etc., events of this nature occur, I begin to wonder about the age in which we are living. Are we sure that we are not victims of some deception? After all, this is the twentieth century and the thirteenth year of our Independence and we seem to be living in some primitive and backward age of ignorance.

95. See fn 87 in this section.

96. See fn 88 in this section.

97. See fn 89 in this section.

98. See fn 90 in this section.

99. See fn 91 in this section.

100. See fn 92 in this section.

The fact is that no matter what plans we make—and we are making many plans and implementing them successfully too—if the root, the foundation itself is weak, the edifice cannot stand firm for too long. I do not mean to say that the foundation has been weakened all over the country. But then why should our people get carried away and follow the wrong path? The peasants of Bihar are good, strong human beings for whom I have great respect. Why do they get carried away? Why does the atmosphere suddenly turn sour? There is some weakness in us and perhaps the biggest battle before us is to get rid of this weakness. Whom should I criticise? An enquiry will be done and there are reports in the newspapers. I am not so bothered about whose fault it is as why such an atmosphere is created in which people are led astray and kill their own brothers. It is very wrong.

Then I think of the time when we saw all this happening on a very large scale and how we succeeded in overcoming it. Immediately after Independence, in the wake of Partition, we saw terrible things happening in front of our eyes, in Pakistan and in North India. But we faced the situation and brought it under control. We saw our greatest leader, the architect of new India and her freedom, fall to a bullet fired by a Hindu lad. Can there be a bigger shock than this to the nation? And yet, we were immediately sobered by the thought that we could not allow our sadness and stupidity to overcome us. We had to face the situation calmly which we did, that is, the people of India, and brought it under control. I do not mean that all our weaknesses disappeared. But we progressed step by step and succeeded in bringing under control our inner weaknesses.

So, when another sore or boil erupts on the body politic, it makes one sad for it is a reminder that there is still a malady somewhere inside which manifests itself in these ways. This is a malaise which can render all our other efforts to nought, including the hard work that we the people of India are putting in.

Therefore, as Sri Babu said, this is a warning to us to be vigilant and not mistake an outward calm as an indication that everything is normal. We must try to reach out to our brothers; they may be peasants in the villages or others in the cities and remove the fear and bitterness from their hearts. The best effort can be made by one's own behaviour and cooperation. I am not bothered much about who the culprits are; this is barbarism. We talk very self-righteously and yet we are capable of such barbarity that we cannot hold up our heads before the world. You may not actually strike a blow. But all of us are guilty because perhaps our efforts have not been undertaken with enough determination. How are we to atone for this? How do we get rid of our weakness? That is our foremost task today.

There are many young people in this meeting today. Their whole life lies before them at a time when India is on the march towards progress. There are

innumerable difficulties and problems and yet India is growing and developing. It is the youth of today who must carry the burden of that and then grow and develop along with the country. But such incidents can bring all progress to a halt which will benefit no one. It is not as though the whole thing can be brushed aside as a foolish whim on the part of some village or the other or by blaming the people who instigated the whole thing. We have to face the situation with determination. This is my appeal to the youth in particular, because their entire future depends on whether this malaise is rooted out or eats away into the vitals of our society.

There are other, older maladies, too, in our society, particularly in Bihar, like the caste system which I have mentioned before. The caste system is extremely pernicious and has affected our political life adversely. It is totally out of place in modern times. You can see a glorious new world opening up before you. I am aware of the problems which the youth of today face. The millions of young boys and girls emerging out of colleges face the problem of unemployment.

Yet, I would like to tell you one thing, or in fact, several things. Some days ago, the president of the students' union of one university told me or rather one of our leaders there, in fact, our Vice-President, that there was nothing except disappointment and frustration in their lives because all the doors were closed. So, the Vice-President told him that they should pause and think about the time fifty years ago when he was of their age and what the situation in India was at that time. Just pause and consider this? I am not talking about the freedom movement for that was a good thing. But what were the avenues which were open to the youth of India fifty years ago or forty, thirty or even twenty years ago? Now, innumerable avenues are opening up all over the country and the sky is the limit. Yes, there are problems and difficulties, I agree. But if you examine them carefully, you will find that they are all part and parcel of a growing, changing nation. They are the difficulties of progress. If you remain in the situation in which India was twenty or thirty years ago, then strangely your difficulties would not increase, that is you would not feel them, because if we decide to remain stuck in the mire then, except that the mire may feel bad, you are free of the trials and tribulations which accompany walking and running. What we are facing now are the dangers of walking and running, of slipping and falling and at such a juncture when the world, too, is full of pitfalls. .

So, just think and compare what it was like twenty or thirty or ten years ago. I do not claim that governments in India, whether they are in Delhi or Patna or elsewhere do not make mistakes. We make innumerable mistakes as any other government in power is bound to do. But we have to bear in mind the direction in which we are going and the outlook and the strength which back

our efforts. What must be seen is whether the path that we are following is the right one or not. Then everyone has the right to point out the mistakes.

The five year plans are being implemented. The resolutions passed at Nagpur were mentioned. In order to have an idea of what has been happening in India during the last ten or twelve years since we became free and what our hopes and aspirations are, you have to delve into these issues, not in superficial matters. People travel a great deal in India these days, farmers and students, workers, professors visit various parts of India in special trains, and see what is happening in the country. They visit old places of pilgrimage as well as the new ones which are not religious in character but symbols of national progress, to Bhakra, Damodar valley, our big industries and plants, to our community development schemes, etc. Thousands of people come from outside, too, to see what is happening in India. I am not talking of the ordinary tourist. There is no doubt that there is ferment in India, in the outlook and thinking of the people and India is definitely on the march. Perhaps we may not move as fast as we would like to. But we are certainly on the move.

I do not like to make comparisons with other countries, but if you look around, you will find a vast difference between what is happening in other countries and what we have achieved in India during these ten, twelve years. In short, what I want to tell you is that India and the forty crore human beings who live in India have embarked on a long and arduous journey. They have been shaken up from their slumber and are now on the move. They try to run at times and stumble and fall, but the caravan of India is definitely on the move and no matter what difficulties may arise, nobody can stop us now. In a sense, there is not one, but many goals before us, and the moment we reach one, we will be off towards the next. There is no final destination in a nation's progress. The road to freedom was a long and arduous one and the shining goal was of freedom alone. We seldom paid attention to anything else then. Anyhow, we reached that goal. But the moment we did so, we found that we had to embark on yet another journey, a more arduous and a longer journey this time. So, we set forth once more, for there was no time for rest or relaxation.

The youth of today may have only read about those times for they have had no opportunity to experience it in person. It was a glorious period, the last fifty-sixty years before freedom and our great leader Mahatma Gandhi led us through many ups and downs. There was no saying when we would succeed. But we kept going, in spite of all odds because there was pride in our hearts. It is not a very good word. Pride about what? We were proud because we were engaged in great tasks. It was nothing personal. We had to hold on to that pride. No youth in these days would have said, as they do today that the future was dark. Our future was to try to take part in the freedom struggle, unmindful of the

consequences and so our minds and hearts were full of a great passion but a determined calm too. We had nothing to worry about because we were convinced that we were embarked on a great task, the task of uplifting India's millions and of winning freedom. When human beings are engaged in great tasks, they grow in stature while those who are preoccupied with petty issues and quarrels, remain small in stature.

There can be no greater challenge today than to participate in the task of uplifting India's millions and taking the country towards progress. On the other hand, we have the task of getting rid of the caste system and the habit of quarrelling in the name of religion. I am amazed that on the one hand we are capable of great effort and on the other, we allow ourselves to get bogged down by petty quarrels and feuds. Look at the strange combination of wisdom and folly in our country.

However, I would like to remind you of where we are going. You hear or shout slogans about socialism, communism, Gandhism and capitalism and what not. Lengthy resolutions are passed by the students advising what the world and India ought to do. It is a good thing to advise others but it is even better to counsel oneself and act upon one's own advice. To do so means taking on responsibility, which is not the case when you advise others. If you read the history of our freedom struggle, when Gandhiji suddenly appeared on the Indian political scene like a great, shining star in the firmament, dwarfing all others, we were all shaken to the core. It was as though an earthquake had hit us. Yet, It came in the form of a soft voice, a gentle and mild manner, still, it was an earthquake which shook up millions of human beings. At that time, the only party to speak of was the Congress, the others were there merely in name, and it was the habit of the members of the Congress to pass lengthy resolutions. In the beginning, it was a very timid organisation which behaved very circumspectly with the British Government. Gradually, its voice became more resonant. There was a split between the moderates and the extremists and gradually as the Congress grew in strength, its voice became firmer. But even at the height of its outspokenness, the Congress limited its efforts to making demands of the British Government. It met once a year and presented a list of demands and then the members went home. But this had no special impact on others. When Gandhiji came on the scene, he said right at the beginning that passing resolutions is all wrong. Instead of making statements, we must ask ourselves what we can do. When Gandhiji asked this of us, I was of course a boy, our elders had no specific answer because nobody had thought of it in that light. They only knew how to pass resolutions.

So Gandhiji said that there was no need to adopt stringent resolutions; what was necessary was to declare what you would do. We were already clear

in our minds that freedom was our goal. But it was more difficult to say what steps we would take to achieve that goal because nobody had thought about it. Well, as you know, it was Gandhiji who came up with the answers. That is a matter of history now, the non-cooperation and civil disobedience movements, satyagraha, etc. Those were ideas which demanded action, not the passing of resolutions. It meant practising what we preached which in turn meant also bearing the consequences of one's actions. Gandhiji trained the nation slowly, painfully over a period of twenty, thirty years. He did not give long speeches, but taught by precept and let experience and the demands of circumstances mould the people. He was a stern schoolmaster for the people of India. If anyone strayed ever so slightly, he had no hesitation in calling a sudden halt to an entire movement all over the country. Millions were halted in their tracks, because a handful had committed a mistake. Those of us who were young used to get very agitated and angry. But we began to realise gradually what he did was right, after all. His aim was not merely to get rid of British rule; he knew that they could not be frightened into leaving. He also knew that the British Government will not weaken if a few Englishmen were killed. If it were a matter of killing, the British Government had more powerful weapons of violence. We had lathis and they had guns, and to our pistols, they had benguns and stenguns and what not. Therefore, it was foolish to challenge them about something where they were stronger. They would not have run away in fear. Nor could they be induced to leave by our passing resolutions? Therefore, something else was needed. So Gandhiji came up with a practical programme of action.

I can still remember the occasions when he first formulated his views. I would sit in a corner and watch the impact he made on our older leaders. They were great leaders, intelligent and full of courage. But they were confronted with a new idea and it is not always easy for anyone to grasp a new idea except in cases like mine where in a fit of enthusiasm and foolish disregard of consequences I would jump into the fray. But they were wise people who used to think of the consequences and what the whole thing would mean, whether India's millions would accept it or not. These were the question marks in their minds.

Anyhow, gradually, the curtain rose on this great drama being enacted in India and new scenes were played out. Gradually, the old and the young alike, particularly the millions of human beings in India were educated and trained by their experience, not by shouting slogans or book learning. As I told you, that experience included going to jail and facing bullets, too, but also calling a sudden halt when a mistake was made.

I was in the Lucknow Jail when the Chauri Chaura incident took place in a

small village of Uttar Pradesh, where a bunch of farmers attacked a police station in anger and burnt it. Seven or eight policemen were also burnt to death. We were all agreed that it was a bad thing to have happened. But when we heard that Gandhiji had called a halt to our entire movement, all fifty thousand of us living in various jails in India were filled with anger. He was asking us to stop at the height of the movement. We were all perturbed that we should be paying for no fault of ours. Later on when we thought about it, we realised that Gandhiji's main aim was to train the people of India, to mould their character and emotions. He did not train a handful of people in an ashram but India's millions at one stroke. I feel that there is no other example in history of an entire population of a huge nation like ours, being trained in a political movement successfully. We were no angels and so we may not always have learnt our lesson fully. Yet, it was truly a miracle that we were trained in this manner.

I am trying to show you that it was Gandhiji who led us to freedom. We were ordinary soldiers in his army. It was he who trained the people and got them to work. He taught us not only the spirit of sacrifice though that had to be done of course. But it had to be backed by hard work and effort. If you were to ask me what his greatest lesson was, for he taught us many important lessons, it was to be fearless, because so long as there is fear in one's heart, it is bound to lead one to tell lies. I did not always understand everything that Gandhiji talked about and even now I cannot understand them. But one thing that I understood quite clearly was that Gandhiji had no fear in his heart. I have never seen a man anywhere in the world so completely fearless and full of courage as he. He succeeded in passing on some of his courage and fearlessness to us weak mortals in India, to India's millions. So, India became a fearless nation. Although it was a nation in bondage, a poor nation growing under great hardships, but it was fearless and its head was held high. If such magic is possible, Gandhiji wrought that magic.

These pictures come before my mind's eye and then I look at the present when most of our shackles have been removed and we are free. Thousands of new avenues and professions have opened up before the youth. One of the biggest professions is the armed forces, air force, and navy. During the days of British rule, no Indian could hope to become an officer. Today you can go up to the highest posts. We are advancing in the field of science. Huge industries are coming up. Then there is the diplomatic service. We have missions all over the world, manned by Indian young men and women. New tasks are coming up and new avenues are opening up everywhere. It is obvious that this is how India can progress. It is no secret that the problem of India's poverty has not been brought under control and nor will it be done immediately. It will take time. We will have to work hard to do it. But we will do it without any doubt. It

requires hard work, not merely slogans and noise.

On the one hand, so many new avenues are opening up and the highest offices are there before you if you have the capability. It is not a question of passing examinations in some university. Many people do that. But fewer people come out with flying colours in the examination of life because it is tougher. You cannot pass by repeating lessons by rote or doing something for immediate benefit. It requires preparation of one's character and courage throughout one's life and moulding oneself physically and mentally in order to pass the test of life. We are now embarked on the task of leading India to progress. It is unparalleled in the history of the world that millions of human beings should march together, shoulder to shoulder, towards a single goal. It gladdens one's heart to be part of this great drama. If you think of yourself as a soldier in this vast army, you will gain courage. No task is unimportant, for they are all part of a larger design. So, no matter what profession or occupation you are in, whether you are a farmer, carpenter, worker in a steel plant or something else, if you bring the right spirit to it, it becomes a national task, not something by which you earn your living. If you are a worker in a steel plant, you must bear in mind that steel plants are an important part of the five year plans. We are investing hundreds of crores of rupees on them. Why is a poor country like ours doing this at such great expense? We are doing it because our entire future depends on our production of steel and other essential goods.

Therefore, the worker in the steel plant must think of himself as a soldier fighting a great battle which is being waged against India's poverty. The farmer too must think of it in that light. Nobody is merely earning a living but everyone is embarked upon a great journey towards progress and development. For those of you who are in universities and schools and colleges, your entire life is before you. Are you so lacking in spirit that your ambition in life is limited to getting a job as a deputy collector or something else? Is this the extent of your pride in yourself? If you have pride and ambition, it should be a large ambition. Then you will go far. I do not mean something like aspiring to be deputy collector. They may be good gentlemen and do good work in their own place. But it is not a great ambition to want to become a petty government servant, a deputy collector or tehsildar or something else. If they get the job, they should do their best. But it is a nobler ambition to take a small plot of land and produce twenty maunds of wheat in place of the usual ten maunds per acre. It immediately becomes a task which is directly linked to India's progress.

A prime minister of England once said that the man who splits can augment productivity benefits the world. What it means is that the human being who through his effort and intelligence produces something benefits the world. What does production mean? You have moneylenders who may be good people. But

they do not increase the wealth of the world, because money lending merely implies transferring money from one pocket to another. So, they do not benefit the world in any noticeable way even if they become millionaires themselves. But the farmer who produces two blades of grass, or of wheat from one certainly does the world some good. It is the product of his skill, effort and intelligence; he has not merely transferred money from one pocket to another.

We must no doubt have a grasp of the great issues like socialism, communism and what not. But along with that we must always bear in mind is that we have to work in Indian conditions. We can certainly benefit by reading about things which happened in the United States, Germany, England or the Soviet Union. We have a great deal to learn from all that. But we must always remember the fact that we have to work in India for the people of India and to suit the Indian conditions of the present, not of some bygone age in England or somewhere else. Those days are over in England and for us too. We have the task of making two out of one blade of grass, two stalks from one stalk of wheat, two or three or four out of one of everything, we have the task of increasing production in India because that is ultimately the only way to fight poverty. It cannot be done by transferring wealth from one pocket to another.

It is often felt that a handful of people are very rich which should not be allowed. That is only partly true, not entirely so. It is right in the sense that in the kind of society that we wish to build, there ought not to be too much disparity between the haves and the have-nots. Some natural differences are bound to exist because human beings differ in physique, intellect, etc. But the disparity must not be too glaring. Our goal is to build a society on these lines. But if our first step is to ignore the merit and intelligence of the man with more brains or cut off somebody's head to make him equal to someone else in height, we will be creating an obstacle in the path of the nation's progress. You will only be distributing poverty. Of what use would that be? We want to distribute wealth and to make the people well off and prosperous. So we have to think carefully before we take any steps. We must be able to reach the desired goals and not do something merely in the bitterness of one's heart for that would do more harm than good.

Therefore, we have to be clear in our minds that no matter which ideology we wish to adopt, the important thing is to increase the national wealth. Wealth does not mean gold and silver; they are just tools of trade. What we produce from land and in factories or through special skills, constitute the wealth of a nation and the more we produce, the wealthier India will become.

The United States of America is extremely wealthy not because of the accumulated wealth of the past but what they produce every year by way of essential consumer goods. Their capacity for production is enormous. Two

factors are responsible for this. One, they are extremely hard working people. Two, they have taken full advantage of science and the hidden forces of nature. They have been able to harness those energies through the medium of science and utilise them for their own benefit. Electricity is a force of nature, not some magic. Electricity can be produced by anyone with a little training. When great masses of it are produced by propelling the turbines with the fast flowing river waters, it becomes hydroelectric power. Thermal power is produced by burning coal. Steam is yet another ordinary force of nature which has been used to run rail engines.

Europe has advanced greatly by using science to their own advantage and controlling the forces of nature. You would have read about the genii in the Arabian Nights and what they could do when captured. Today, mankind has captured the biggest genii in nature by grasping the secret of producing electricity, steam power, atomic energy, etc. They have made the West extremely powerful and affluent. Their means of production have multiplied and enormous quantities of goods are produced every year. This is what we must also do through the medium of science and hard work.

Firstly, you must understand quite clearly that we cannot achieve these things by shouting slogans. Do you know when socialism first made its appearance in this world? It happened when, with the help of science, Europe became industrialised. Once production increased, the question of its distribution arose. After all it was not a question of distributing poverty.

So, the most urgent priority before us, too, is to produce more wealth, more goods in every conceivable way. The second question is that of distribution of that wealth. Should the new wealth remain in the pockets of a few or should it be distributed among the people? This is where ideologies like socialism and communism came up. It is absolutely right that we must have a system of equitable distribution of wealth. The structure of society must be such that everyone can earn more or less equal wages for equal amount of work done. But the first priority is to increase production by taking advantage of science. Unless we do that, we will continue to be caught in the vicious circle of working extremely hard with very little tangible returns. Electricity is measured in terms of horsepower—100 horsepower, 1000 horsepower, ten lakh horsepower. There are no horses in reality. That is merely a term. But what it means is that with the help of one machine you can do the work of a thousand men. It immediately raises the capacity of the country a hundredfold.

I was recently in Rajasthan where we are experimenting with a farm of twenty five thousand acres of land to see what can be grown in a desert.¹⁰¹

101. See fn 93 in this section.

There are some facilities for irrigation now. But earlier there were very few farmers working there. We have set up huge machines on an experimental basis because workers were scarce. The moment there was water for irrigation, it did great good all around. A small 'V' shaped machine five feet in width at the top was used to build irrigation channels. It digs at the rate of two miles an hour and the channel was ready to be used. Nothing more needs to be done. In eight hours, it could dig sixteen miles of channel. It has been calculated that in terms of manpower, it was equal to the work of three thousand men per day. It is obvious as to how the West has advanced so rapidly with the help of science.

We must take advantage of science if we wish to progress. It is said that machines make human beings redundant, which is true. We must guard against that. However, it is only partly true. It is true in the sense that suppose a textile mill comes up somewhere, it may put the weavers out of work. We do not want that to happen. But the fact of the matter is that if we use machines wisely the work will be accelerated, not reduced and the proof of this is that in the industrialised countries of the world there is no unemployment. There are innumerable avenues of employment. It is bound to happen in India, too?

How are we to go about this? Take agriculture, for instance. I do not know what the average yield per acre of wheat or rice in Bihar is. Perhaps it would be ten maunds. That is the national average in India, whereas it is twenty-thirty maunds in other countries. Just imagine, it is thrice or four times as much as ours. If we too can increase our average yield to twenty maunds, India's wealth will immediately double. The farmer stands to gain and the nation is richer. There will be a surplus to invest in development. It is not very difficult to double production, because wherever we have made an effort, it has been achieved. I was in Allahabad recently at a kisan rally where a poor ordinary kurmi farmer got up and said that he had produced fifty maunds of wheat from an acre of land. I was surprised and when I asked the others, they said it had been done in many places. Then I went around to all the nearby villages and gave prizes to those who had produced more than the average.¹⁰² In every village we found farmers who had produced forty, forty five, fifty maunds of wheat per acre. They were just ordinary farmers with no tractors or other facilities. It is possible that they may have used fertilizers, good seeds and built irrigation channels, etc. It was a question of working hard and using one's intelligence.

Our Indian farmers are strong and tough, but they have got into a rut from which they have to come out. I am sure they will in due course. Then we need

102. See fn 94 in this section.

to set up industries, because far too many people are dependent on land and we need to open up new avenues of employment. We must set up cottage industries, big, medium and small industries.

If we want to set up industries, we need machines. Where are we to get them from? We cannot afford to keep importing them from other countries, because it is an enormous drain on our resources. If we want to set up industries in India, we will have to make the machines ourselves which means that we must set up machine manufacturing industries. We are already making small machines. But we need huge industries like the steel plants which require an investment of a hundred crore rupees. We have to spend a hundred crore on importing machines for the steel plant. Therefore, we must start building them ourselves. The money will then remain within the country and small, ancillary industries will come up which will provide employment to millions of people and new wealth will be produced. But everything comes around once again to the question as to where we are to get the money to set up heavy industries. After all, our resources are limited to what we are able to save out of the national income. For instance, if an individual earns two hundred rupees and his expenditure is also two hundred, he will remain where he is. If the expenditure exceeds the income, he will go bankrupt. But if you are able to save twenty five rupees, you can make some progress by investing it in some profitable venture like the postal savings scheme or by buying some shares or something else which would benefit you as well as the country.

A nation's progress is in direct proportion to the surplus that is available for development. Let me give you a small prescription. The more a nation saves, the more it will benefit. If it is frittered away uselessly, then it will have nothing to show for it. That means that all of us must make an effort to save. You have to pay taxes and whatever is left over from the expenditure on education, road-building, health care and administration must be invested in development. The government floats public loans which is a form of saving for you. It will come in useful, later. In the meantime, your capital earns interest and helps the nation progress.

In short, we come round to the same thing—the need to increase production. We must generate new income and try to save a great deal so that there is a greater impetus to progress. Once it gathers momentum, it will on its own steam go on as it happens in the West now. There is so much of wasteful expenditure in the United States and yet they have large surpluses which they invest in their development. The Soviet Union too, after forty years of privation and hardship, has reached the take-off point from where their production soars. They have large surpluses in spite of the heavy expenditure on their space programme and what not.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that we must increase production in every possible way from land and industries, etc. We can get the capital for new industries only from our agricultural production. We must save enough after consumption to be able to put up new industries. So our first priority must be to increase agricultural production. That is extremely important. It is essential in any case because it would be strange to have food shortages in a predominantly agricultural country like India. How can we progress? We have to be self-sufficient in food. But that is not enough. We must have a surplus in order to invest it in other tasks of development.

Take Bihar, for instance. Bihar is a completely agricultural province with its own good as well as bad points. There is great poverty too. Unless a predominantly agricultural country adopts the latest techniques of production, it is bound to remain poor. There is no doubt about it. But a nation cannot become rich even if it continues to depend solely on agriculture. There is no doubt about that, too. As you know, new heavy industries have been set up in one corner of Bihar. More will come up because in this state you are lucky to have large deposits of iron ore and coal which are more valuable than gold and silver. It is iron and coal which led to the building up of the British Empire, made Germany and the United States so powerful and affluent during the last two centuries. The advanced countries owe their wealth and power to these two things because they are fundamental to all industries. It is a great thing that you possess this rich treasure-trove, it can lead to great progress.

However, agricultural production is extremely backward in Bihar, though the farmers are good and hard working. You must pay attention to improving it and lay stress on it and it cannot be done by giving long lectures. A farmer understands when he sees something which is obviously beneficial. You have to educate the farmer, demonstrate to him. There can be no progress without the spread of education. Every child in India must be educated. I am not talking merely about book learning. But education will make better farmers. And once they are a little educated, they must not be encouraged to go in search of white collar jobs. We want the people in the rural areas to be educated, so that they can improve their own condition, their agriculture; so that they as well as the nation as a whole can benefit. So, this has become very essential.

Two resolutions were passed in the Nagpur Session of the Congress. One is related to the five year plans. It is farsighted and deals with questions like what planning means in practice. Planning does not mean putting up industries here and there and constructing an irrigation canal. Planning involves having a broad vision of the future, a sense of the direction in which we wish to go and where will we be in, say, ten or twenty years' time. Every step has to be carefully measured so that it helps us to take the second and the third steps more easily.

It is a chain in which each step is linked to the next and leads the country to progress.

We want to set up industries. An ordinary individual with a little capital will think of setting up a factory for personal profit. So, he will set up something which yields the greatest profit. But in planning in the national interest, we cannot take any step which yields immediate profit only. We have to think of the future. There are not many individuals who will think in terms of investing 150 crore rupees without any hope of returns for some years to come. Nobody would dare to do so. But we put them up, because we have to take the future into account. We must take steps to ensure that what we do benefits the nation for the next 100 years or so. The entire picture changes, then. We know that we are investing 500 crore rupees in the three steel plants. If we had invested that money in small industries we would have reaped greater profit immediately. But there would be no progress if we do that. We are investing vast sums of money in the river valley projects, in the Damodar Valley and the Bhakra Nangal and in setting up national science laboratories, because science is the root of all progress. Forty crore Indians shouting slogans can do nothing. There is no greatness in mere numbers. A nation progresses through science, education and technology. Therefore, we have to promote a spirit of scientific enquiry and education. Every child must be given education whether we want to improve agriculture or progress in any other field. Bright young children can go on to colleges and universities.

I was telling you about the two resolutions passed at Nagpur. One related to planning and the Third Plan which we are already thinking about though there are two years more to go before it starts. It is a pretty complex matter. I want to tell you what the population of India is likely to be at the end of the Third Plan, in seven years time. It has been calculated that it will be forty eight crores. It is forty crores today. It is a terrible thing for the population to grow so rapidly because it increases the burden. In the last census, the population was thirty seven crores and in seven years time it will have grown to forty eight crores and will in time become sixty-seventy-eighty-ninety-hundred crores. A great deal of thought is being given to population control which has become a very urgent problem. That does not mean that nobody should have children. But families must be wisely planned and too many children ought not to be produced. It is no laughing matter. It is obvious that if the population continues to grow at this rate, the nation will be further impoverished. There is no doubt about that. We can never become affluent because the burden of feeding and clothing so many people, providing houses, health care and education for them will be too great a burden for the nation. It cannot be done. We will be dragged deeper into the mire of poverty.

Anyhow, we have to plan for forty-eight crore people. We have to produce enough food for forty-eight crore people, clothes houses and educational and health care facilities for them during the Third Plan. So it is not a question of doing some small things here and there, but of providing the basic necessities of life for forty eight crore people. They will have to be provided jobs. I do not mean that we will be able to solve all these problems within the next seven years. Perhaps we may not be able to. It may take a few years more. But these are the problems that we face.

We have to increase food production so that the additional eight crore human beings are covered. This is what planning is all about. On the one hand, we must increase agricultural production, food grains, and other raw material like sugar cane, cotton, jute. On the other hand, we need new industries and that is why we are putting up steel plants, for steel is very essential for industrialisation. We are also setting up industries which manufacture machines. We need power for all these things which we are trying to produce, hydroelectric as well as thermal power. We need coal for the thermal power plants. So you can see how one thing leads to another. To transport the coal which is mined, we have to build railroads and a network of roads.

So, you will find that one thing is linked to the other which is why planning is an extremely complicated process. Ultimately, the most important component of planning is a human being. Steel and other things apart, it is man who does the work. So we need trained and skilled human beings. People with a B.A. and M.A. degree may be educated, but what we need is human beings with training in other fields. It takes six-seven years to put up a steel plant but twenty years to train the manager who can run it, because he needs education, training and experience. It takes four or five years even to train an ordinary worker.

So, the most difficult thing is to train human beings. We face a problem of stringency of financial resources. But the problem of training human beings is even more difficult. When we plan, we have to take into account all these things, the number of engineers, carpenters and ironsmiths that we need and how many in which phase, etc. I can tell you how many trained people we need to set up a steel plant or a river valley project. Then they have to be trained in advance, because we cannot bring everything to a standstill due to lack of trained personnel. All these things have to be taken into account. We may make mistakes in our calculations. That is a different matter. But this is how it has to be done.

Another aspect of planning is that we are still mired in poverty and the population is growing very fast. If national wealth increases by two per cent, and so does the country's population it means that the surplus is wiped out and nothing is left over for progress. So, we have to increase production by more than two per cent. We have to take some steps to alleviate the misery and hardship

of the people, particularly in the rural areas. They must be provided with some amenities; we have to allocate a part of our resources for other things like education and health care. If you put that at two per cent, it adds up to six per cent which means that our national wealth should increase at the rate of six per cent per annum. It is difficult, but we have to do it. If we fail to do this, then our wealth will be submerged by our growing population. There can be no development. That is why all these calculations and statistics are necessary. There comes a time in the life of every nation when production increases and the take-off point is reached from where it can take a flying leap out of the mire of poverty. We want to pit all our strength into doing that so that the pace of progress gets accelerated. We can see the result of progress for ourselves. The slower our rate of progress, the more time it will take. That is the strange thing. Therefore, it is very essential that we should step up our efforts during the Third Plan to bring the problem of poverty under control. I do not say that we will become very rich, but at least the pace of progress will be such that we can extricate ourselves from the depths of poverty.

Now, I cannot go into greater details. But I want you to think carefully about what I have said. These are not merely some random steps, doing something here and something there. Planning requires careful thought at every stage. The resolution at Nagpur was on the Third Plan, because what it all boils down to is that we have to put in greater effort. Some people feel that the time has now come to relax or work less or that the Third Plan should be less elaborate than the Second. All this is absolutely wrong. If we relax even a little, we will be finished. India will be ruined and can never hope to emerge from the abyss of poverty. That is why the Third Plan has to be more ambitious than the Second so that production can be doubled at the end of it. Only then can we hope to bring the problem of poverty under some control and lay the foundations of an accelerated rate of growth. These are some of the things mentioned in the Nagpur Resolution.

The other resolution was concerned with land tenure in the rural areas. As you know, we have adopted the community projects and national extension service in the rural areas. It has spread to three lakh villages so far all over the country and there has been a marked improvement in them. We are aware that India can progress only if its villages progress. The growth and development in the urban areas is superficial compared to that. There can be progress in the rural areas if three things are present, a strong panchayat, a cooperative society and, obviously, a school. There are panchayats in the villages but they must be given greater autonomy and widen powers. I am aware that people in the panchayats often quarrel over petty issues; there is factionalism and what not. But they must be given wider powers because that is the only way they can

learn. The official interference must be minimal. I am prepared to accept that the members of the panchayats will make mistakes, stumble and fall occasionally or bear some losses. But that is how they will learn. I do not want that there should be any obstacle to their gaining experience because of too much official interference.

It would mean a greater delegation of responsibility to the panchayats. The other thing which has led to heated debates is the question of cooperative societies. I am amazed that people should oppose something which has been adopted by farmers all over the world. You will find agricultural cooperatives in all the developed countries of the world. It is a known fact that rich farmers can afford many improvements to their lands which small farmers with their land holding of a few acres cannot. They cannot take advantage of the improved techniques of farming nor do they have the upper hand in the matter of buying and selling of their produce because they are groaning under heavy debts to the traders and middle men. All this is wrong. The new cooperative societies give credit, too, which is all right. But we want them to take on other tasks now. They should handle all the financial transactions related to farming. That includes buying seeds and fertilizers and good ploughs, and to make arrangements for selling their produce. That will ensure that the middle man does not make way all the profit. There will be no need for intermediaries. The farmers must get the full benefit.

These are known as service cooperatives so that the profit as well as the loss is their own. But more important than all this is that when all the families in a village get together to do something for their mutual benefit, they acquire a new strength which nobody can suppress. They will make progress and buy and sell at profitable rates. This has been happening all over the world. There is no room for argument. Only the ignorant and the willfully stupid people will oppose this. I am amazed when obviously educated people say such things. The second thing that we have said is that once the service cooperatives are formed, the next step should be to take up joint farming. That does not mean that their right to land will be taken away. Their ownership rights will remain and the profits will be shared on the basis of the area of land owned. I have no doubt that if joint farming is taken up, production will immediately go up and everyone will stand to gain. For one thing, in small land-holdings, a lot of land is wasted in the boundaries. But that is a minor thing. More importantly, in joint farming, new scientific techniques can be adopted which a small farmer on his own cannot do. He lacks the capacity to do so. Thirdly, and most important of all, joint farming will gradually inculcate the habit of cooperation which will benefit the country as a whole. They will be able to cooperate in other areas of village life like running schools, setting up small industries and in a

thousand different ways which a simple farmer cannot do singly.

This is a simple, straightforward thing. There are two things to be remembered though. One, there is no question of coercion about joint farming. There can be no coercion in cooperation. It has to be taken up willingly by them. We want to explain to the people and gain their consent. But the question does not arise immediately. The first step is service cooperatives and after two or three years, the people can be induced to take the next step. Even now anybody who wants, it is free to take up joint farming. There is no obstacle to that. But there is no pressure from our side. I think even now there are more than a thousand places in India where joint farming is done. It has to come in due course. But I cannot understand why it should be open to arguments. It is a straightforward principle which raises the social organisation of the farmers to a higher plane. Cooperative style of organisation is considered to be high class. It provides an entirely new outlook and mental training to the nation.

Well, I have talked briefly to you. Much can be said on the subject. The other thing to be borne in mind is that cooperatives cannot be formed by mere wishful thinking. People will have to be trained to run them properly. Ignorant, untrained people cannot do it. Therefore, arrangements have to be made to train people in large numbers. Some of these will have to be given intensive training, especially those who will be in over all charge. They should be trained for a year or so in agricultural college. Others can be trained for six months. But for the majority a month's training should be enough. Apart from this the members of the panchayats should get together for two-three days to learn the various aspects of cooperation. Some of them can be given more intensive training. But everyone must understand the basic concept. The more training they get the more successful they will be. It is only when people go into it without careful thought that they get bogged down and fail.

So we must do all these things in a methodical manner, each step firmly leading to the next. I have no doubt that it will transform the rural areas completely. It will not only benefit agricultural production but transform the face of rural India as well. I do not want that people should run away from the rural areas to the cities. I want that the villages should also get the amenities of the city gradually, at least to the extent possible.

I have tried to explain a little about what we are trying to do. It is a long story. But I want you to really that in the great darkness of poverty and ignorance which surrounds India gradually a light is beginning to appear which shows the way. But it requires a great deal of hard work. An ease loving nation cannot do it. You will find that in all the developed nations of the world, irrespective of whether they are communist, socialist or capitalist, people are extremely hard working. That is so in Germany, Russia, Japan, China and elsewhere. You

must not think that the difference between the capitalist or socialist and communist countries is wide. There are differences but for instance, a steel plant in the Soviet Union or the United States will not be very different. The same kinds of machines operate in both. Have you ever heard of communist chemistry or capitalist geology? Science and knowledge know no ideologies. You can draw different conclusions, but all of them are closely related. We cannot hope to solve our problems by declaiming that we are communists or socialist. That is merely an indication of the inclination of your mind. Ninety per cent of the things are common to the Soviet Union and the United States. The ten per cent difference lies in the paths they choose. We are still very much at the first stage. We must understand that.

I have taken up nearly one and a half hours. You must forgive me. But when I see all of you assembled together, I want to share all my thoughts and emotions with you. But, after all, how long can I go on with it. You will all tire of it and everyone else as well. So, please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

(b) Press Conference

16. Press Conference¹⁰³

Prime Minister: Well, we shall begin now. I await your wishes. I want to go away by half past ten.

Subjects suggested by correspondents:

(1) Tibet.

Prime Minister: Yes, of course, of course, there is Tibet. That fills your mind or is there any other subject too.

(2) National Development Council.

Prime Minister: All right, yes.

(3) Master Tara Singh's visit to Delhi and his letters to you.¹⁰⁴

103. Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 5 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in JN Collection and extracts in File No. 17(18)/59-PMS.

104. For the Akali leader Tara Singh's letters and meeting with Nehru, see items 40-41, 43, 45, pp. 299-302, 304-306 and Appendices 4, 7 and 12, pp. 569-572, 577-580, 590-592.

Prime Minister: Someone there wanted to ask me a question about Tibet.

- (4) Mr Khrushchev's¹⁰⁵ invitation to Prime Minister.
- (5) U.P. Politics, resignation of Ministers.
- (6) East German Parliamentary Delegation.

Question: How did the news of the arrival of the Dalai Lama come to be announced from Peking before it was announced here?¹⁰⁶

You Said It

By LAXMAN



If you don't want to answer that question, your honour, shall we go on to the next?

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 10 APRIL 1959)

105. First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Prime Minister.

106. The Dalai Lama crossed into Indian territory on 31 March 1959. The Peking Radio had already announced it on 31 March. S. Dutt writes in his memoirs: "This announcement had taken the Foreign Office by surprise. It had arrived ahead of the message from our own frontier post. It was possible, we thought, that the Chinese authorities in Tibet had intercepted the wireless message from our frontier post since the message was in ordinary code and not in secret cipher. There were no facilities for the transmission in secret code from these posts." See *With Nehru In The Foreign Office* (Calcutta: Minerva, 1977) p. 151.

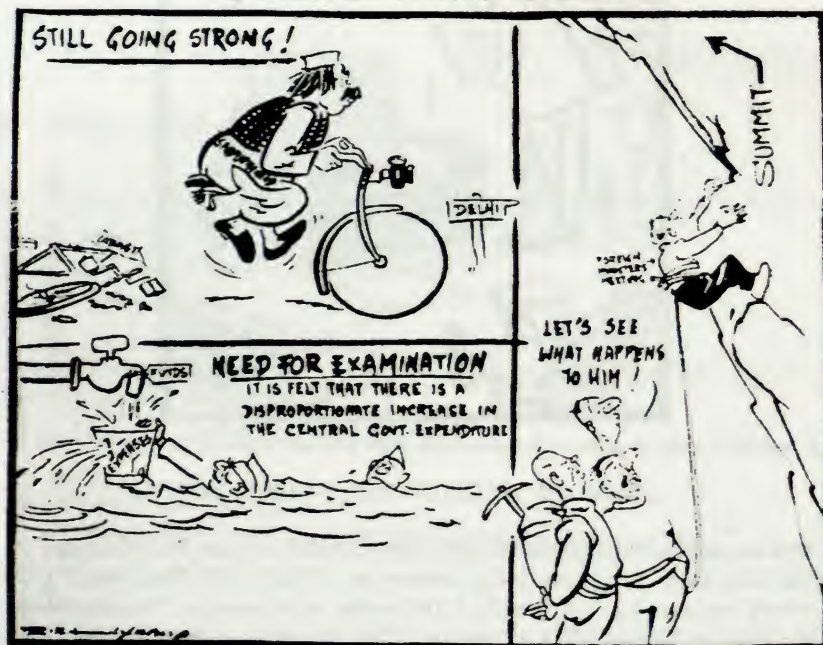
SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Prime Minister: I am afraid I cannot answer that question. Of course, we could have announced it today, before and certainly a day before and possibly a day and a half before; but among other reasons, one reason for our not announcing it then was security. We wanted to make adequate arrangements for security before we announced it.¹⁰⁷

Question: This question is important; because in our borders, is there spy activity going on our borders, otherwise how could they come to know that he crossed our border, even our own people were going to receive him, and people from Assam going to receive him. It has also been mentioned in the news reports.

Prime Minister: I cannot tell you because I do not know. I can guess if you like. I do not think any news could have got out from the border. That, I don't think it is conceivable. I don't say it is impossible but it is very unlikely.

Political Who's What



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 5 APRIL 1959)

107. The details were later given by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 3 April 1959. See item 107, pp. 435-437.

Question: Did it leak out from Delhi?

Prime Minister: That too seems very very unlikely. As a matter of fact, in Delhi for that brief period, a little before too, the secret was very well kept.

Question: It remained a secret only from Indians but the Chinese Agency got it and the Reuter also sent a telegram quoting diplomatic sources. Only we people did not know anything about it.

Prime Minister: No diplomatic sources. I think these are vague guesses based on an intelligent anticipation of what might happen. I believe the Reuters' first message was that he had gone to Bhutan. It was obvious that he was coming in this direction. Where he would get through, they were guessing.

Question: The first communication with Chinese Government about Dalai Lama's arrival, was it made when the Chinese Ambassador met the Foreign Secretary or were there any earlier communications?

Prime Minister: No. After the arrival of the Dalai Lama and his entry into India and our reception of him, our Foreign Secretary sent for the Chinese Ambassador to inform him of this.¹⁰⁸

Question: Will the Dalai Lama function as Dalai Lama from India too as the spiritual leader of Tibet? What are the implications that may come out of this.

Prime Minister: There is nothing in, shall I say, our regulations, rules, regulations, conventions about spirituality and how a person functions spiritually. That is not supposed to be a political post or designation. If people acknowledge him as a spiritual leader, they acknowledge him. There the matter ends. How can he function in Tibet when he is in India?

Question: Does it mean you will ask him not to sort of associate himself with any political activities while on Indian soil?

108. On 3 April, Subimal Dutt, the FS, informed the Chinese Ambassador, Pan Tzu-li, that "in accordance with international usage the Dalai Lama had been allowed to cross into Indian territory and to stay here. I assured the Ambassador that the Dalai Lama would not be allowed to carry on any political activity while on Indian soil." (Dutt, *With Nehru*, p. 150).

Prime Ministers: Well, it is natural that any person in India cannot, is not expected to function on the political plane in this way.

Question: Sir, it is generally presumed when you give political asylum that the man is free to operate politically, at least as far as other countries are concerned.

Prime Minister: I don't think that is the general assumption at all.

Question: But there are several instances in Europe. For example our own people went and got asylum, for example, Raja Mahendra Pratap gave you the instance in Parliament. He was operating politically in all the countries, where he was staying, where he was given asylum.¹⁰⁹

Prime Minister: When?

Question: He says all his life until India became free. He was a political person in all countries he went to.

Prime Minister: It was the time of the First World War chiefly when he functioned abroad. I don't think he functioned much since then, after the First War ended.

Question: You have just said that political activity must be ruled out. Does that also mean that he will not be allowed to make a statement explaining the facts?

109. Raja Mahendra Pratap, Independent, Lok Sabha MP from Mathura, UP, said in the Lok Sabha on the 30 March: "I have been abroad for 31 years and I have been often a refugee in a way. The British Government wanted to capture me in Afghanistan. The Afghanistan Government boldly said 'we cannot give them up.' And when I was in Peking, the British Government had extra-territorial rights in China and the British Government wanted to capture me. The French Legation told me: we would inform you if the British Government take any action against you. So, I was protected all the time in all countries of the world, non-British countries. Under these circumstances, I can request you, I can beg of you, that you kindly give asylum to every Tibetan who comes here. There is no harm in it."

Prime Minister: No; I cannot tell you exactly what the position might be. We shall have to consider it because, as you know, quite apart from political and other reasons, he is a person greatly revered in India and certainly among all Buddhists and even non-Buddhists in India, and it is not our intention to put what might be called undesirable curbs on him, but we shall have to discuss this matter with him and I am sure that he would not like to take any steps here which embarrass us and him.

Question: Where is he likely to be kept? There is a rumour that he will be kept in Ooty?

Prime Minister: I cannot tell you finally yet. But two things I can tell you—that he is not likely to stay anywhere near the frontier nor is he likely to go to South India.

Reporter: Not that we are anxious.

Question: Is there any correspondence with Mr. Chou En-lai¹¹⁰ on the subject of Tibet?

Prime Minister: No, not, what do you mean, recently?

Question: Yes, within recent days.

Prime Minister: No. We have had no correspondence about Tibet at all. On indeed, sometime on one or two other matters some months ago we had correspondence, nothing to do with Tibet.¹¹¹

Question: Will you tell us when and where you will meet the Dalai Lama?

Prime Minister: I can't say that. I suppose I will meet him of course at some place sometime but we have not even given thought to that matter.¹¹² We don't

110. Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China.

111. Nehru wrote to Chou En-lai on 14 December 1958. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 702-706 and SWJN/SS/47/pp. 451-454 and 557-560.

112. Nehru had a four-hour meeting with the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie on 24 April, after which he addressed the press. See items 135 and 136, pp. 478-500.

quite know when he will arrive. Of course, there is no point in our rushing him. He had a hard journey, I suppose, and he comes slowly, resting on the way.¹¹³

Question: When you spoke last in the Lok Sabha, you referred to those letters of the Dalai Lama and you said: "I should like to have a little greater confirmation about them, about what they are, in what circumstances they were written, whether they were written at all." I want to know that have you got any confirmation or any news about that and what was your basis that you doubted about their authenticity?¹¹⁴

Prime Minister: Well, you see, the statement that the Dalai Lama was being compelled to do something, the Dalai Lama in fact complaining of his own people, who revere him so much, seemed to me a very odd statement. Whoever else might be against the Dalai Lama, I should have thought that the great mass of the Tibetan people are not against him. They are devoted to him. Therefore I could not understand that. Is that all?

Question: Do you think that China has observed Panchsheel scrupulously in regard to Tibet?

Prime Minister: I don't think the question of Panchsheel directly arises in this connection. You may disapprove of what one country has done or not. Or you may, there is hardly a country which you cannot criticise on the ground that the principles of Panchsheel have not been observed but in this particular matter I don't quite see how that particular thing arises.

Questions: The Japanese Ambassador has written an article in a Japanese paper which was circulated here in press comments in which he says that

113. The Dalai Lama, with an entourage of about eighty persons, left Lhasa on 17 March 1959 and reached the Indian border on 31 March. He rested at the Tawang monastery, 50 miles inside India, set out again on 8 April and arrived on 12 April at Bomdila, headquarters of the Kameng division of NEFA. He was received there by P. N. Menon of the MEA. They continued their journey to Tezpur, where the Dalai Lama issued a statement on 18 April. Travelling onward by train, they finally arrived at Mussoorie on 21 April, where the Dalai Lama took up residence in the Birla House, placed at his disposal by the GOI.

114. On 30 March in the Lok Sabha, and in a letter to Rajendra Prasad, referring to the correspondence between the Dalai Lama and the Chinese General Tan Kuan-sang. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 470, 475 and 480-481.

this Panchsheel agreement with China has been wearing out for some time and the uprising in Tibet shows that it has completely worn out.

Prime Minister: I have not seen that article but the Panchsheel lays down certain principles of international relations. Those principles, if they are good principles, they remain good whatever any individual or country might do. People seem to think that the so-called Panchsheel is some temporary arrangement to meet a temporary set of circumstances. It is not. It is a basic approach to international affairs and to life generally. It may have to be adapted because of changing circumstances. If we believe in Panchsheel, we follow it, even if no country in the wide world follows it. Of course, it cannot be easily followed in a one-sided way, but that is a different matter. But our attitude will be to follow it. Our attempt will be to follow it, if we believe in it, as we do.

Now, what has happened in Tibet is related to the agreement between China and the authorities in Tibet, in 1950, I think. I am not sure.¹¹⁵ And you will see

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What has happened in Tibet is related to the agreement between China and the authorities in Tibet, in 1950, I think. I am not sure.¹¹⁵ And you will see that on both sides there, it is stated that that agreement has ended or broken up. There is no doubt about it and if both say so there is no doubt about it, and it indicates that. Now, that is an important fact that it has broken down. The agreement was based on two factors, on the recognition of the sovereignty of China over Tibet and the autonomy of Tibet. Those were two major factors. The agreement has broken down; and it is not possible for me, because I don't want to be possibly and just refer to sentiments, but it is not possible for me to give a precise account of what happened in Tibet. But it is well-known that there have been conflicts and pulls there in various directions; and it is obvious that, since this uprising, there is no autonomy of Tibet. These are the obvious facts, whatever the backgrounds may be.

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Q: Do you think national autonomy is possible in a communist state?

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happen which normally should not happen. But if the cold war was not there, we would all become a little more normal.

Question: It is reported that you are having correspondence with the Dalai Lama. Is there any indication that [...]

Prime Minister: No, I don't know, not at all except that I got a message from him which was conveyed to me on his arrival, and I sent him a very brief message of greeting.¹¹⁶

Question: To what extent would the Dalai Lama's personal safety be the Government of India's responsibility?

Prime Minister: One hundred per cent.

Question: You had said that since this conflict started, autonomy in Tibet has disappeared.

Prime Minister: Tibet has disappeared?

Question: Sir, I mean when you said since this conflict started, do you include this Quami revolt in, from 1953 or the recent conflict?

Prime Minister: Tibet has not disappeared. What do you mean?

Question: No, the autonomy of Tibet.

Prime Minister: Well, yes.

Question: From which period do you date this breach in agreement?

Prime Minister: The date you might say, when it officially ended is this date, late date I mean what is it ten days (10th of March), yes about a fortnight ago or so. That is the official date, when it was to be officially ended.¹¹⁷ For the rest, there have been troubles over Eastern Tibet and a little of Southern Tibet. That means that there were troubles there but constitutionally it did not end. Actually, it may function or not because of those troubles.

116. For Nehru's message to the Dalai Lama, see item 109, p. 438.

117. See also SWJN/S/47/pp. 455-459.

Question: This autonomy, which we speak of, for example between Centre and the States, we say in certain subjects, the States are autonomous. In what respect Tibet was considered to be autonomous?

Prime Minister: I am afraid I cannot spell that out, except this. I will tell you my own interpretation of what Premier Chou En-lai said to me. I mentioned that in the Lok Sabha.¹¹⁸ He laid stress, first of all, that Tibet was and had always been according to him, a part of the Chinese State, a part the larger family of China. Then he said: "But Tibet is not a province of China. It is different from China proper. We recognise that and, therefore, we consider it to be an autonomous region of the Chinese State. The Chinese people are called the "Han" people. The Tibetans are not "Hans". The Tibetans are "Tibetans". That is what he said. Therefore, if you compare it to India, here, first of all there is no question of any person or any part of India not being an Indian. He is an Indian whatever else he might be.

Secondly, the autonomy of an Indian state is laid down, the measure of it, in our Constitution. It is definitely a limited autonomy. There are lists of subjects where it is autonomous and other lists of subjects where the Central Government's authority prevails. Normally speaking, the Central Government cannot invade the autonomy of the states in India and certainly the states cannot do so in regard to the Central Government, but, abnormally, the Constitution provides that the Central Government can take charge of a state under special circumstances. So, the type of autonomy here is different, I thought, from the type of autonomy in the autonomous region of Tibet. Of course, there are many other factors also. From the social, religious and economic points of view, there is considerable difference; I take it, between Tibet and many other parts of China proper and other parts. Tibet has been cut off from the world practically for ages. Economically speaking, it is very backward and this impact of vast changes which are taking place in China itself must produce tremendous reactions.

Question: Sir, according to the Soviet Constitution, an autonomous region is more backward constitutionally than the Federating Republic. Do you think the same provision is there in the Chinese Constitution, that is, like Inner Mongolia enjoying autonomous status like Tibet? What is the exact position? For example, in Russia, the Republics certainly have more powers such as a foreign minister, even a standing army and so on. Do you think that under the Chinese the same provision is there?

118. On 30 March 1959. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 469-479.

Prime Minister: I am afraid I cannot answer these questions precisely but I imagine that the various constituent units of the Soviet Union, including the autonomous regions, are all more or less wedded to a certain policy which might be called the Communist policy while Tibet certainly was not and is not Communist. And the mere fact of the Dalai Lama being the religious head and till recently the political head under broadly the Chinese umbrella, itself shows that it was very different.

Question: Would you like to give a broad definition of the term 'suzerainty' as distinct from 'sovereignty'?

Prime Minister: No. I am afraid it requires a jurist to do that and probably two jurists might differ, except that 'suzerainty' is obviously less than 'sovereignty.'

Question: How far does this disappearance of the agreement over Tibet with China affect our agreement about Tibet?

Prime Minister: The disappearance of that does not affect it, I mean to say if you read it, but I do not know what the consequences of developments in Tibet might be. You see, what was our agreement with China in regard to Tibet? Apart from our withdrawing certain small forces that we had there in old times, this agreement related to pilgrimage, to trade and trade routes, to certain passes over which these trade routes should pass to that type of thing.¹¹⁹ And you know that thousands and thousands of pilgrims go to Tibet from India. Apart from Buddhists, vast numbers of Hindus go there to Kailash and the Mansarovar Lake and we wanted to make arrangements for them. That is one part of the treaty. The other was something about trade. The third was about the routes to be followed, the passes to be traversed. Then, there was something which was not definitely mentioned in the treaty, not directly, but indirectly it was there, the close contact of the Buddhists in Ladakh, who used to go for some kind of education and training in the Buddhist scriptures, to Lhasa and other places, to the monasteries there. Hundreds of those people used to go and hundreds are supposed to be there now, who did not take the trouble to carry any normal papers and passports, etc. They carried on in the old way. Now, how far all this will be affected I can't say because of these developments.

119. This refers to the Agreement between India and China on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet region of China, 1954.

Question: Perhaps you have answered the question. But how are we politically concerned or affected by the events in Tibet?

Prime Minister: Well, we are obviously concerned and interested in what happens there, in what political developments take place there. We cannot ignore them, forget them or look away from them. What we do about them is another matter, to be considered in regard to circumstances. But I should like to put to you that apart from the purely political considerations, there are other considerations which move people powerfully. We have had no desire, certainly ever since we became independent, to interfere in the slightest degree in Tibetan affairs. But we could not give up our interest, call it if you like sentimental interest, apart from politics, and you can see, observe for yourself the enormous feeling that has been aroused in India by these recent developments in Tibet and about the Dalai Lama and all those. It shows that deep sentimental attachment which has little to do with politics which goes back hundreds of years. You saw, I was not present that day, but some of you might have been present in the Lok Sabha about three or four days ago when Members of every group, every party in the Lok Sabha, except the Communist Party, were vastly exercised over this question.¹²⁰ It brought out rather, well, very markedly and prominently how some matters are so deeply rooted in national sentiment that they override even party boundaries, they come up. They brought out also how the Communist Party in India has uprooted itself from those matters and feels quite differently, I am not talking about politics or economics, but just what is called national sentiment which has deep roots in a country. And we saw that there that marked distinction of the people, who however they differed among themselves, had that common bond of a strong national tradition and sentiment, call it nationalism for brief, while the Communist Party had no kinship with that sentiment, it did not have any roots there. It had its roots in different thinking and that document or statement that they issued exhibited that entirely different approach from the point of view of national sentiment. And the strong reactions of Members of Parliament and those others outside to that was due to that. It had not much to do with any factual statement or no statement. It had nothing to do with my thinking, with any Parliamentary privilege, but it had to do basically that that

120. There was uproar in Parliament on 1 April on account of: (i) the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi circulating an article from the Peking *Peoples' Daily* describing Kalimpong as "a centre for collusion with imperialism," and (ii) the statement by the CPI refuting Nehru's repudiation of this charge and justifying Chinese allegations. See also item 105, pp. 421-433.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

deep-rooted sentiment of the Indian people was hurt by that statement. Therefore it reacted.

Question: Sir, are you aware of the dangers that are involved in the exploitation of these recent events in China by anti-Communist forces in India and how we have safeguarded against that because we are a neutral nation?

Prime Minister: The situation is full of difficult aspects, naturally, and the worst of it is that it tends to bring in that atmosphere of cold war in India which we have tried to avoid. And when there is an atmosphere of cold war, parties to it do not consider matters dispassionately or in the cold light of reason but try to exploit the situation to the advantage of their thinking. There is that danger on every side, on both sides if you like, if you divide it, and that is, if I may introduce a silently personal element; that when I spoke in the Lok Sabha two days ago¹²¹ rather deliberately, I suppressed myself in order to avoid adding to this heat of the cold war. I felt strongly enough about some matters but I felt that one must try to be a little dispassionate.

Question: Don't you feel disappointed or disillusioned about the conduct of Peking on Tibet particularly in view of the Panchsheel Agreement, when the first time it was propounded, you and Mr. Chou En-lai, kept night long vigil to draft that agreement.

Prime Minister: Night long what?

Question: You and Mr. Chou En-lai kept awake for I think two nights to draft that Agreement. Don't you have the sense of disillusionment and disappointment over the conduct of Peking on Tibet?

Prime Minister: Well, factually I do not think you are quite correct, Mr. Chou En-lai was not here when we drafted the Agreement at all. He was in Peking, I was here.

Question: No, in 1954 when he came from the Geneva Conference?¹²²

121. On 2 April 1959.

122. Held from 26 April to 21 July 1954 to restore peace in Korea and Indo-China.

Prime Minister: But there was no agreement; there was a brief press communiqué then.¹²³ That had nothing to do with Tibet at all. I do not think there was any reference to Tibet in this.

Question: In view of the good relations that have existed between India and China, has China, at any time, written to you asking you to use your good offices to bring about good relations between Tibet and China, particularly in relation to the revolt by Khampas and others?

Prime Minister: No, May I say that for a variety of reasons, historical, sentimental, practical and of the present day, I have thought, and I think, that it is of great importance for India and China to be on friendly terms with each other even though they might differ greatly in regard to their policies internally, and further that neither country has any business to interfere in the other country because such interference does not produce any desirable results even from the point of view of the person who wants to interfere [...], unless the result aimed at is just ill-will and anger which is the essence of the cold war. The cold war does not convert the other party at all; it makes it more rigid. So, that has been our basic policy, conditioned always of course by guarding, protecting the interests of India and the larger causes that we hold dear. Now, Tibet, as I told you, affects some deeper chords in our hearts. Tibet, culturally speaking, is an off-shoot of India, that is to say of Buddhism—not of India politically—and we may be Hindus, we may be anything in India but Buddha is the greatest Indian that ever lived, and we still in India are under the umbrella of this feeling for the Buddha. Tibet, of course, is far more so and there is this tremendous bond. We do not want Tibet to remain economically or socially backward. We want it to progress. Now, at no time during the last few years, last some years, has there been any correspondence, so far as I can remember with the Chinese Government or Premier Chou En-lai about Tibet with us but when Premier Chou En-lai was here last, was it two and a half years ago or three years ago, I am getting mixed up, last time when he was here, we discussed many matters and among them Tibet. I have just told you a little while ago what he said about Tibet to me. As a matter of fact, he discussed this question at some length explaining his attitude, the Chinese Government's attitude to Tibet and pointing out that they respected and wanted to respect the autonomy to Tibet, and that they had no desire to push Communism in Tibet, for the major reason, he said, that Tibet was as far removed from Communism as any country could be and

123. Chou En-lai visited India from 25 to 28 June 1954. See SWJN/SS/26/365-414.

that it could not be pushed and imposed in this way and it was for the people of Tibet themselves to grow up economically and socially.¹²⁴

Question: A comparison was made in the Lok Sabha between the situations in Algeria and in Tibet by Asoka Mehta. It was said that as in Algeria, the French people are settling there in the same way in Tibet also the Chinese have settled in vast numbers.¹²⁵ So what do you think about it?

Interruption: Sir! What was the question?

Prime Minister: This question. The question essentially was about the Chinese settling in Tibet just as the French people had previously settled in Algeria. I do not know, first of all, one hears reports about large numbers of Chinese settling in Tibet. I have no information about it, numbers, some may, of course, I have no information I cannot say. There is no comparison. I mean to say, if people settle in some other country and a country which is different, they bring with them some problems. That is true.

Question: Do you propose to take any steps to persuade China to restore Tibet's autonomy?

Prime Minister: There is no question of my taking steps to that end. First of all, the Chinese Government so far as I know has not denied the fact that Tibet should be autonomous. What they have laid stress on is that this has broken down according to them, by the action of the other party; but they have not denied the fact that Tibet should be autonomous, and this business of giving advice to others does not always lead to right results.

Question: There are reports that you have been in correspondence with the British Prime Minister on this question recently regarding Tibet.

124. For Nehru's conversation with Chou En-lai during his visit to India in 1956, see SWJN/SS/36/pp. 580-638.

125. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Muzaffarpur, Bihar, Asoka Mehta said on 16 March 1959: "A million Frenchmen went and settled in Algeria and today the tragedy is being enacted. The same thing is happening in Tibet. The Chinese are settling there. Mr. Mao Tse-tung says: Go to Tibet, strike roots there and flower in Tibet. The Chinese must go, strike roots and flower in Tibet. The Tibetans naturally get perturbed."

Prime Minister: Those reports are not correct, except that I mean to say, frequently, not frequently but sometimes, I have messages from Mr. Macmillan.¹²⁶ I reply to those messages, but there has been no particular correspondence about Tibet.

Question: Has the Chinese Government conveyed its reaction to you regarding your giving political asylum to the Dalai Lama?

Prime Minister: No. But it is an acknowledged fact that any country has the right to give asylum if it chooses. I don't think that is denied anywhere.

Question: Some people talk of the Naga trouble and Hyderabad when this question of the autonomy of Tibet comes. Will you please clarify the two positions?

Prime Minister: Well, there is no comparison, of course. There is Hyderabad. Of course, I do not know what to say. The question does not arise at all in any shape or form, because the Nizam and some of his advisers there adopted a policy which was patently a policy against the Government of India, patently against his own people's wishes and all that.¹²⁷ In regard to the Naga problem, the position is different certainly from that of Hyderabad.

The Naga area as you know, is a small area on our border, an area which in the past has sometimes given a lot of trouble and according to our policy, we give these tribal areas the fullest autonomy. There is no policy that we wish to impose upon them. This trouble started because they declared, some of them declared, an organisation declared independence there. We did not start a shooting war because they declared independence. Some of them came to me and said, "We want to be independent." Others said, "No, we want to have something else." We did not punish them for saying that. It was only when they rather brutally killed a number of our officers and men, when they started a violent campaign that we took measures to meet this because they were just waylaying and killing important people—our own officers and men and important Nagas who were with us. We had to protect those people and put an end to this kind of reign of terror that the Naga National Council in the name of the Naga people was creating there. I think that any person who knows how we have functioned there will probably be amazed at the constant attempt on our

126. Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister.

127. This refers to the Razakars in 1947-48 in Hyderabad.

part—an attempt which has largely succeeded, I won't say always—at the friendly approach, the lenient approach, the approach which has always kept in view non-interference in Naga customs and the rest, and has always kept open the door to a considerable measure of autonomy for them which, by and large, the great majority of them have accepted in conventions and congresses and the rest.

Question: You said earlier that it was very important for India and China to remain on friendly terms now and in the future and you said that this was our basic policy conditioned by the interests of India and larger causes that we hold dear, from what you had said earlier about this deep sentimental cultural tie between Tibet and ourselves do you consider that Tibet is among these larger causes or have we now by our agreement with China put ourselves beyond taking this matter up even from the point of view of these values?

Prime Minister: Tibet! Tibet or a country does not become a cause. It is a country. A country or developments in the country may affect a cause. Certainly, we are deeply interested in the autonomy of Tibet and Tibet being allowed to carry on in its own way.

Question: Sir, you said the other day that the rights renounced by India in Tibet were a relic of British imperialism. By the same token, the McMahon Line itself becomes a relic of British imperialism.

Prime Minister: By the same token, you might go back a little and say when Asoka governed the whole of Central Asia and China governed at one time or other Burma and Indo-China and Tibet at one time governed a bit of China. You cannot go back in history like this. At what period do we draw a line? There is a difference between certain extra-territorial rights in a country. Obviously, there is no question if we had 150 soldiers in Gyantse or whatever the number was.¹²⁸ No country tolerates that kind of thing. They had continued because they were there from the British times on the plea, mind you, of lack of law and order there, to protect our consulate or whatever it was. That is a completely different thing from conditions in a part of a country, border if you like, which have continued for generations and somebody comes and tells us that, "oh! a hundred years ago this was different" has no particular significance or meaning, unless that person wants to do mischief.

128. After the British invasion of Tibet in 1904, troops were stationed in Gyantse.

We have to accept certain things; we cannot historically trace back where the Indian frontier was. We accept for a long time, for a hundred years or so, the frontier is this and we have been in possession. We have functioned administratively and otherwise. There the matter ends so far as we are concerned, and as a matter of fact the McMahon Line was accepted by Tibet, and some parts of that McMahon Agreement, by the then existing Chinese Government were not signed but this part was not objected to even then.

Question: But, Sir, in view of the expansionist policy of Communism and the policy of the C.P.I., as had been showed in the Lok Sabha recently, do you not think that the security of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim and even our country is threatened?

Prime Minister: I do not think C.P.I.'s policy is expansionist.

Question: Sir, I mean, the communism, Sir.

Prime Minister: I know. It is submissive. It is not expansionist. (Laughter)

Question: Sir, in the latest issue of the Communist Party organ, the weekly *New Age* they say that not only Kalimpong but the spy ring against China covers Calcutta, Bhutan and Sikkim. And they have further alleged that there was collusion between some of our Political Officers and some of the raiders, and they have named Shri Apa Pant¹²⁹ in this connection. It has come in the latest issue of the *New Age*.

Prime Minister: I have not seen that. If the C.P.I. goes about naming our principal officers, the C.P.I. shows even more than I had suspected, a certain lack of balance in mind and a total absence of feeling of decency and nationality. What they are I do not know. They cease to be Indians if they talk in this way.

May I say, about this matter, of course I said in the Lok Sabha about Kalimpong being a nest of spies. And, I indicated that there was every variety and every shade of colour of spies there.¹³⁰ Probably you could evenly balance the anti-communist spies with the communist spies there. The whole place, it is a detective story unravelling itself there. In a great city like Calcutta no doubt you have all manner of people like that too, of every shade of colour. It is one thing to say that, for the matter of that in any great city in the world you will

129. Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan.

130. On 2 April in the Lok Sabha.

find these valiant representatives of the cold war. (Laughter)

By the way, may I mention one thing, which has horrified me? And this was a statement which appeared some little time ago and I think our External Affairs Ministry contradicted it yesterday, a statement by Prince Peter of Greece,¹³¹ who stayed in Kalimpong or Darjeeling, Kalimpong for a number of years. He has made a statement that—and he is supposed to be and described as an international authority on Tibetan affairs—he said that the Indian Government had given assistance to the Chinese invasion of Tibet for fear that Tibet might fall under British or American influence, the Chinese armies were receiving supplies along the only road from the Indian border to Lhasa.¹³² While I was still at Kalimpong, I discovered myself that truck convoys to Tibet, alleged by Indians to be loaded with rice, were full of military supplies. Now, a more fantastic and despicable lie I have never heard and I say that by my knowledge. A person like Prince Peter of Greece, who has had the hospitality of India for several years daring to do that shows the atmosphere of Kalimpong, what it was. Even a person thinking even slightly can really [...] mind you he said that in 1950, trucks. How do trucks go and where do they go to? Any supplies to Tibet had then and now to go through the Nathu La Pass. Now there is a road. We have built it.¹³³ They had to go over mules, a most terrible journey on mule-back. In 1954-55, because there was a famine in Tibet, we agreed to send some rice, about, I forget now, maybe ten-twenty thousand maunds, that is less than a thousand tons, and it was a terrible job to send this. You just calculate how many mules are required to carry it. It took seven or eight months for these mule caravans to carry this rice over the Nathu La. And this was in 1954-55. I mean to say, it is physically impossible, apart from the fact that it is inconceivable, that we should send military supplies, of all things, to the Chinese authorities, probably they had far more military supplies than we possess, and that we should do that is quite an extraordinary statement.

Question: There has been a report in the press that the Chinese have in the last recent two or three weeks drawn our attention to what they said or expressed the hope that the Indian Consulate in Lhasa would take an objective view of the situation. What have you read into that.

131. (1908-1980); anthropologist; son of Prince George of Greece and Denmark.

132. See also item 132, pp. 472-475.

133. The Gangtok-Nathu La road was inaugurated by Nehru on 17 September 1958. Formerly a 35-mile stretch of mule track, the road winds upward from Gangtok at 5,600 feet to 14,000 feet at Nathu La on the border between Sikkim and Tibet. See also SWJN/SS/44/p. 454, fn 237.

Prime Minister: We have had no such, "we take a very objective view." The Chinese Consul does. He sits at his window and looks at Lhasa. What I mean is I do not think he has been outside his Consulate during all these days. He has been sitting there taking this objective view.¹³⁴

Question: Does it mean that his movements are restricted?

Prime Minister: Yes, but of course, they are restricted for a few days. I could understand it because there was trouble in Lhasa, and even now, it is said, for the sake of security, etc., people from our Consulate are not permitted to go out



INDIA IS ABLE TO SEE EVENTS IN TIBET
ONLY THROUGH THE DELEGATION'S WINDOW
IN LHASA. - NEHRU
A LA HITCHCOCK THRILLER 'REAR WINDOW'

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 5 APRIL 1959)

134. The transcript and the PIB version have clearly missed Nehru's irony, which the newspaper report captures. On 6 April, the *National Herald* reported this answer thus: "When his attention was drawn to a report that the Chinese had hoped that the Indian Consul-General in Lhasa would take an objective view of the Tibetan situation, Pandit Nehru said amidst laughter: 'He takes an objective view. He sits near a window and looks at Lhasa. I think all these days he has been sitting there and taking this objective view'."

in Lhasa. They have said, of course, as soon as things are normal they can go out. But for the moment, we have had trouble—we have troubles even in such small matters—they are not very small, as in food supplies and marketing, and all that.

Question: There has been a lot of speculation that because of our expression of sympathy with the Tibetans' struggle there and the grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama that the relations between India and China will necessarily deteriorate? Is that your impression?

Prime Minister: Naturally conditions are such that difficult, delicate and embarrassing situations are created and may continue in various shapes and forms, and we have to keep the various factors in view, the major factor being, of course, our own security. After all every Government's first duty is to protect its country in every way. The second factor, our desire to have and continue to have friendly relations with China. The third factor, our strong feeling about developments in Tibet. Now, sometimes there is a certain contradiction in these, there is inevitably. One has, therefore, insofar as one can, to balance, adjust, and sometimes to make difficult choices.

(Now listen, it is half past ten, I said).

Question: Are you sure the Dalai Lama left Lhasa and sought asylum in India of his own free will, or under Chinese duress?

Prime Minister: I should imagine so, because I cannot conceive of the Dalai Lama being pushed about by his own people. I said that. Now the other question. I am sorry.

Question: Have you any information about the extent of damage or casualties in Tibet?

Prime Minister: None whatever in the rest of Tibet. Well I would not say none, perhaps a little here and there in some towns of Tibet. In Lhasa, we have had some report, not an accurate report but a report of an eyewitness seeing that a house has been damaged. He can't say how much. He said the summer palace of the Dalai Lama had been shelled, some (part) of their famous palace, full of treasures and it will be a great tragedy if those treasures and manuscripts were destroyed. We cannot say that they have been destroyed but a part of the palace was shelled, and some other buildings in Lhasa, important buildings, and somewhere else too. For the rest, we have no information.

Prime Minister: Now listen. I will just very briefly, deal with some of the questions. I have nothing to say, I don't know why I have been asked a question about U.P. politics. I have nothing particular to say about it.

Question: Sir, have you written a letter to [...] asking that Charan Singh¹³⁵ should resign, he has no place in the Cabinet?

Prime Minister: It is not quite fair of you to ask me questions about my private letters.

Question: Chief Minister of U.P. has published a letter, has announced that you have written like that.

Prime Minister: No, I will tell you what I did write to him. A statement appeared in the press which said that I had asked Mr. Charan Singh not to resign. I was surprised at this. Thereafter, I wrote both to Mr. Charan Singh and to the Chief Minister that I have seen the statement which was manifestly wrong and I have not asked him not to resign and further that I felt that a situation had been created when to my thinking it was very difficult for him to continue.¹³⁶

Now next, somebody asked me about Mr. Khrushchev's invitation to me.

Question: You are not going to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference this summer, according to some news.

Prime Minister: There is no Commonwealth Conference this summer. How can I attend a thing which does not meet.

Question: But there was some report, so are you going to accept this invitation?

Prime Minister: I am just dealing with that, I don't know why you barged in suddenly. First of all, I decided I might tell you, there are two parts of the world I have long wanted to go, one is Africa. Apart from Egypt and the Sudan, I have not been to Africa at all and I am very much interested in countries of Africa

135. Minister for Revenue, Power and Irrigation in the UP Government.

136. Charan Singh resigned on 2 April 1959. See also SWJN/SS/47/ pp. 235-236.

and ever since the visit of the Prime Minister of Ghana¹³⁷ and my half promising to him to go there, I was trying to think out a tour of visiting a few countries of Africa this summer. The second part of the world which I wanted to go for long and I have not been at all, is South America. It is very far off. I first decided that perhaps it was simpler to go to Africa and I might go there this summer. Finally I gave up the idea of going outside India at all because I felt there are too many jobs to be done in India for me to go out. So, my present intention is not to go out of India at all this year. Mr. Khrushchev's invitation came to me. The delegation¹³⁸ brought a letter. Among other things, he said that he would be happy if I visited them again. I replied to him, thanking him, saying that I would very much like to go there but for the moment I feel I should remain in India. That is that.

Then someone asked me about a Parliamentary Delegation from East Germany coming here. I do not think that they are coming because of any invitation from our Government or from our Parliament. I think they are passing through India, really going somewhere else and as they are passing through India, naturally we will show them courtesy.

Then there is a question about Master Tara Singh's visit to Delhi. I do not know what I can say about his visit to Delhi and his letters to me.¹³⁹ It is true that I have received a letter from him to which I have sent a reply.¹⁴⁰ In fact I sent it last night because I was frightfully busy with the National Development Council and various things. I went away to Suratgarh and Bikaner and all that.¹⁴¹

Question: Have you accepted his request for referring this matter to arbitration?

Prime Minister: What matter? There is no matter to refer to. There is a lot of talk of arbitration but what matter is to be referred I just cannot understand it. I try. I shall be very happy to remove any misapprehensions from any person's mind, especially any misapprehension about what is called religious interference, because we do not want any such interference but I really have been totally unable to understand. It means reference ultimately, of the motives of somebody

137. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah visited India from 22 December 1958 to 8 January 1959. See SWJN/SS/45/pp. 744-753 and SWJN/SS/46/pp. 594-597.

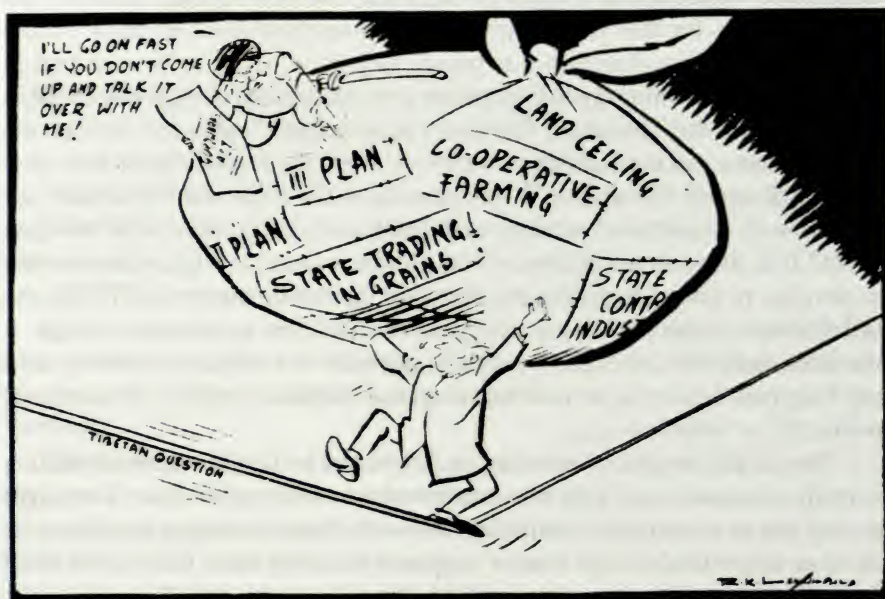
138. The Soviet delegation was in India from 24 February to 19 March 1959.

139. See Appendices 4 and 7, pp. 569-572 and 577-580.

140. See item 40, pp. 229-301.

141. On 1 April 1959.

“HIGH LEVEL” TALKS



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 1 APRIL 1959)

or of Government or some individual in Government, I hope you will forgive me for being rather trivial, but somebody made a face at me and I refer it to arbitration, the fellow had made a face at me. Really I cannot understand this. What the poor arbitrator will decide I really cannot understand. You see this. There is a Sikh Gurdwaras Act. Now no Act can be passed and no law can be framed except by the legislature. A legislature consists not of one religious group but of all religious groups. In law, therefore, the Act is to be passed in the legislature in order to become law and everybody has a right to vote but by convention, we see to it that no law affecting, let us say the Sikhs, is even put forward before the legislature without consulting the Sikh community and those who represent them. It was at the request of the Sikh community that the original Gurdwaras Act¹⁴² was passed by the then legislature. Now, throughout last year, except the last bit of it, great stress was laid by everyone among the Sikhs, every important person, including I believe even Master Tara Singh, for proper representation to be given to the Sikhs of PEPSU in regard to the Shiromani

142. Sikh Gurdwaras Act, 1925.

Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. I believe a deputation from the Shiromani Committee waited on the Punjab Government, I forget the date, I think it was early last year, for this very purpose. Then everything went all right. People were consulted. No objection was raised. Objection began to be raised when the elections to the Shiromani Committee took place and a change in leadership came about in the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee. In fact, the Sikh members and the legislators were consulted; the newly elected President of the Shiromani Committee¹⁴³ was consulted, the Regional Committee, all processes of consultation went on and finally, remember what is all this fuss about? It is about an amendment of the Gurdwara Act for a temporary period, to provide, to make temporary provision for the representation of PEPSU, the full elections taking place early next year. It is not even a permanent change. It becomes, therefore, an entirely political approach to a religious problem and I can't say how I am to say which individual had wanted to profit by the occasion, politically or otherwise [...]

First of all, the idea of referring an Act passed by Legislature to arbitration is really unprecedented. I do not understand how this can be done. You might as well put an end to the Constitution. Secondly, there is nothing to refer as far as I can understand except what is supposed to be the mala fides or the bona fides of individuals in governments, which is not a matter which you can get a grip of, you can grip facts.

Now, I have finished all these questions except one very important thing that you had mentioned to me that is the National Development Council's meeting which is a very important meeting and a very profitable meeting I think. Since the last two meetings of the National Development Council, we have changed our procedure somewhat and we function somewhat differently, that is, we deal with particular problems as in a committee, not each Chief Minister telling us about his State, which used to be the practice, a long account of the State's troubles and difficulties and demands. Now we do not do that. We take hold of a question whatever it is, the approach to the Third Five Year Plan and we discuss each aspect of it because our minds are full of this Third Plan, although it is still more than two years hence; involving the number of papers which are written are mountainous, it is difficult to keep pace with them. There is a ferment in people's minds, in our minds certainly, in the Chief Ministers' minds, in the Planning Commission and in all the other committees, commissions, etc., right down to the community development committees etc., about this Third Plan. Because we look upon this Third Plan as not merely a

143. Sardar Prem Singh Lalpura was elected President of the SGPC on 16 November 1958.

continuation which, of course, it is, but rather a crucial step and involving very considerable burdens on us, on our people. But the compulsion of events and our own desires push us in that direction, there is not much choice except in details.

Then there was a question of cooperative policy, about which of course the last meeting of the National Development Council had itself agreed to broadly. Now it went further into it and on every important factor in it there was complete agreement, the basic thing being that each cooperative should bring about a certain intimate relationship among the members. That is the idea of cooperation. It should not be just a kind of bank, merely a credit cooperative. It should not be too big, and strangers coming in, you don't know and all that.

Now in discussion, all this was accepted, that, essentially it should be a small cooperative, it should be homogeneous and it should not have official interference. Officials will help. All these basic things were accepted by everybody.

Discussions took place. First of all we had to separate the tribal areas. That is to say, we could not force some uniform and rigid rule because they are different, we have to deal with them. We will have cooperatives there but on different lines. In other words, our policy will be flexible. Having accepted certain basic factors, there will be flexibility because conditions in India are different, and especially in the tribal areas.

Then the discussion was about large cooperatives or small. There also, there is really not much difference. The really large ones are ruled out but in some places it might be desirable to have slightly bigger ones than a village cooperative. Of course, where there are very small villages, there might be two or three villages and it is left ultimately to the discretion of the State Government, if it so feels or if it feels necessary, to go up a little up to five or six villages, though we don't want that as far as possible.

Another point that was much discussed was whether Government should take shares in the cooperatives. Some of us were of the opinion that they should not. We admit that help is necessary for the cooperatives. That help should be given in productive schemes, in schemes of production, rather than the money, to be given which may be utilised, which is supposed to be utilised, for schemes of production. We wanted to lay the stress on production, so help is given but in that way. These minor points are being discussed by a Committee we appointed yesterday but as I said, we cannot lay down too rigid rules for this. Now I must go, I am sorry. Thank you.

17. To R. K. Ramadhyani: Procedure for the Press Conferences¹⁴⁴

I agree that it will be desirable.¹⁴⁵

(1) for a list of subject to be supplied to me previously. The detailed questions need not be supplied though this can be done if it is considered necessary.

(2) that persons asking the questions should announce their names and the paper they represent.

(3) that as a rule two supplementary questions should be permitted to a Correspondent on the subject.

(c) Interview

18. To Serge Groussard¹⁴⁶

ENTRETIEN AVEC M. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Une grande enquête de Serge GROUSSARD

"L'Inde n'a qu'une haine: le malheur..."

Le Figaro, 31 Mars 1959, p. 5

M. Jawaharlal Nehru était assis quand je franchis le seuil de son cabinet de travail. Il resta immobile, un pli de souci au front, à méditer sur un feuillet qu'il tenait des deux mains, comme s'il eût hésité à le chiffonner. J'hésitai. M. Bahadur Singh, qui alors était, je crois, directeur de l'Information, avait bien voulu m'accompagner jusque-là, et ce fut heureux, car il se résolut à passer devant moi pour murmurer quelques mots à l'oreille de l'homme d'État. Dans mon dos, j'entendais la respiration rauque du photographe. M. Nehru jeta un coup d'œil sur sa montre, rangea son document et se leva tandis que le photographe, s'accroupissant tout à coup, commençait une série d'exercices qui démentaient son souffle court.

144. Note to Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 19 April 1959. File No.43 (31) / 56-62-PMS.

145. Nehru agreed to the suggestions which arose after an informal meeting between Ramadhyani and editors and correspondents of some of the important newspapers on 14 April 1959.

146. See fn 162 in this section.

Les traits du Premier s'étaient voilés lorsque son collaborateur l'avait dérangé. Mais voici que sa physionomie s'éclaire, comme il vient vers moi. Et c'est le premier sourire, qui dévoile une denture éblouissante. Il est svelte et sans maigreur dans sa taille moyenne. Le pouvoir conserve! Le 1er [sic] novembre prochain, M. Nehru aura soixante-dix ans.¹⁴⁷ Et ni ce visage—succession d'ombres et de lumières où transparaissent les instants de lassitude mais aussi d'apaisements,—ni le corps aux mouvements souples n'ont atteint la vieillesse.

Il m'indique un siège en face son bureau et parle un instant à mi-voix avec M. Singh. Quelques secondes pour m'habituer à lui, pour l'observer... La longue tunique boutonnée sur le devant s'évase progressivement jusqu'aux genoux. Elle est fendue sur les côtés, et quand le Premier se lèvera tout à l'heure pour aller hâtivement chercher un livre sur un rayon éloigné, les pans se gonfleront et battront comme sous un grand vent. Elle est de lin fin de belle blancheur, cette tunique, et à la hauteur du cœur un rose la fleurit, fraîche cueillie, frémissante encore dans l'épanouissement des pétales et la douceur vivante de ses tons clairs. La fille de M. Nehru, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, me dira que tous les matins elle cherche une rose nouvelle pour la lui glisser à la boutonnière. Tous les matins, toute l'année, l'homme aux roses de Delhi... Quand il voyage, on prend soin qu'il puisse trouver en s'habillant la fleur et la senteur coutumières.

D'un blanc brillant est aussi, aujourd'hui, le pantalon du Premier; en forme de culotte de cheval. Il moule les mollets de coq et serre la cheville au-dessus des chaussettes—blanches—que laissent apparaître les sandales de cuir à boucles.

Il vient prendre place sur son fauteuil, s'y renverse et tourne vers moi sa mince tête pensive où tout finement se conjugue.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Est-ce votre premier séjour en Inde?

Serge GROUSSARD

Oui, Excellence. Malheureusement il sera bref.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Vous n'aurez passé que quelques jours dans mon pays et vous écrirez, je gage, beaucoup sur lui—et sur moi.

Serge GROUSSARD

Je ne suis venu ici que pour vous rencontrer.

147. See fn 163 in this section.

LE PERSONNAGE EST SI COMPLEXE !...

Sera-ce si difficile ? On m'avait prévenue: piaffant, changeant, irritable... Son front se baisse, ses doigts tambourinent sur un sous main qu'il repoussera bientôt. Il a le teint fouetté de soleil, l'ovale harmonieux et la physionomie mouvante, qui vient d'exprimer en un moment, successivement, la cordialité, la distraction, l'agacement— où elle s'enferme. Peut-être vaut-il mieux commencer par lui poser des questions sur ses origines, sur ses combats; ainsi verra-t-il que j'ai pris soin de me documenter—honnêtement.

Ce fut donc du passé que d'abord nous parlâmes. Pourquoi ne pas agir de même en ce compte rendu ? Le personnage est si complexe dans sa richesse de vie qu'il est plus prudent de l'aborder à tâtons, en retraçant, a larges traits, l'essentiel apparent de son histoire, et en l'écoutant préciser lui-même comme il le fit avec moi, certains points, de-ci, de-là...

Les Nehru sont originaires du Cachemire. Cette région, au nord-est [sic] de l'Inde, est paraît-il une féerie d'eaux vives, d'oiseaux et de fleurs avec ses vertes vallées entre les chaînes himalayennes aux pics neigeux.

Le nom de famille des ancêtres du Premier indien n'était pas Nehru, mais Kaul. C'étaient des brahmanes, c'est-à-dire qu'ils appartenaient à la plus haute des quatre castes de cette organisation brahmanique qui, à la fois religieuse, sociale et politique, connut l'apogée de son épanouissement dans les six ou sept siècles d'avant l'ère chrétienne—et qui subsiste encore, en certains domaines, partiellement, bien qu'elle soit honnie par les gouvernants indiens et rongée de toutes parts. Les brahmanes seuls peuvent être prêtres de l'hindouisme. Ceux qui n'optaient pas pour le sacerdoce choisissaient en général une profession libérale. De nos jours, étant fort nombreux, ils prennent ce qu'ils trouvent.

Les Kaul étaient d'ancien et noble lignage; ils avaient, dit-on, au garder pur « leur sang bleu » comme dit Olivier-Lacamp¹⁴⁸ : leur sang aryen. Ils portaient le titre honorifique de pandit, qui signifie « homme de savoir religieux », selon une définition de Nehru.

Vers 1716, Raj Kaul, savant personnage spécialisé dans le sanscrit et le persan, fut appelé à Delhi par l'empereur Farrukhsiar qui, lors d'une visite au Cachemire, avait été ébloui par son érudition.

Pour mieux persuader Raj Kaul de s'installer près de sa cour, l'empereur lui fit don d'une grande propriété et d'un palais qui s'élevait près d'un canal. Canal en persan se dit *Nahar* et de là vint le nom de *Kaul Nehru*, puis de Nehru, tout court. Ainsi notre ancienne noblesse française prenait-elle de

148. See fn 164 in this section.

nouveaux noms en recevant des fiefs...

Non, ce n'est pas un roturier qui se trouve à la tête de la République de l'Inde!

Le père de Jawaharlal, Motilal Nehru, était un riche avocat brillant et sans austérité qui, conscient des avantages matériels de l'éducation occidentale, mit son seul fils entre les mains de précepteurs anglais.

Serge GROUSSARD

Il me semble que vous étiez un enfant solitaire et trop aimé.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Trop aimé... Non. Je fus élevé très sévèrement. Solitaire, oui, d'autant plus que j'avais une passion pour la lecture. Dickens, Thackeray [sic], H.-G Wells, Mark Twain... Je m'imbibais de poésie, et cette attirance m'est restée, à travers les changements de toute sorte en moi, autour de moi...



En 1905, Jawaharlal fut envoyé en Angleterre,—Harrow, Cambridge... Ce furent sept années d'études plus ou moins approfondies de discipline telles que la chimie, la biologie, la botanique;¹⁴⁹ puis—s'étant montré dans l'ensemble d'une honnête moyenne parce qu'il cherchait non à briller mais à s'imprégner en toutes choses de leçons de l'Occident—il obtint son diplôme d'avocat, peau d'âne qui, en Angleterre, à l'époque, impliquait surtout que l'on avait participé à un nombre convenable de festivités.¹⁵⁰

Après quoi Jawaharlal revint en Inde pour y mener une existence de grand bourgeois riche, jeune, beau, amateur, anglomane...

Des amis cependant l'attirèrent dans des réunions du congrès national indien, le grand mouvement de lutte contre les Anglais. Ainsi le jeune pandit (Nehru alors était fier de ce titre brahmanique qu'il a abandonné voilà quelques années seulement) fut-il amené—malgré lui, car il était glacé par les foules—à parler en public.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

C'est dans ma ville natale, à Allahabad, que je prononçai mon premier discours. Vous ne devineriez pas le thème de la réunion...C'était une protestation contre une décision gouvernementale qui venait de museler la presse. Mes

149. See fn 165 in this section.

150. See fn 166 in this section.

premières paroles publiques furent de la sorte consacrées à la défense de la liberté d'expression...¹⁵¹

Ce fut à cette époque que M. Nehru étudia les conditions de vie paysannes. L'élégant aristocrate fut frappé au cœur et pour toujours.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Pour mieux les comprendre, je vécus parmi eux. C'était atroce. Ces masses étaient livrées sans secours aux disettes, aux moussons, à la surpopulation. Elles ne connaissaient de la vie que sa forme la plus révoltante de subsistance au jour le jour dans la demi-famine, l'ignorance et la servitude.

En 1916, au congrès de Lucknow, le pandit Nehru rencontre pour la première fois le mahatma Gandhi...

Serge GROUSSARD

Quelle fut votre première impression du mahatma ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Je vieux bien vous répéter ce que j'ai dit et écrit tant de fois. Mais ne pensez-vous pas plus commode de vous référer sur ce point à mon autobiographie par exemple...

Voici le texte en question:

*« nous l'admirions tous pour son combat héroïque en Afrique du Sud, mais il semblait extrêmement disant, lointain et sans réalisme politique à la plupart des jeunes gens que nous étions... »*¹⁵²

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Mais la personnalité de Gandhi était d'une fascination lente et irrésistible. En outre, seul parmi tous les chefs nationalistes, le mahatma avait un plan d'action cohérent... De plus en plus, il m'attira.

UN DANDY HEROIQUE

Bientôt le pandit Nehru décida de se joindre à la campagne de désobéissance civile. Alors commença l'émouvante, la longue et symbolique lutte entre Nehru et son père—ce grand avocat qui avait bâti toute son activité, toute sa vie sociale

151. See fn 167 in this section.

152. See fn 168 in this section.

sur la coopération avec les Anglais et qui, d'autre part, était glacé à la pensée que son fils pût affronter la persécution.

Le fils gagna. Lorsque, pour la première fois, Jawaharlal alla en prison, le 6 décembre 1921, son père l'y accompagna. La police roua les Nehrus de coups et Jawaharlal apprit à subir passivement les blessures du « lathi », ce long et lourd bâton de bambou ferré.¹⁵³

Une nouvelle phase de l'existence de l'ancien dandy commençait. Jusqu'en 1945, M. Nehru allait être arrêté sept fois, passait ainsi plus de dix années en prison.¹⁵⁴

Probablement, ces captivités furent-elles la clé de son ascension.

D'abord parce qu'elles lui valurent une immense et féconde popularité. Sa persévérance, son courage tranquille et son légendaire sourire de dédain en ces procès où, selon les consignes du Congrès National, il refusait de se défendre, sa netteté de vision, sa loyauté sans complaisance envers Gandhi qu'il regardait désormais comme « la premier d'entre les vivants du monde » firent de lui, après le mahatma, la seconde figure de l'Inde résistante.

Ensuite parce que, dans ses claustrations souvent solitaires, il fut contraint à la réflexion, à lecture, à la création. Il écrivit trois ouvrages dont le meilleur est *Découverte de l'Inde*,¹⁵⁵ et le plus émouvant *Lettres à ma fille Indira*.¹⁵⁶

Ici nous devons aborder la vie privée du premier ministre. Elle fut belle, claire et triste. En 1916, ses parents lui avaient fait épouser l'héritière d'une riche et noble famille brahmanique du Cachemire.¹⁵⁷ La nouvelle Mrs Nehru avait 17 ans et son prénom, Kamala, allait bientôt être célèbre dans l'Inde entière. Mariage conforme aux traditions hindoues, les époux ignoraient tout l'un de l'autre. Mariage parfait.

Sur la table de travail du Premier, il y a une seule photographie: celle de Kamala. Elle y apparaît telle qu'elle dut rester jusqu'à sa mort avec un long visage aux traits vigoureux, le nez aquilin, les lèvres pleines et la splendeur noire d'une immense chevelure plate qui noyait les épaules et ne devait offrir au vent des soirs sur la vallée du Gange que quelques boucles soulevées de ses flots lourds.

Kamala participa de toute son âme à l'action combattante de son mari jusqu'à connaître elle aussi la prison; c'est pourquoi la fille unique du couple, Indira, fut envoyée en Europe afin qu'elle y fit ses études en dehors de la

153. See fn 169 in this section.

154. See fn 170 in this section.

155. See fn 171 in this section.

156. See fn 172 in this section.

157. See fn 173 in this section.

constante atmosphère d'inquiétude et de combat où vivaient ses parents.

L'âme de Kamala Nehru était d'acier; son corps était trop frêle dans sa minceur. Elle tomba malade et alla s'éteindre à Lausanne en février 1936. Nehru avait été libéré par les Anglais à cause de la condition critique de sa femme et put ainsi l'assister aux derniers jours, avec leur fille.¹⁵⁸

Dès lors, Indira remplaça sa mère auprès du pandit Nehru. Elle épousa un brillant avocat parsi, qui malgré son nom de Gandhi n'a aucun lien de parenté avec le mahatma, mais demeura étroitement attachée à son père, qu'elle ne quitte pas. L'une des grandes évasions quotidiennes du Premier consiste à s'occuper de ses deux petits-fils.

A minuit, le 14 août 1947, tandis que Delhi se livrait à la frénésie des hurlements et des illuminations, M. Jawaharlal Nehru proclamait devant l'Assemblée constituante l'indépendance de l'Inde, qui commençait l'expérience de la liberté par l'agonie de la mutilation. Les populations musulmanes des deux tronçons du Pakistan s'unissaient entre elles, faisaient sécession et entamaient avec l'Inde-hindouiste un chapitre encore inachevé de violentes querelles dont d'immenses régions, parmi lesquelles le Cachemire de M. Nehru, sont l'enjeu.

« Fratricide, saignante, mais libre ! » criait Gandhi lui-même, les larmes aux yeux. »

—Bientôt douze années au pouvoir ! murmure M. Nehru. J'ai souvent proposé de démissionner, l'autre mois encore, devant le Congrès...¹⁵⁹

Le voici plus calme, plus proche, d'avoir un peu remué les pages anciennes. Qu'il est ouvert et baigné de lumière, ce beau visage qui a si bien su vieillir !

Serge GROUSSARD

Vous êtes pourtant en pleine force.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Je suis en bonne santé. Là n'est pas la question.

Serge GROUSSARD

Vous disiez un jour à Calcutta: « Ce qui me fait le plus peur au monde, c'est l'impuissance devant le mal ».

158. See fn 174 in this section.

159. See fn 175 in this section.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Peut-être.

Vigueur des traits dans leur délicatesse. C'est la fraîcheur polie du front bombé auquel la calvitie donne de l'ampleur. C'est la pesanteur des maxillaires, les cernes bistres autour des yeux, l'étroitesse du nez et soudain l'enflure des narines de part et d'autre de la pointe aiguë. C'est cette lèvre inférieure pulpeuse, sensuelle et qui traduit le moindre sentiment par une moue, un frémissement.

Je respectais, depuis un instant, son silence: mais non, il faut reprendre le choc des phrases, car déjà l'expression se rembrunit...

Serge GROUSSARD

Et maintenant, où en est l'Asie, Excellence?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

L'Occident ne réalise pas suffisamment l'immensité des changements. L'Asie s'appuie sur une très longue et très belle histoire. Elle a subi pendant trois siècles une éclipse. Elle a été envahie et asservie. Maintenant, la voici tout entière qui émerge des chaînes du colonialisme. Elle en émerge jeune, vigoureuse, grouillante, farouchement orgueilleuse de sa liberté retrouvée. Elle prend conscience de ses innombrables atouts jusqu'ici inutilisés: espaces, richesses naturelles, population. La métamorphose est brusque et totale. Elle entraîne la disparition à jamais de la vieille balance des forces dans le monde. Les anciens états d'âme occidentaux de domination ou même de paternalisme ne sont plus tolérables. Il faut que l'Asie participe dans l'égalité à la marche du monde.

Serge GROUSSARD

Cette impatience asiatique, légitime sans doute, ne risque-t-elle pas, par ses exagérations possibles, de corrompre les relations avec l'Occident?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Les nations asiatiques, loin de rejeter l'amitié et la coopération de l'Occident, les recherchent, car elles ont de terribles problèmes à résoudre. Ces problèmes consistent d'abord à faire vivre plus de un milliard d'êtres humains ensuite à leur permettre de rattraper leur retard au plus vite.

En bref: l'Asie est en pleine évolution. Elle veut sa libération économique après sa libération politique. Elle hait le colonialisme et la discrimination raciale qui accompagnaient usuellement la domination européenne. Mais elle ne hait

pas les nations européennes et occidentales en général. Ce contre quoi se révoltent surtout les immenses masses asiatiques, c'est contre la pauvreté et le malheur.

L'ASIE, UNE ENORME ENTITÉ

Serge GROUSSARD

Vous vous référez volontiers à l'entité asiatique, à la solidarité asiatique. Vous rappelez souvent que l'Inde est une nation asiatique. Pourtant il y a plusieurs Asies: Asie mineure, Asie centrale, Asie du Sud, Extrême-Orient. Civilisations, populations, races, attirances, problèmes—chaque groupe en tout cela a son originalité, exclusive...

Jawaharlal NEHRU

On doit en effet se rappeler que l'Asie est une énorme entité. Il y a, entre autres, d'une part l'Asie de l'Ouest, d'autre part l'Asie orientale. Chacune de ces Asies représente un groupe très distinct. Mais au-dessus de ces particularités, il y a ce que j'appellerai le fait Asie, aussi vivant, plus peut-être que le fait Europe. Cette personnalité asiatique, de nombreux facteurs ont contribué à lui donner naissance, puis force.

Quels sont ces facteurs? Une grande et belle histoire vécue par chacune de nos nations, aux civilisations parfois rivales, toujours glorieuses; une longue oppression colonialiste, communément subie, d'où l'éclosion récente d'une fièvre de liberté jalouse est dynamique; un grave retard économique et social accru par la faute d'occupants étrangers trop égoïstes; des populations ultra-nombreuses, des possibilités magnifiques...

Serge GROUSSARD

L'Inde fait partie de l'Asie occidentale. Iriez-vous jusqu'à admettre qu'elle est plus proche de l'Europe que de l'Extrême-Orient?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

L'Inde est par elle-même une entité. Elle a été influencée par de nombreuses civilisations, de nombreuses invasions, de nombreuses religions, de nombreux grands penseurs. Elle a été brassée et secouée par de vastes courants, les uns mystérieux, les autres spectaculaires. Elle en a acquis une profonde individualité. Elle ne ressemble plus qu'à elle-même. En plusieurs de ses aspects fondamentaux, l'Inde est effectivement plus proche de l'Europe que la Chine, du Japon. Je pense à nos langages, par exemple.

[End of 31-03-1959]

[Continued, 1 April 1959, p. 4]

CHEZ LES GRANDS DE L'ASIE LIBRE

[Three-column headline]

POURQUOI

Après avoir évoqué les grands problèmes de l'Asie, M. Nehru a souligné la personnalité indienne...

Serge GROUSSARD

Et « âme » populaire ? les races ? Les mécanismes de pensée ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Oui certes. Dans l'ensemble l'Inde est plus proche de l'Europe que de l'Extrême-Orient.

Serge GROUSSARD

Le président Salazar m'a affirmé récemment avec force que jamais le Portugal n'abandonnerait Goa, non plus que les autres enclaves portugaises en Inde. Ces territoires, m'a-t-il dit, font partie du Portugal au même titre que Lisbonne ou Porto. Que pensez-vous de ces déclarations ?

Le Premier saisit un long porte-cigarette d'ivoire et d'or, mais au moment de frotter une allumette il aura comme un geste de scrupule et ce n'est que quelques minutes plus tard qu'autour de nous, dans l'air brassé par des ventilateurs électriques, le parfum mielleux du tabac anglais rôdera.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

En aucune circonstance nous n'accepterons la présence sur notre sol les ultimes vestiges du colonialisme portugais. Nous avons été patients et nous le demeurons. M. Salazar sait comme tout le monde que l'Inde pourrait reprendre possession de Goa quand elle voudrait. Si elle s'en abstient, c'est parce qu'elle a en horreur l'emploi de la force comme solution aux querelles. Mais il n'y aura pas de compromis sur Goa. Nous sommes sûrs que bientôt ces territoires retourneront à la mère patrie. J'espère que l'influence des nations plus sages parviendra à faire comprendre au Portugal que dans la seconde moitié du vingtième siècle il est illusoire de continuer la politique des colonialistes du seizième.

Serge GROUSSARD

Le monde d'avant les deux grandes guerres mondiales était très éloigné de l'âge où nous vivons. Cela étant, pensez-vous que le colonialisme ait toujours été blâmable?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Quels que soient les motifs de l'étranger qui vient s'installer chez moi, je ne trouve jamais cette action justifiable. Cela dit, le colonialisme de jadis était la conséquence naturelle de la vitalité excessive et nouvelle des grandes nations européennes, alors que l'Asie était statique—endormie. Cela ne rendait pas le colonialisme plus aimable, surtout aux yeux des pays qui le subissaient. Cela le rendait logique, quasi obligatoire.

Serge GROUSSARD

Estimez-vous que la domination britannique ait retardé la progression de l'Inde?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Deviner l'avenir, passe encore. Mais ce qui eût pu être! Répondons malgré tout, en nous bornant à énumérer quelques réflexions, sans conclusion péremptoire....

Si les Britanniques n'avaient pas été là, l'Inde aurait connu des guerres civiles étrangères, des désordres de toutes sortes—émeutes, indiscipline, invasions, révolutions réussies ou manquées, etc. Le pays aurait couru la tentation constante de l'émiettement. Mais l'Inde aurait mûri et progressé normalement. Qu'entends-je par cette adverbe: « normalement » ? Eh bien ! Il n'y aurait eu dans la formation de la personnalité indienne et de sa pensée, dans la croissance de ses os, de sa chair et de son âme, aucune influence extérieure.

L'un des plus graves dangers aurait été, certainement, l'éclatement de l'Inde. De ce mal serait né, en tout cas, un bien : en luttant pour que le pays revint à l'unité, nos prédécesseurs et nous-mêmes nous serions acharnés à regrouper les éléments de la nation, à rechercher les lignes de rencontre des entités différentes ; nous nous serions infiniment plus attachés, par exemple, à user d'un langage commun, à l'imposer par persuasion. Je puis dire aussi que les luttes avec les Britanniques nous ont donné une vitalité plus grande et ont accru notre souci de la nation indienne et de son unification. Sans ces luttes, le message et l'exemple de Gandhi auraient-ils eu autant d'éclat et se seraient-ils aussi profondément incrustés dans l'âme populaire ? Je ne sais...

Reconnaissons d'autre part que les Anglais nous ont convenablement préparés à l'indépendance en nous créant une bonne administration, une bonne

ossature militaire, un certain ordre. Le fait que nos classes cultivées parlent anglais aide à pallier la pluralité des langages. Ces avantages ne doivent pas faire oublier que l'occupation anglaise fut exagérée, parfois cruelle, entachée d'immobilisme et d'erreurs de gouvernement, et que, face à elle, l'activité des opposants indiens irréductibles a servi hautement la prise de conscience par l'Inde de son existence nationale.

En bref, ce que l'on a le droit de dire, c'est que le débat reste ouvert ; c'est que l'occupation anglaise fut de toute façon beaucoup trop longue ; c'est que les Britanniques, pendant leur occupation, eurent de sérieux défauts mais aussi d'importantes qualités.

Dans l'état où se trouvait le monde jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale, on peut sans doute dire raisonnablement que la présence anglaise en Inde n'apparaissait pas comme scandaleuse, en ceci qu'elle n'était pas en contradiction avec l'âge de l'humanité d'alors. Quoi qu'il en soit, nous aurions dû être indépendants.

Serge GROUSSARD

Il existe d'immenses différences dans la capacité des nations contemporaines à vivre indépendantes. Certaines de ces nations préféreraient la stagnation dans leur retard à l'intrusion étrangère. Est-ce juste ? Est-ce admissible ? Doivent-elles à tout prix demeurer libres de leur destin, alors que leurs peuples sont encore pareils à des enfants, et que le pouvoir est entre les mains de quelques féodaux ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Elle [sic] doivent rester inconditionnellement libres. La contagion du monde moderne est si puissante qu'il n'y aura nul besoin des interventions étrangères pour que les féodalités soient balayées dans les pays où elles durent encore. Avec l'apport désintéressé du capital et du travail étrangers, les nations, une à une, rattraperont le temps perdu. Toute intervention étrangère appuyée sur la force ou sur la servilité de nationaux pourris est condamnable sans restriction.

Serge GROUSSARD

Le colonialisme franc et, si je puis dire totalitaire, tel que le connut le monde d'avant 1945, vous paraît frappé à mort. Mais il existe un nouveau colonialisme, souterrain, farouchement respectueux de la légalité, de la forme : c'est le colonialisme économique. Sous ses aspects multiples, le condamnez-vous, lui aussi ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Naturellement ! L'exploitation économique étrangère d'un pays donné ou d'une ressource nationale primordiale de ce pays donné représente un colonialisme aussi injustifiable que le colonialisme d'annexion. L'argent ne justifie rien pour nous. Une nation économiquement faible a assurément besoin de soutiens multiples, et seules les grandes puissances peuvent lui fournir l'essentiel de ses soutiens. La tentation d'asservir les âmes de ceux que l'on secourt ou de convertir les dirigeants du pays secouru en marionnettes que l'on maintient au-dessus de l'eau parce qu'elles sont commodes, cette tentation est forte mais périlleuse, car plus va le monde et plus les peuples sont lucides, actifs et rancuniers envers qui les a abusés ou même seulement ralentis dans leur marche vers une vie meilleure. Même lorsque l'intervention étrangère se borne à exiger du pays aidé qu'il suive les conceptions économiques de la nation qui l'appuie, cela est intolérable. Chaque peuple doit suivre ses propres chemins, sinon il perd son âme.

Serge GROUSSARD

La convention signée entre l'Inde et la France au sujet des établissements français de l'Inde n'est pas encore ratifiée par notre Parlement, mais le sera probablement. Il est évident que vous êtes satisfait de cette cession à l'Inde de nos cinq établissements.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Oui.

Serge GROUSSARD

Beaucoup d'Indiens de culture française craignent que la rupture des liens avec la France ne provoque la disparition rapide de notre culture dans nos anciens établissements de l'Inde. Or cette culture a réellement de profondes racines et se répandait de plus en plus chez les jeunes générations, surtout à Pondichéry, foyer intellectuel plein de dynamisme et rayonnement.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Ces craintes sont vaines. L'accord Indo-français ne signifie pas seulement qu'un problème très vieux et très délicat est heureusement résolu. Il donne naissance à un rapprochement plus important que jamais entre nos deux pays. L'Inde a en effet fourni l'assurance qu'elle contribuerait de tout son pouvoir à maintenir Pondichéry comme centre de culture et de langue françaises [sic].¹⁶⁰

160. See fn 176 in this section.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Réfléchissez : notre intérêt est qu'à côté des nombreux foyers de culture anglo-saxonne subsistent le plus de foyers possibles d'autres cultures occidentales. Cela afin de permettre aux Indiens de se cultiver internationalement sans avoir à s'exiler au bout du monde.

Serge GROUSSARD

L'Inde, ou plutôt l'Inde cultivée, a-t-elle reçu une influence de la France ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Assurément ! La révolution de 1789, la tradition française de liberté et d'égalité furent et sont un exemple pour l'élite indienne.

Quant à moi, la traditionnelle liberté d'expression des Français, leur jaillissement artistique, leur subtilité, leur intelligence aiguë m'ont beaucoup frappé et beaucoup influencé.

Cette physionomie constamment se métamorphose et l'on dirait qu'elle est traversée d'ondes, comme si la pensée y matérialisait son labeur en signes impalpables et pourtant réels—une vibration des paupières, un éclair au fond des yeux enfoncés, une ride qui se volatilise aux commissures des lèvres, un ton plus bleu sur une veine de la tempe, très près des longs cheveux lisses et blancs et, lorsqu'il s'échauffe, ces rougeurs aux pommettes—

Il faux que je dise aussi la chaude voix cuivrée à l'ample registre, qui sait caresser, rêver, tonner.

Serge GROUSSARD

Les dictatures se font nombreuses depuis l'après-guerre. S'agit-il des derniers soubresauts d'une conception surannée ? S'agit-il, au contraire, d'une dure renaissance ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Même lorsque les fatigues ou les déceptions m'inclinent à la tentation du découragement devant les maux et les chutes du monde moderne, je me rappelle en dernier ressort la grande leçon de l'histoire : les limites du savoir et les possibilités de l'homme ont toujours été reculées d'âge en âge, et l'homme semble capable d'un progrès continu.

1 April 1959, p. 5

[Full page]

L'Inde, craindrait-elle la Chine !

[Large centred photograph of Indira Gandhi and Groussard in conversation]

Serge GROUSSARD

Jusqu'où ? Jusqu'à quand ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

L'avance peut être infinie. C'est pourquoi, vous disais-je, je pense que les systèmes de force et de violence, qu'ils prennent le nom de césarisme ou de fascisme iront déclinant.

Serge GROUSSARD

Vous êtes démocrate. Vous êtes socialiste.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Je suis démocrate et socialiste, mais au-delà des mots il faut tenir compte de la population, de l'époque. Instaurer d'un trait de plume le socialisme en un pays comme l'Inde serait catastrophique. Je suis socialiste, mais je crois à l'individu, non à l'homme de masse. Je suis partisan d'un socialisme libre, progressif et indien. Les sociétés sont de moins en moins assujetties au profit individuel, à l'entreprise privée.

Je crois que l'ère du capitalisme va être révolue, et que ce déclin est heureux, car mon socialisme consiste à souhaiter une société sans classes, où chacun aura au départ les mêmes avantages et les possibilités ; où toutes les ressources primordiales seront utilisées au maximum et équitablement distribuées. Je crois aussi qu'aucun des systèmes nés de la révolution industrielle, qu'il s'agisse du capitalisme, du marxisme, du socialisme ou du fascisme, ne peut s'adapter sans changement profond au nouvel âge qui naît. Nous sommes à la naissance d'une époque de prestigieuses métamorphoses, et la nécessité fondamentale, terriblement urgente, est de s'adapter à ces métamorphoses et non de chercher à imposer tel ou tel système aux peuples.

LES DANGERS DE LA DEMOCRATIE

Serge GROUSSARD

Tout ce qui est humain recèle des manques et des dangers. Quels sont les dangers de la démocratie ?

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal NEHRU

La démocratie rend les peuples pleins de vitalité. Mais cette vitalité n'est pas celle des exceptions valeureuses. La démocratie ne favorise pas les grands génies individuels. Elle ne sélectionne pas ; elle rassemble et amasse. Elle agit pour l'ensemble. Après tout, on peut dire que la démocratie est par essence un agent de nivellement. En outre, et cela représente un second danger éventuel, dans une démocratie il faut satisfaire pour tous les citoyens leurs besoins d'aujourd'hui, en même temps qu'on prépare les exigences de demain : cela ralentit le rythme du progrès.

Serge GROUSSARD

Estimez-vous que l'Inde soit vraiment à l'heure présente une démocratie ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Constitutionnellement, oui. Dans nos cœurs et notre volonté, oui. Mais que veut dire exactement votre question ? Y a-t-il une pensée mystérieuse derrière elle ?

Serge GROUSSARD

Je ne pense pas que le peuple de l'Inde soit, dans sa majorité, capable de participer à une vie démocratique.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Pour le moment, vous avez raison. Vous savez, pareille déficience n'est pas le lot seulement de l'Inde ! Peu à peu, l'instruction, la lutte contre la famine, les soins médicaux rendent capable le peuple indien de s'intégrer à la vie de la cité et du pays. Nous avons pris la situation comme elle se trouvait. Nous ne sommes pas des faiseurs de miracles...

Je vois une autre remarque à faire au sujet des Indiens : ils ont été habitués pendant des siècles à subir passivement l'autorité de leurs élites qui, elles-mêmes, s'inclinaient devant l'étranger. Ainsi, à tous les échelons, des maîtres ayant tous pouvoirs pensaient et décidaient pour le peuple indien qui se bornait à accepter et à obéir. Nous agissons en sorte que, progressivement, l'initiative ne vienne plus seulement de la tête mais de la base. Il nous faut inculquer en même temps à la nation le sentiment des obligations. Chaque droit a pour corollaire un devoir. Chacun doit se discipliner lui-même, sinon le régime démocratique doit lui être refusé. Cette éducation, qui ne fait chez nous que commencer, explique la nécessité d'une autorité ferme de l'Etat.

Serge GROUSSARD

Vous avez bâti une autorité ferme. On pourrait parfois dire « une autorité impitoyable ».

Ma remarque tombe dans le vide. Il regarde ostensiblement sa montre puis, les paupières baissées, les lèvres boudeuses, il prend un gros morceau de marbre aux larges veines noires qui pressait un dossier. Et le bloc de marbre se met à heurter comme mécaniquement le rebord de la table : « Pan ! Pan ! »

J'ai toussé et j'ai murmuré : « Impitoyable était sans doute regrettable. » Et si j'ai murmuré cela, c'est parce que je n'ai pas le droit de juger, sur des on-dit, sans preuves, ce qui peut se passer en des régions dont je ne connais rien. Alors, la bouche du Premier s'est redressée en un pli d'ironie, et j'ai reçu la flamme du regard marron clair.

Serge GROUSSARD

Tout en proclamant que l'Inde est essentiellement pacifiste, vous avez créé une puissante armée nationale.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

C'est le prix de la liberté dans le monde actuel.

Serge GROUSSARD

Cela étant, estimez-vous normal qu'une armée nationale dispose de toutes les armes dont pourraient user ses ennemis éventuels ? Puisque plusieurs nations ont des armes atomiques, envisagez-vous de les imiter ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Jamais. Bombes A ou H, fusées ou sous-marins atomiques, ces armes sont inhumaines et aboutiraient à d'atroces conséquences pour les populations civiles, à de terribles dangers pour la santé de nos descendants. Même si tous les pays, même si toutes les villes du monde avaient des armes atomiques à foison, nous, jamais.

L'ENERGIE NUCLEAIRE

Serge GROUSSARD

Quant à l'utilisation de l'énergie nucléaire, c'est autre chose.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Assurément ! Nous avons avancé considérablement dans nos plans d'utilisation de l'énergie atomique et vous savez que le problème m'intéresse passionnément. Je dirige en personne le ministère de l'Energie atomique, et j'ai pris aussi la direction du service de la Recherche scientifique et industrielle.

Aux derniers mots, le ton s'est assourdi. Oui, les efforts seront durs encore, et longues les années, avant que l'Inde puisse utiliser à grande échelle la fission nucléaire...

Il pose sur le cendrier son fume-cigarettes, soupire, et je regarde les cernes bleus, la remontée des épaules, les creux des joues. Mais la fraîcheur demeure ainsi que l'éclat sur la souple peau bronzée. La fatigue sied à l'harmonie aiguë de ces traits.

Demain, Mme Indira Gandhi me dira l'emploi du temps quotidien de son père. Il se lève à 7 heures environ, fait ses exercices de yoga, « même s'il se sent fourbu », prend son premier repas, assez abondant, avec sa fille et son gendre, lit les dépêches importantes de la nuit et va se promener dans le parc, où les sages pelouses, les pièces d'eau et les allées ombragées sont une paix contagieuse. A 9 h. 30, c'est le bureau. Dès lors, et jusqu'à minuit, M. Nehru ne s'appartiendra plus, si ce n'est au moment du déjeuner et du dîner, lorsque ceux-ci sont intimes. « Parfois il n'éteint que vers 2 heures du matin quand il a des difficultés pour ce concentrer sur un dossier urgent... Comprenez-vous : cette rigueur dura depuis très longtemps. »

Ni guerre ni alliance : rien que l'Inde, ses masses malheureuses et son combat pour l'ascension.

Mais...

Serge GROUSSARD

Quand avez-vous pris conscience de la solidarité asiatique.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Quand me suis-je aperçu que j'étais solidaire de tout ce qui concernait l'Asie : la question, posée de la sorte, me semblerait préférable. Eh bien ! Ce fut lors de la guerre russo-japonaise de 1904-1905. Je me rappelle mon transport de joie en apprenant la victoire de l'amiral Togo sur la flotte du tsar à Tsushima. C'était à mon arrivée en Angleterre, dans le train de Douvres à Londres. Je venais d'ouvrir le *Times*, et la nouvelle a flamboyé... J'avais quinze ans et demi. J'étais secret et dévoré de feu. J'atteignais la citadelle de l'Occident au moment où, pour la première fois dans les temps modernes, une nation asiatique

mettait une grande puissance européenne à genoux...¹⁶¹

Serge GROUSSARD

En quelle langue pensez-vous ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Parfois en hindi. Parfois en anglais.

Serge GROUSSARD

Il paraît que vous rêvez en anglais : c'est l'un de vos compagnons de prison, le ministre Mualana Azad, qui le raconte.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Invérifiable par moi-même. Au sujet de ma dualité de langage, il faut se rappeler que j'ai eu une éducation à la fois indienne, parce que j'étais en Inde, et anglaise, parce que j'avais des professeurs britanniques. Puis je suis allé à Harrow et à Cambridge. Puis je me suis replongé dans l'Inde et mon combat... Mais pour ce combat j'avais besoin à tout moment de l'anglais. Maintenant encore, j'en ai besoin avec vous. En revanche, avec mes compatriotes et pour ma satisfaction personnelle, l'hindi est indispensable. Aucune nation ne peut trouver son âme en dehors de son propre langage.

Dans sa grande pièce aux lambris de chêne clair, parviennent des chants pointus d'oiseaux. Le Premier en a été distrai' en même temps que moi. Son cou lisse et un peu gras se tord vers une fenêtre attristée de barreaux qu'escaladent des cactées de tous sorts, les unes hérissées de piquants, d'autres longues et ployées, torturées de cassures.

En face de moi, une large porte-fenêtre est entrouverte sur un péristyle de colonnes pansues, mais nulle vie ne s'échappe de cette architecture, et il n'y a pas même un souffle de vent pour lutter contre la violence immobile du plein soleil.

Serge GROUSSARD

Quelles sont les personnalités qui vous ont le plus influencé ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Mon père. Gandhi. Rabindranath Tagore.

161. See fn 177 in this section.

Serge GROUSSARD

Quelles sont les personnalités que vous admirez le plus ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Gandhi.

Serge GROUSSARD

Etes-vous toujours aussi sûr de vos incertitudes ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Les bonds de la science, les développements des techniques nous ont rejetés plus que jamais dans le mystère. Ce qui est, ce qui n'est pas, en dehors des horizons de l'homme, nous ne le savons pas, aucun moyen humain ne nous permet de le savoir, et, si Dieu existe, il s'est refusé à se découvrir à nous ; en conséquence, il est inutile, voire impie, de prétendre forcer le secret.

Serge GROUSSARD

Gandhi remarquait : « Jawaharlal dit qu'il ne croit pas en Dieu. Pourtant il est plus près de Dieu que nombre de ceux qui professent leur foi. » Que pensez-vous de ce jugement.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Que vous répondre ? L'homme devrait s'occuper du bonheur de ses semblables plus que de son propre salut après la mort.

Serge GROUSSARD

On dirait que les religions organisées vous irritent.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Je crois que la doctrine et le dogme, la présence et les interventions de l'Eglise, l'influence du prêtre, tout cela est un poids pour l'esprit des fidèles et une chaîne pour leur âme.

Je vous ai dit que votre Dieu s'appelait pour moi Mystère. Je critique les religions organisées, mais peut-être suis-je dans une erreur grossière, puisque l'une de ces religions, ou plusieurs d'entre elles si la solution est païenne, a ou ont peut-être trouvé la clef de ce je recouvre du nom de Mystère...

Aussi, donnant un avis fondé sur l'ignorance, ne saurais-je attaquer ni blâmer aucune foi ni aucune construction sur la foi. Ce que je sais, c'est que la religion est affaire privée qui n'a ou ne devrait avoir aucune place en politique, et cela spécialement chez nous, Indiens, qui avons toujours été divisés et

fanatiques dans les domaines de la croyance.

Serge GROUSSARD

Si vous aviez à marquer une préférence de sceptique, seriez-vous plus proche des païens que des partisans du dieu chrétien ou musulman ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Je me sens davantage païen. L'Inde est de tradition païenne. Nous croyons à la vie et nous laissons vivre chacun comme il veut. Nous adorons la vérité sous toutes les formes où nous la discernons.

Serge GROUSSARD

Où en est le monde ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Le monde a fait un tel bond dans tous les domaines du savoir et des techniques—l'âge nucléaire aujourd'hui, l'âge interplanétaire demain—qu'il importe d'en revenir au vieux penseur qui conseillait : « *Connais-toi toi-même.* » Un déséquilibre est né dans le monde présent. Ou l'équilibre sera retrouvé, ou l'homme se conduira en apprenti sorcier et se consumera lui-même avec les forces qu'il aura provoquées. La question fondamentale est donc celle-ci : « Comment retrouver l'équilibre ? » La réponse est : « Dans un plus profond développement de l'âme. » Il y a de multiples moyens de parvenir à cela. J'ignore si les religions peuvent jouer un rôle déterminant dans l'approfondissement et la purification de l'âme. Je ne suis pas religieux moi-même, mais il est incontestable que la religion crée la confiance et le calme spirituel. En résumé, nous nous efforçons tous d'atteindre aux réalités ultimes. Comment, dans cette recherche obscure, ne suivrons-nous pas des voies différentes ? Sri Râmakrishna disait : « Dieu est sur le toit. Il s'agit d'y grimper. Les uns prennent une échelle, les autres une corde, d'autres un escalier de pierre ou une perche en bambou, d'autres escaladent à leur manière... »

« KARL MARX EST DEPASSE. »

Serge GROUSSARD

Croyez-vous au danger communiste, Excellence ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Il ya a beaucoup de dangers dans le monde. Parmi eux, le danger d'exprimer trop rapidement sa pensée sur les sujets les plus graves.

Je vous dirai d'abord que la doctrine communiste est en pleine évolution. Une doctrine figée est d'ailleurs une doctrine qui va vers la mort. J'ai lu et relu avec soin Karl Marx. Je puis affirmer que son système porte sa date. Il est dépassé. On pourrait dire qu'en de nombreux aspects le marxisme aujourd'hui est réactionnaire.

Ensuite... Ce ne sont jamais les doctrines qui sont dangereuses en soi, car l'esprit est toujours capable de s'opposer à l'esprit, et le progrès est fait de dialogues. Ce sont les hommes qui peuvent être dangereux. Eh bien ! selon les pays, les régimes, les époques, les communistes sont dangereux ou utiles, positifs ou destructeurs. Ils furent héroïques et indispensables dans tous les pays de l'Europe occupée, au cours de la lutte clandestine contre les nazis. Ils furent malvenus en Hongrie, en octobre 1956. Si vous me demandiez : « Les Russes sont-ils dangereux ? » je vous répondrais : « Nous, Indiens, ne regardons aucun pays avec hostilité. Nous n'avons aucun ennemi. Nous n'appartenons à aucun bloc, à aucune alliance. Nous ne faisons aucune discrimination entre les nations. Nous sommes ouverts au monde. Nous tendons au monde une main de paix. C'est la grande leçon de Gandhi. »

Serge GROUSSARD

L'Inde a une longue frontière commune avec la Chine. En ressentez-vous, Excellence, une particulière inquiétude ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Non. Pourquoi craindrais-je spécialement cette nation asiatique ? La Chine, dans son impatience et sa vigueur renouvée, a quelquefois agi d'une façon que je regrette profondément. Mais, la plupart du temps, elle a su en revanche se conduire avec une sagesse et une grande humanité.

Il s'agit de savoir si l'on veut ou si l'on ne veut pas comprendre la Chine d'aujourd'hui. Pour la comprendre, il faut d'abord remonter loin dans son histoire, dont elle garde dévotieusement la mémoire. Il faut réfléchir à sa gloire antique, à ses luttes séculaires intérieures et extérieures, à sa prodigieuse civilisation, aux invasions, aux humiliations, à son isolement des lieux où se façonnait le progrès matériel du monde qu'elle avait si longtemps devancé. Il faut ensuite se rappeler que la majorité des grandes puissances continue insolemment à refuser de reconnaître la République populaire chinoise, bien que celle-ci soit installée dans presque tout le territoire national, sans discussion, depuis de nombreuses années. Une telle politique de l'autruche est insensée.

Une grande nation est ressuscitée et elle a pleinement conscience de sa nouvelle personnalité, de sa nouvelle force. Que cela plaise ou non, cela est.

Serge GROUSSARD

Peut-on dire que l'Inde actuelle vive sous le signe de Gandhi ?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

L'Inde vénérera à jamais Gandhi et ses leçons. Mais Gandhi lui-même aurait été choqué par votre question. Il ne se prenait ni pour un dieu ni pour un surhomme. Il se prenait pour un sage, et il était en vérité le plus sage des hommes.

La pensée indienne s'appuie sur un immense passé. Notre manière de vivre changera encore, de même notre manière de penser. Jadis, par exemple, le système des castes fut un facteur important dans l'élaboration de la personnalité et de l'âme indiennes. Il apportait l'ordre, il donnait aux corporations la fierté de leurs tâches respectives, il était un cran d'arrêt contre le nomadisme, la paresse, la dispersion dans l'effort. Puis, peu à peu, après longtemps, le système des castes perdit sa souplesse, ses figes, devint un facteur de régression. Et maintenant, il faut que les castes disparaissent tout à fait.

Notre pensée évoluera donc toujours, et Gandhi aura contribué pour une belle part à lui donner l'ossature morale nécessaire. Gandhi représente un exemple admirable et une leçon éternelle pour l'Inde comme pour le monde entier, parce que la vérité est universelle... »



Ce que cet homme a fait de l'Inde, à d'autres de le dire.

Ce que Jawaharlal Nehru a fait de lui-même...

Sa naissance, son éducation et ses tendances premières lui offraient une existence soyeuse. Il aimait tant la vie, le Premier aux roses ! Il eût, en s'y baignant, accru continuellement la richesse des Nehru, car le métier d'avocat était une mine d'or, en Inde anglaise, lorsqu'au diplôme de Sa Majesté s'ajoutaient les prestigieuses références de Harrow et de Cambridge—et les relations que ces noms impliquaient...

Cela ne l'aurait pas empêché de s'intéresser à son époque, d'être avec conviction un nationaliste modéré et prudent, puis de nuancer son jeu sincère au fil des grands courants. Il aurait pris soin de se faire arrêter, en ces moments où la dernière guerre mondiale s'achevait et où c'était la course à la prison pour les habiles.

Oui, il aurait procédé comme il seyait, sans outrance, n'oubliant pas les leçons de la pudique Albion. Il serait immanquablement devenu grand notable puis, la libération indienne acquise, ministre, parce qu'il était brahmane de vieille et pure souche, qu'il avait un père remarquable, et que son intelligence, sa fine psychologie, son charme, étalent d'imbattables atouts.

Mais il n'eût pas été le premier adjoint de Gandhi.

Et jamais l'apôtre de la non-violence, jamais le père de l'Inde libre ne l'aurait désigné comme son successeur le plus digne. Car Gandhi s'était totalement sacrifié à sa lutte et ne concevait pour le premier guide de la nation nouvelle qu'un homme ayant, à sa semblance, consenti le plein don de soi-même.

La grandeur magistrale de Nehru c'est d'avoir, avant la trentaine, alors que la route devant lui s'étendait large, droite, lumineuse, facile, choisi l'absolu. C'est d'avoir cédé à sa conscience et, lucidement, passé par la porte étroite.

Serge Groussard

FIN

[Translation begins :

A CONVERSATION WITH MR JAWAHARLAL NEHRU¹⁶²

A sweeping inquiry by Serge GROUSSARD

"India hates but one thing: misfortune..."

Mr Jawaharlal Nehru was seated when I stepped across the threshold of his office room. He remained motionless, brow furrowed, reflecting on a piece of paper which he held with both hands, as if he had hesitated to crumple it. I paused. Mr Bahadur Singh, who was then, I believe, director of information, had been kind enough to accompany me up there. It was just as well, for he decided to go before me to whisper a few words into the ear of the statesman. Behind me I could hear the raucous breath of the photographer. Mr Nehru glanced at his watch, arranged his papers, and rose, while the photographer, crouching suddenly, commenced a series of exercises which belied his shortness of breath.

The features of the Premier had clouded over when his assistant had disturbed him. But now his face was visible as he approached me. And it was the first smile which exposed a brilliant set of teeth. He was trim without being

162. Interview to Serge Groussard, Chief Reporter of *Le Figaro*, given on 10 October 1958 in Delhi, and published in *Le Figaro* in two parts on 31 March 1959, p. 5 and 1 April 1959, pp. 4 and 5. See Nehru's note to Subimal Dutt, 26 February 1959, commenting on this interview, SWJN/SS/46/p. 661.

Bold portions are Groussard's own observations about the interview, not addressed to Nehru but to the readers. His own narratives and reflections are not in bold and must not be confused with Nehru's replies.

Translated from the French by Madhavan K. Palat.

thin and of average build. Power preserves! On the first of November Mr Nehru would be seventy years old.¹⁶³ But neither the face—where the play of light and shade revealed moments of weariness but also of calm,—nor the body with its supple movements, had aged.

He waved me to a seat in front of his desk and spoke a moment in low tones to Mr Singh. A few seconds for me to get accustomed to him, to observe him... The long tunic buttoned up in front flared toward the knees. It was slit on the sides, and when the Premier rose soon after to search briskly for a book on a farther bookshelf, the ends billowed and flapped as if under a strong air current. It was of fine linen, very white, and at the level of the heart a rose bloomed, freshly collected, quivering still with opening petals, its clear tones soft and lively. Mr Nehru's daughter, Mrs Indira Gandhi, told me that every morning she sought out a new rose for him to slip into his buttonhole. Every morning, all the year, the man of roses of Delhi... When he travelled, it was ensured that he would find the customary flower and aroma for his toilet.

The Premier's trousers were also of a brilliant white today; they were in the form of riding breeches encasing his spindle shanks and held his ankles above the socks, their white exposed by the leather sandals with buckles.

He came to take his place in the armchair, leaned back in it, and turned toward me his pensive head where everything so finely met.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Is this your first stay in India?

Serge GROUSSARD

Yes, Your Excellency. Unfortunately, it will be brief.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

You will spend just a few days in my country and you will write, I suppose, much about it—and about me.

Serge GROUSSARD

I have come here only to meet you.

SO COMPLEX A CHARACTER!

Will this be difficult? I had been warned: impatient, changeable, irritable... His brow drops, his fingers drum on a writing pad which he pushes away soon enough. He is sunburned; his well-balanced face and mobile features can move

163. The correct date is 14 November.

rapidly through expressions of cordiality, distraction, and annoyance before it sets itself. Perhaps it would be best to start by asking him questions about his origins, his struggles; he would then see that I am taking care to document conscientiously.

Therefore, it was the past that we talked about first. Why don't I do the same in this account? His character is so complex in its richness of life that it is more prudent to approach and retrace tentatively, in broad strokes, the most obvious parts of his history and hear him set them out himself, as he did with me on certain points, here and there...

The Nehrus were originally from Kashmir. This region, in the North-East [sic] of India, is said to be a fairyland of living waters, birds and flowers, with its green valleys beneath the snowcapped Himalayan peaks.

The family name of the Indian Premier's ancestors was not Nehru, but Kaul. They were brahmins, that is to say that they belonged to the highest of the four castes of the brahmanical system which, at once religious, social and political, reached the peak of its development six or seven centuries before the Christian era—and which still exists, partially, in certain regions, although it is spurned by Indian governments and deeply corroded. The brahmins alone can be priests of Hinduism. Those who do not opt for the priesthood choose in general the liberal professions. Nowadays, being more numerous, they take what they can find.

The Kauls were of ancient and noble lineage; they had, it is said, maintained the purity of "their blue blood", as Olivier-Lacamp¹⁶⁴ says: their Aryan blood. They bore the honorific title of pandit, which means "a man of religious knowledge," according to a definition by Mr Nehru.

In 1716, Raj Kaul, a learned man well-versed in Sanskrit and Persian, was summoned to Delhi by the Emperor Farrukhsiar who, during a visit to Kashmir, had been dazzled by his erudition.

The better to persuade Raj Kaul to settle near his court, the emperor granted him a large estate and a palace which stood near a canal. Canal is *nahar* in Persian, whence the name *Kaul Nehru*, then Nehru for short. This is how our old French nobility took new names after receiving fiefs...

No, it is not a commoner who leads the Republic of India!

Jawaharlal's father, Motilal Nehru, was a rich, brilliant advocate, by no means austere; well aware of the material advantages of a western education, he placed his only son in the hands of English tutors.

164. Max Jules Alexis Marcel Olivier-Lacamp (1914-1983); Reporter with Havas agency, 1937-44; Editor, Agence France-Presse (AFP), 1944-45; Director, AFP India and Afghanistan, 1945-50; war correspondent in Korea and Indochina, 1950-54; Editor-in-Chief, AFP, 1954; journalist with *Le Figaro*, 1954-78.

Serge GROUSSARD

It seems to me that you were a lonely child and too loved.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Too loved... no. I was raised very strictly. Lonely, yes, especially because I had a passion for reading. Dickens, Thackeray, H.G. Wells, Mark Twain... I imbibed poetry and this attraction remained with me, throughout all the changes that took place in me, around me...



In 1905, Jawaharlal was sent to England, to Harrow and Cambridge... It was seven years of more or less thorough immersion in disciplines such as chemistry, biology, and botany.¹⁶⁵ Having performed at a decent average—since he sought not to shine, but to absorb the lessons of the West in all matters—he qualified as an advocate, a fairy tale, which in England of that time, implied especially that he had attended the appropriate number of festivities.¹⁶⁶ Afterwards, Jawaharlal returned to India to lead there the life of the grand bourgeois—rich, young, handsome, amateur, anglophile...

Friends, however, drew him to the meetings of the Indian National Congress, the great movement against the English. Thus, the young pandit (Nehru was then proud of his Brahmin title that he abandoned but recently) was prompted—despite himself, because he froze before crowds—to speak in public.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

It was in my hometown, Allahabad, that I delivered my first speech. You would not guess the subject of our meeting... It was a protest against a government's order to muzzle the press. My first words in public were devoted to the defence of freedom of expression.¹⁶⁷

It was at this time that Mr Nehru studied the conditions of the life of the peasants. The elegant aristocrat was affected deeply, and forever.

165. According to Nehru himself, his subjects were geology, chemistry, and physics (replaced with botany). See SWJN/FS/1/pp. 61 and 73.

166. Ironical reference to qualifying as a barrister, that is, being called to the Bar, which required eating dinners at the Inns of Court in London.

167. On 20 June 1916 against the Indian Press Act, 1910, and against the demand of security from Annie Besant. See SWJN/FS/1/p. 104.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal NEHRU

To better understand them, I lived amongst them. It was atrocious. These people were subjected to famine, monsoons and overpopulation without any relief. They knew no life but the most revolting day-to-day existence of semi-starvation, ignorance and servitude.

In 1916, at the Lucknow Congress, Pandit Nehru met Mahatma Gandhi for the first time...

Serge GROUSSARD

What was your first impression of the Mahatma?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

I don't mind repeating to you what I have said and written many times. But don't you think it would be more convenient to refer to this topic in my autobiography, for example...

Here is the text in question:

*"All of us admired him for his heroic fight in South Africa, but he seemed very distant and different and unpolitical to many of us young men."*¹⁶⁸

Jawaharlal NEHRU

But Gandhi's personality exercised a slow and irresistible fascination. Further, among all the nationalist leaders, it was the Mahatma alone who had a coherent plan of action... More and more, I was drawn to him.

A HEROIC DANDY

Soon, Nehru decided to join the Civil Disobedience movement. And so began the moving, prolonged, and symbolic struggle between Nehru and his father—the great advocate who had built his work and his entire social life upon cooperation with the British and who, moreover, was stricken by the thought that his son could face persecution.

The son won. When Jawaharlal went to prison for the first time on 6 December 1921, his father accompanied him. The police beat the Nehrus black

168. From Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1936), p. 35.

and blue and Jawaharlal learnt to passively bear the wounds of the "lathi", the long and heavy reinforced bamboo staff.¹⁶⁹

Now began a new existence for the former dandy. By 1945, Mr Nehru would be arrested seven times, passing more than ten years in prison.¹⁷⁰

These incarcerations were probably the key to his ascent.

First, because they won him an immense and boundless popularity. His perseverance, his quiet courage, and his legendary smile of disdain during these trials where, according to the instructions of the National Congress, he refused to defend himself, his clarity of vision, his uncompromising loyalty to Gandhi, whom he now regarded as "the first among those living", made him, after the Mahatma, the second icon of Indian resistance.

Second, often solitary in his captivity, he was compelled to reflect, read and create. He wrote three works, the best of which is *The Discovery of India*,¹⁷¹ and the most moving is *Letters to my Daughter Indira*.¹⁷²

Here, we must touch upon the private life of the Prime Minister. It was beautiful, limpid, and sad. In 1916, his parents married him into a rich and noble brahmin family from Kashmir.¹⁷³ The new Mrs Nehru was 17 years old and her first name, Kamala, was soon to be famous throughout India. A marriage made to conform to Hindu traditions, the newly-weds knew nothing of each other. A perfect marriage.

On the Prime Minister's desk, there is only one photograph, Kamala's. She appears there as she would until her death, her face long, features strong, nose aquiline, lips full, a fine head of long black hair that cascaded down to the shoulders and would offer to the evening breeze in the Ganges valley no more than a few raised ringlets of its surge.

169. In 1928. For details of beatings to himself, see Nehru, *An Autobiography*, pp. 177-181 and to his mother, pp. 334-335. See also SWJN/FS/3/pp. 108-116.

170. Nehru served nine prison terms; see Nehru's prison diary in SWJN/FS/6/pp. 360-362; and *Nehru Abhinandan Granth, A Birthday Book*, (Calcutta: Aryavarta Prakashan Grah, 1949), pp. 585-586.

171. First published by the Signet Press, Calcutta, in 1946.

172. There are two books which consist of Nehru's letters to his daughter: *Glimpses of World History* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1934) and *Letters from a Father to His daughter* (Allahabad: The Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1930). Groussard seems to be referring to the second one.

173. S. Gopal describes Kamala Nehru as "a young girl of thirteen belonging to a Kashmiri Brahmin middle-class family who ran a flour mill in Delhi" in *Jawaharlal Nehru, A Biography* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1975), Vol. 1, p. 31.

Kamala threw herself, heart and soul, into her husband's fight, until she too came to experience prison. That is why their only child, Indira, was sent to Europe for an education free of the atmosphere of ceaseless anxiety and conflict in which her parents lived.

However, while Kamala Nehru's spirit was of steel, her body was frail in its thinness. She fell ill and was approaching her end in Lausanne in February 1936. Owing to his wife's critical condition, Nehru was freed by the British to be with her during her final days, along with their daughter.¹⁷⁴

Thereafter, Indira took her mother's place beside Pandit Nehru. She married a brilliant Parsi advocate who, despite his name Gandhi, was no relation of the Mahatma. But she remained closely attached to her father, whom she did not leave. Indeed, one of the daily great escapes of the Premier was spending time with his two grandsons.

At midnight on 14 August 1947, while Delhi plunged into the whirl of celebrations, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru proclaimed before the Constituent Assembly the independence of India. The experience of freedom began with the agony of mutilation. The Muslim populations of the two segments of Pakistan united, seceded from India, and launched into violent conflicts with Hindu India, unresolved conflicts in which immense regions, among them Mr Nehru's Kashmir, are at stake.

"Fratricide, blood-soaked, but free!" exclaimed Gandhi himself, tears in his eyes.

"Nearly twelve years in power!" murmured Mr. Nehru, "I have often offered my resignation to Congress, the other month again..."¹⁷⁵

Here he is calmer, closer, for having stirred these old memories. He is so open and bathed in light, this handsome face that has aged so well!

Serge GROUSSARD

You are still in good form.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

I am in good health. That's not the question.

174. Nehru wrote in his autobiography: "On September 4th [1935] I was suddenly discharged from Almora Gaol as news had come that my wife's condition was critical. She was under treatment in Badenweiler in the Schwarzwald in Germany. My sentence was 'suspended', I was told, and I was released five and half months before my time. I hurried to Europe by air." Nehru, *An Autobiography*, p. 598. Kamala Nehru died in Lausanne on 28 February 1936.

175. In 1954, see SWJN/SS/27/pp. 313-316; and in 1958, see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 501-514.

Serge GROUSSARD

You said in Calcutta one day: "What I fear most in the world is powerlessness before evil."

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Maybe.

There is strength in the delicacy of his features. It is the polished freshness of his prominent forehead, enhanced by baldness. It is the weight of his jaw, the swarthy dark circles under his eyes, the regularity of his nose and the sudden flaring of his nostrils on either side of its sharp tip. It is the fleshy, sensual lower lip that conveys the slightest feeling with a pout, a quiver.

I respected his silence for a moment; but no, it is time to resume the tumult of words, for his expression had already clouded over...

Serge GROUSSARD

So now where is Asia, Your Excellency?

Jawaharlal Nehru

The West does not fully grasp the vastness of change. Asia draws upon an immensely long and beautiful history. It has suffered an eclipse for three centuries. It was invaded and enslaved. Now, it emerges whole from the shackles of colonialism. It emerges young, strong, bustling, fiercely proud of its rediscovered freedom. It becomes aware of its innumerable assets lying fallow: spaces, natural resources, population. The transformation is sudden and total. It entails the dissolution of the old balance of power in the world. The old Western mentality of domination or even of paternalism is no longer tolerable. Asia must participate equally in world events.

Serge GROUSSARD

Doesn't this Asian impatience, though without doubt warranted, risk damaging Asia's relations with the West through its possible excesses?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

The Asian nations, far from rejecting the friendship and cooperation of the West, seek it, for they have terrible problems to solve. These problems consist first of all in ensuring a living for a billion human beings, and then to overcome their retardation as fast as possible.

In short: Asia is changing in every respect. It wants its economic freedom

following its political freedom. It hates colonialism and the racial discrimination that usually accompanied European domination. But it does not hate the European and Western nations in general. What the immense Asian masses revolt against is, above all, poverty and misfortune.

ASIA, AN ENORMOUS ENTITY

Serge GROUSSARD

You freely refer to the Asian entity, to Asian solidarity. You frequently refer to India as an Asian country. However, there are several Asias: Asia Minor, Central Asia, South Asia, the Far East. Civilisations, populations, races, attractions, problems—each group in all of it is possessed of its exclusive originality.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

We should remember that Asia is an enormous entity. There are, among others, West Asia and East Asia. Each of these Asias represents a very distinct group. But over and above these particularities, there is what I shall term the fact of Asia, also live, more perhaps than the fact of Europe. A number of factors have contributed to this personality and energy of Asia.

What are these factors? A grand and fine history lived by each of our nations, by civilisations that have been at times rivals, but always glorious; a long colonial oppression to which they have been subjected in common, followed by the recent burst of a fever of a jealous and dynamic liberty; a serious economic and social retardation aggravated by excessively egoist foreign occupiers; of ultra large populations, of magnificent possibilities...

Serge GROUSSARD

India is part of western Asia. Would you go so far as to admit that she is closer to Europe than the Far East?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

India is an entity by herself. She has been influenced by so many cultures, invasions, religions, great thinkers. She has been churned and shaken by vast currents, some mysterious, others spectacular. She has acquired a profound individuality. She resembles nothing but herself. In many of these fundamental aspects, India is in effect closer to Europe than China or Japan. I think of our languages, for example.

[End of 31-03-1959]

[Continued, 1 April 1959, p. 4]

AMONG THE GREAT OF FREE ASIA

[Three-column headline]

WHY

After presenting the principal problems of Asia, Mr Nehru noted the Indian personality...

Serge GROUSSARD

And the popular "spirit"? the races? The manner of thinking?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Yes, of course. All told, India is closer to Europe than to the Far East.

Serge GROUSSARD

President Salazar emphatically informed me that Portugal shall never abandon Goa, or the other Portuguese enclaves in India. These territories, he told me, are a part of Portugal in the same fashion as Lisbon or Porto. What is your opinion about such statements?

The Premier took a long cigarette holder of ivory and gold, but as he was about to strike a match he seemed to have a moment of doubt, and it was only a few minutes later that the agreeable aroma of English tobacco floated around us in the air stirred by the electric fan.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

In no circumstances would we accept these remnants of Portuguese colonialism on our soil. We have been patient and we shall remain so. Mr Salazar knows, as does the rest of the world, that India can retake possession of Goa when she wants. If she refrains from doing so, it is because she deplores using force as a solution to disputes. But there shall be no compromise on Goa. We are certain that soon these territories shall return to the motherland. I hope the influence of wiser nations will cause Portugal to understand that in the second half of the twentieth century it is delusory to persist with the colonialism of the sixteenth.

Serge GROUSSARD

The world before the two world wars was remote from the age we live in. Given which, do you think that colonialism must always be censured.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Whatever be the reasons for the alien presence here, it can never be justified. Having said that, colonialism of earlier times was the natural consequence of the overflowing and new vitality of the great nations of Europe while Asia was stagnant, dormant. That does not make colonialism any more agreeable, especially to who had to submit to it. It made it logical, virtually obligatory.

Serge GROUSSARD

Do you think that British dominion has retarded Indian progress?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

It is permissible perhaps to guess the future. But what could have happened! Let me respond, nonetheless, limiting myself to some reflections without final conclusions...

If the British had not been here, India would have been subjected to foreign and civil wars, disorder of every kind—riots, indiscipline, invasions, successful or failed revolutions etc. The country would have faced the perennial temptation of fragmentation. But India would have matured and progressed normally. What do I mean by this adverb “normally?” Well! There would not have been any alien influence on the shaping of the Indian personality and of its thought, on the development of its bones, its flesh and its soul.

One of the greatest dangers would have been, certainly, the break-up of India. However, this misfortune would have yielded one benefit: while struggling to restore unity to the country, we and our predecessors would have striven tooth and nail to assemble the component parts of the nation, to seek out their points of convergence; we would have been infinitely more inclined to use a common language, to impose it by persuasion. I would add that the struggles with the British have imparted to us a greater vigour and have enhanced our concern for the Indian nation and its unification. Without these struggles, would Gandhi's example and message have had such impact and would they have embedded themselves so profoundly in the popular spirit? I don't know...

Let us recognise on the other hand that the English have prepared us for independence by creating a good administration, a fine military structure, a degree of law and order. The fact that the elite speaks English has helped mitigate the pluralism of languages. These advantages must not let us forget that the English occupation was extreme, at times cruel, sullied by immobility and misrule, and in the face of it, the action of Indians in implacable opposition to it has served substantially to the growth of an Indian awareness of its national existence.

In sum, what we may say is that the question remains open; that the English

occupation lasted in any case far too long; that during the occupation the British had serious faults but also important qualities.

Given the state of the world until the First World War, it would be reasonable to suggest that the English presence in India did not appear scandalous, in that it was not in conflict with the times. Whatever it be, we should have been independent.

Serge GROUSSARD

There are enormous differences among contemporary nations in their capacity to exist independently. Some of these nations prefer stagnation in their backwardness to foreign intrusion. Is this right? Is this acceptable? Should they remain free of their destiny whatever the cost, while their people remain like children and power is vested in the hands of a few feudals?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

They must remain unconditionally free. The contagion of modernity is so potent that there would be no need for external interventions to sweep away the feudal forces from the countries where they survive. With the disinterested support of foreign capital and labour, one by one the nations shall make up for lost time. Any foreign intervention based on coercion or corrupt national servitude is to be condemned without qualification.

Serge GROUSSARD

Colonialism that is explicit, and if I may say, totalitarian, which the world experienced before 1945, seems to you beaten to extinction. But there exists a new colonialism, subterranean, ferociously respectful of the law and of form: it is economic colonialism. In its many aspects, would you condemn that also.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Naturally! Foreign economic exploitation of a particular country, or of the primary natural resources of such a country, represents a colonialism that is as unjustifiable as the colonialism of annexation. Money is no justification. A nation that is economically feeble must need multiple forms of support, and only the great powers would be able to supply the essential aid. The temptation to enslave the spirit of those one helps, or to convert the leaders of the helped country into marionettes whom one keeps afloat because it is convenient, such a temptation is powerful but perilous. For, as the world moves ahead, the more people become aware, active and vengeful toward those who abused them or even slowed their advance to a better life. Even when foreign intervention is limited to demanding of the helped country that it adopt the economic paradigms

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

of the country which supports it, even that is intolerable. Each people must follow their own path, or else they shall lose their soul.

Serge GROUSSARD

The convention signed between India and France on the subject of French establishments in India has not yet been ratified by our Parliament, but it will be probably. It is clear that you are satisfied with this cession of our five establishments to India.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Yes.

Serge GROUSSARD

Many Indians of French culture fear that the rupture of links with France might lead to the rapid disappearance of our culture in our old establishments of India. Now this culture does have deep roots and it has spread among younger generations, especially in Pondicherry, an intellectual space that is so dynamic and radiant.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

These fears are in vain. The Indo-French accord does not mean only that a longstanding sensitive problem has been amicably settled. It brings our two countries closer together than before. India has in effect provided the assurance that she would make every effort to maintain Pondicherry as a centre of the French language and culture.¹⁷⁶

Consider this, we want that other western cultural spaces should flourish alongside the numerous Anglo-Saxon ones. This would permit Indians to develop a cosmopolitan culture without having to exile themselves to the end of the world.

Serge GROUSSARD

India, or at any rate educated India, has France influenced her?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Certainly! The revolution of 1789, the French tradition of liberty and equality were and are an example for the Indian elite.

As for me, the traditional liberty of expression among the French, their artistic exuberance, their subtlety, their keen intelligence, have impressed and influenced me greatly.

176. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 220-221 and SWJN/SS/33/p. 402.

His features are in constant motion; shadows seem to pass over it as if thought materialised in signs that were impalpable but for all that real—a quivering of the eyelids, a light at the base of the deep eyes, a wrinkle that vanishes at the corner of the lips, a blue vein on the temple close to the long hairs, sleek and white and, when he warms up, his redenning cheeks—

I should also mention his warm metallic voice, which knows how to caress, dream, and to thunder.

Serge GROUSSARD

Dictatorships have multiplied after the war. Are they the final convulsions of an obsolescent concept? Or are they, on the contrary, a grim renaissance?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Even when fatigue and disappointment tempt me into being discouraged by the evil and fall in the modern world, I remind myself in the final analysis of the great lesson of history: the limits to knowledge and to man's capacity have been ceaselessly pushed back age to age, and man seems capable of continual progress.

1 April 1959, p. 5

[Full page]

Will India fear China!

[Large centred photograph of Indira Gandhi and Groussard in conversation]

Serge GROUSSARD

Until where? Until when?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

The advance could be infinite. That is why, I tell you, I think that coercive and violent systems, whether they be termed caesarism or fascism, will decline.

Serge GROUSSARD

You are a democrat. You are a socialist.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

I am a democrat and socialist; but, beyond the words, we must consider the population and the epoch. Introducing socialism by fiat in a country like India would be disastrous. I am socialist, but I believe in the individual, not in the mass. I support a free socialism, progressive and Indian. Societies are less and

less subject to individual profit and to private enterprise.

I believe the capitalist era is going to come to an end and that this decline is fortunate, because my socialism consists in wishing a society without classes, where each shall start with the same advantages and possibilities; where all the primary resources shall be utilised to the maximum and equitably distributed. I believe also that none of the systems born of the industrial revolution, whether it be capitalism, Marxism, socialism, or fascism, can, without profound change, adapt to the new age which is upon us. We are witness to a new age of wondrous transformations; it is essential and terribly urgent that we adapt to these changes and not to seek to impose a specific system on the people.

THE DANGERS OF DEMOCRACY

Serge GROUSSARD

All that is human harbours within itself inadequacy and danger. What are the dangers of democracy?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Democracy invigorates people. But this vitality does not consist in the exceptional. Democracy does not favour great individual geniuses. It does not select, it gathers and amasses. It acts for the whole. Ultimately, we could say that democracy is a leveller. Further, and this represents a second danger, it is necessary in a democracy to satisfy the needs of all citizens of today, while at the same time preparing for the demands of tomorrow. This must slow down the rhythm of progress.

Serge GROUSSARD

Do you think that India is truly at present a democracy?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Constitutionally yes. In our hearts and minds, yes. But what exactly does your question portend? Is there a hidden thought behind it?

Serge GROUSSARD

I do not think that the people of India, in their majority, are capable of participating in a democratic life.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

For the present, you are right. India is not the only one to be inadequate in this respect! Gradually, education, the struggle against famine and for health

care, all this will make the people of India capable of identifying with urban and national life. We have taken the situation as we have found it. We are not workers of miracles...

I have another point to make on the subject of Indians: they have been habituated over the centuries to submit passively to their elites who, themselves, bent before foreigners. At all levels, omnipotent rulers thought and decided for the Indian people who were content to accept and to obey. We are working to ensure that the initiative shall progressively come not merely from above but also from below. We must at the same time inculcate in the nation a sense of duty. Each right implies a duty. Each should discipline himself, otherwise the democratic regime shall be denied him. This education, which is just beginning here among us, accounts for the necessity of the firm authority of the State.

Serge GROUSSARD

You have constructed a firm authority. One could say at times "an implacable authority."

My remark fell into a vacuum. He looked visibly at his watch, his eyelids drooping, the lips sullen, he took up a large piece of marble with thick black veins which rested on a file. The marble piece knocked, as if mechanically, against the edge of the desk: "Pan! Pan!"

I coughed and murmured: "Implacable and no doubt regrettable." And if I had murmured this, it was because I did not have the right to judge, on the basis of hearsay, without evidence, what could happen in regions of which I knew nothing. Then the Premier's mouth reset in an ironic fold, and I was subjected to a crushing look.

Serge GROUSSARD

While declaring that India is essentially pacifist, you have created a powerful national army.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

That is the price of liberty in the present world.

Serge GROUSSARD

That being so, do you think it normal that a national army should possess all the arms that a possible enemy may use? Since many nations have atomic weapons, do you expect to imitate them?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Never. A or H bombs, atomic rocket or submarine; these weapons are inhuman and inflict atrocities on the civil population, leading to terrible dangers for the health of our descendants. But, if all countries, even if all towns in the world possess these atomic weapons in abundance, we, never.

NUCLEAR ENERGY

Serge GROUSSARD

As for the utilisation of nuclear energy, that is another matter.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Surely yes! We have substantially advanced in our plans of utilising atomic energy and you know that the problem interests me passionately. I am personally in charge of the Ministry of Atomic Energy, and I have taken charge also of the domain of scientific and industrial research.

At these last words, his tone dulled. Yes, the efforts shall be hard still, and it will be long years before India could make large-scale use of nuclear fission...

He placed his cigarette on the ashtray, sighed, and I looked at the blue rings, the curve of the shoulders, the hollows of the cheeks. But the smooth, bronzed skin remained fresh and lustrous. Weariness sat well with the chiselled harmony of such features.

On the morrow Mrs Indira Gandhi would inform me of her father's daily routine. He rose at about 7 o'clock, went through his yoga exercises, "even if he felt dead beat", had his abundant breakfast with his daughter and son-in-law, attended to important despatches of the night, and went for a walk in the garden, where the manicured lawns, the ponds, and the shaded paths communicated their peace and calm. At 9.30, it is time for office. From then until midnight, his time is not his own, unless it is at lunch or dinner, when these are intimate. "At times he would put out the lights only at 2 a.m. when he finds it difficult to concentrate on an urgent file... Do you realise, this rigour has lasted long."

Neither war nor alliance: nothing but India, its unfortunate masses and his struggle for their uplift.

But...

Serge GROUSSARD

When did you become aware of Asian solidarity?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

When did I realise that I was committed to all that concerned Asia: I would prefer the question posed in that manner. Well. It was at the time of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. I recall my joy on hearing of Admiral Togo's victory over the Tsar's fleet at Tsushima. It was when I arrived in England, on the train from Dover to London. I had just opened *The Times*, and the news was burning hot... I was fifteen and a half years old. I was reserved and on fire. I had arrived at the citadel of the West just as, for the first time in modern history, an Asian nation had brought a European great power to its knees...¹⁷⁷

Serge GROUSSARD

In which language do you think?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

At times in Hindi, otherwise in English.

Serge GROUSSARD

It seems that you dream in English: one of your prison companions, the Minister Maulana Azad, tells that story.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

I cannot verify it myself. On the subject of my duality of language, it is necessary to remember that I have had an education that is both Indian and English, because I was in India and have had English teachers. Then I went to Harrow and Cambridge, and then plunged back into India and its struggles... But, I had to use English always for this struggle. Now again, I need it with you. On the other hand, Hindi is indispensable with my compatriots and for my personal satisfaction. No country can find its soul outside its own language.

The shrill songs of birds filtered into his large room with its polished oak panelling. The Premier was distracted by it at the same time as I was. His neck, smooth and slightly thickened, twisted toward a window, joyless with its bars, on which various cacti climbed, some bristling with thorns, others long and bent over, tortured with cracks.

Facing me a wide French window half opened on to a verandah with thick columns; but no life moved there, not a breath of wind to combat the still violence of the full sun.

177. Nehru mentions this in his autobiography on p. 17.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Serge GROUSSARD

Which persons have influenced you the most?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

My father, Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore.

Serge GROUSSARD

Which persons do you admire the most?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

Gandhi.

Serge GROUSSARD

Are you always certain of your uncertainties?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

The advances of science and the development of technology have brought us face to face more than ever before with the mysterious. What is, and what is not, beyond the horizons of man, we do not know; no human resource permits us to know it, and, if God exists, he has refused to show Himself to us; therefore, it is futile, indeed impious, to pretend to force the secret.

Serge GROUSSARD

Gandhi observed, "Jawaharlal says he does not believe in God. For all that, he is closer to God than so many others who profess their faith." What do you think of this judgement?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

What can I say? Man should occupy himself with the welfare of his own species rather than with his own salvation after his death.

Serge GROUSSARD

It is said that organised religions irritate you.

Jawaharlal NEHRU

I believe that the doctrine and the dogma, the presence and the interventions of the Church, the influence of the priest, all this weighs on the spirit of the faithful and shackles their soul.

I said that your God is what I call the Mysterious. I criticise organised religions, but perhaps I have committed a gross error, because one of these

religions, or perhaps many among them, if the solution is pagan, has or have perhaps discovered the key to what I call the Mysterious...

Further, being an opinion based on ignorance, how could I attack or blame any faith, or any construct based on faith. What I know is that religion is a private matter which does not or should not have any role in politics, and that especially among us, Indians, who have always been divided and fanatical in the domain of belief.

Serge GROUSSARD

If you have to mark a preference as a sceptic, would you be closer to the pagans than to the followers of the Christian or Muslim God?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

I feel myself more pagan. India belongs to the pagan tradition. We believe in life and we let each live as he pleases. We adore the truth in all its forms where we discern it.

Serge GROUSSARD

Where is it?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

The world has made such advances in the domains of knowledge and of technology—the nuclear age today, the interplanetary tomorrow—that it is worth returning to the ancient thinker who advised: “Know thyself through thyself.” A disequilibrium has appeared in the world today. Either the equilibrium will be recovered, or man shall function as the sorcerer’s apprentice and consume himself through the forces that he has unleashed. The fundamental question therefore is this: “How to recover equilibrium?” The answer is: “Through a deeper development of the spirit.” There are many ways of achieving this. I don’t know whether the religions could play a determining role in the deepening and purification of the soul. I am not religious myself, but it cannot be doubted that religion creates confidence and spiritual calm. In sum, we strive to attain ultimate reality. How can we not follow different methods in the course of this abstruse research? Sri Ramakrishna said: “God is on the roof. It is a matter of climbing up. Some put up a ladder, others a rope, some a staircase of stone or a bamboo perch, and each scales up after his own fashion...”

“KARL MARX IS OBSOLETE...”

Serge GROUSSARD

Do you believe in the communist danger, Your Excellency?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

There are many dangers in this world. Among them is the danger of expressing one's thoughts too soon on subjects of the gravest importance.

I would say at the outset that the communist doctrine is evolving continually. A petrified doctrine is one that is approaching extinction. I have read and re-read carefully Karl Marx. I could affirm that his system reflects its date. It is out of date. One could say that in numerous respects Marxism today is reactionary.

Further... it is never the doctrines themselves which are dangerous, for spirits may be in opposition, and progress occurs through dialogue. It is people who can be dangerous. Well! According to the country, the regime, and the epoch, communists are dangerous or useful, positive or destructive. They were heroic and indispensable in all the occupied countries of Europe, during the underground struggle against the Nazis. They were utterly in the wrong in Hungary, in October 1956. If you ask me: "Are the Russians dangerous?" I would respond: "We Indians do not look upon any country with hostility. We do not have any enemy. We do not belong to any bloc, to any alliance. We do not discriminate in the least between nations. We are open to the world. We extend to the world the hand of peace. That was Gandhi's great lesson."

Serge GROUSSARD

India has a long frontier with China. Do you feel, Your Excellency, any particular anxiety?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

No. Why would I particularly fear this Asian nation? China, in her impatience and renewed vigour, has sometimes acted in a manner that I regret deeply. But, most of the time, she has instead conducted herself with wisdom and great humanity.

The point is to know whether one wants to understand China of today or not. In order to understand her, we must go back far into her history, the memory of which she nurtures with devotion. It is necessary to reflect upon her ancient glories, on her secular internal and external conflicts, on her prodigious civilisation, on the invasions, the humiliations, the isolation from the centres of the material progress of the modern world, which she had so long ago

outstripped. It must be remembered that the majority of the great powers continue insolently to refuse to recognise the Peoples' Republic of China, although it has established itself in practically the whole of the national territory without question for so many years. Such an ostrich policy is absurd.

A great nation has revived and is fully aware of her new personality and her new prowess. Whether that pleases or not, it is a fact.

Serge GROUSSARD

Can one say that contemporary India lives under the aegis of Gandhi?

Jawaharlal NEHRU

India shall venerate forever Gandhi and his teaching. But Gandhi himself would have been shocked by your question. He did not take himself for a god or a superman. He saw himself as a sage, and he was the wisest of men.

Indian thought rests on an immense past. Our way of life shall change, and so also shall our manner of thought. Formerly, for example, the caste system was an important factor in the formation of the Indian personality and soul. It introduced order, it imparted to corporations a pride in their respective tasks, it acted as a brake on nomadism, idleness, and the dissipation of energies. Gradually, after long, the caste system lost its suppleness, it ossified, and became a regressive factor. Now, castes should disappear altogether.

Our thought shall never cease to evolve, and Gandhi shall have contributed much to impart to it the necessary moral frame. Gandhi represents an admirable example and an eternal lesson for the entire world, because truth is universal..."



What this man has made of India is for others to say.

What Jawaharlal Nehru has made of himself...

His birth, education, and original inclinations offered him a silken existence. He enjoyed life so much, the Premier with roses! He would have, while soaking in it, accumulated continually the wealth of the Nehrus, for the profession of advocate was a gold mine in British India, when the certificate of His Majesty was combined with the glamorous references of Harrow and Cambridge—and the connections which these names implied.

It would not have prevented him being involved in his epoch, being a moderate and prudent nationalist with conviction, and then to nuancing his sincere role in the midst of the great currents. He would have taken care to be arrested at such moments as when the last world war climaxed or when it would be prison for the clever.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Yes, he would have gone on as he had set out, without extremes, never forgetting the lessons of a chaste Albion. He would have inevitably become a grandee, and, after liberation, a minister, because he was Brahmin of ancient and pure stock, because he had had a remarkable father, and because his intelligence, his refined psychology, his charm, were all unbeatable trumps in his hand.

But he would not have become the first lieutenant of Gandhi.

And never would the apostle of non-violence, never would the Father of Free India, have designated him as his most worthy successor. For Gandhi sacrificed himself totally to the struggle and did not conceive the first guide of the nation as one who might not have given himself entirely to the cause.

Nehru's ultimate greatness lay in his having chosen the absolute while still in his twenties, although the path before him was wide, straight, luminous and easy. It lay in his having given himself to his conscience and having clearly opted for the narrow path.

Serge GROUSSARD

END

Translation ends.]

II. POLITICS

(a) Indian National Congress

19. To G.B. Pant: Damodar Swarup Seth¹

April 2, 1959

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter from Damodar Swarup Seth.² He said that he wants to join the Congress. He has been convicted by the High Court of Bombay and is at present on bail. In these circumstances, I rather doubt if it will be desirable for him to join the Congress.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. To Congress Workers: On Nagpur Resolutions³

“No Going Back On Nagpur Decision”
Nehru Reiterates Stand on Co-Op. Farming
Way To Ensure Maximum Utilisation of Land

Hardwar

April 13, 1959

Prime Minister Nehru reiterated here today that there was no going back on the Nagpur Resolution of the Congress on cooperative farming and efforts would be made for realising the objective according to plan, Mr. Nehru, who was addressing a meeting of Congress workers here, said that he had heard a lot of criticism against cooperative farming, but “we have taken the step and a step once taken is not retraced.”

The Prime Minister said that cooperative farming apart from facilitating the maximum utilisation of land, would train the farmer in the art of cooperative working. Once the farmer realised the benefits of the system, he would willingly extend it to other spheres of life also. He asked the Congress workers to try to

1. Letter to the Union Home Minister.

2. Congressman from UP; accused in the “Empire of India” fraud case. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp. 437-438.

3. Report of speech in Hardwar, 13 April 1959. From *The Hindu*, 14 April 1959.

understand the implications of co-operative farming as it was one of the most important questions before the country today.⁴

(b) States

(i) Andaman and Nicobar Islands

21. To C. Subramaniam: Inquiry Team⁵

April 22, 1959

My dear Subramaniam,

You spoke to me about the Nicobar Islands and said that you would like to send a small enquiry team there to find out about the conditions there. You can certainly send a team of this kind. You might inform the Home Ministry of the steps you might be taking in this direction.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Bihar

22. To S. K. Sinha: Sitamarhi Communal Riots⁶

21st April 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I have received your letter of the 19th April about the tragic occurrences at Sitamarhi.⁷ I have been much distressed to learn of these. In fact, it appears that the situation in some parts of Bihar is still very bad and we may have to use the military.

4. *The Times of India* reported Nehru's appeal thus: "He appealed to Congressmen to go to the villages to intensify the grow-more-food campaign. Farmers, he said, should form co-operatives for obtaining loans, seed and fertilizers and also for establishing rural industries. Cooperative farming was intended to enable the farmer to become self-dependent, he added."
5. Letter to the Finance Minister in the Madras Government.
6. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.
7. *The National Herald* of 18 April reported that nine persons were killed and many injured in a sudden communal outburst on 17 April, Ram Navami day, in Sitamarhi in Muzaffarpur district following allegations of cow slaughter.

It is obvious that a situation of this kind must be dealt with rapidly and with firmness. Delay makes matters worse and any softness with evil-doers also leads to bad results.

I have received a telegram from Mahesh Babu⁸ from Muzaffarpur on behalf of the District Communal Riot Sufferers Relief Committee, asking me to send Rs. 25,000/- for relief. I am sending you a cheque for this amount for this purpose which you will use at your discretion.

This outbreak at Sitamarhi, whatever the cause, is exceedingly distressing. If it was premeditated and organised, that is bad. If it was sudden and without previous preparation, then in a sense it is worse. That indicates that the temper of the people is such that they indulge in large-scale violence and communal frenzy at the slightest provocation. The whole thing is utterly bad.

I hope to see you on the 30th and talk over about these matters.⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To S. K. Sinha: Free Cooperatives From Bureacracy¹⁰

April 22, 1959

My dear Sri Babu,

I enclose a letter I have received.¹¹ If the facts stated in the statement attached to it about Bihar Cooperative Movement are correct, then I think the criticism is justified. I am convinced that cooperative movement should be free of official control.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Mahesh Prasad Sinha, Minister in the Bihar Government; and Chairman, State Khadi Gramdyog Board.

9. Nehru visited Bihar from 30 April to 1 May 1959. For his speech at a public meeting in Patna, see item 15, pp. 165-206.

10. Letter.

11. It seems the letter was from one Yugalkishore Sinha of Sitamarhi of Muzaffarpur district in Bihar because Nehru wrote the following to him on the same day: "Thank you for your letter of April 19th. As you perhaps know, I think that cooperative movement should be non-official as far as possible. Too much of an official element is against the spirit of cooperation."

(iii) Bombay

24. To Indulal Yajnik: Upset Marathi Speakers¹²

April 10, 1959

Dear Shri Yajnik,

I have your letter of April 9th. I shall gladly meet you but I am soon going to South India. After my return, perhaps you could come and see me.

I am sorry that my Hyderabad speech¹³ hurt you. I do not remember my exact words, but what I said was that I could not understand why the Marathi-speaking people should feel unhappy as they had all been brought together in the Bombay State and thus achieved their objective, and further that they were in a dominant position so far as numbers were concerned and thus nobody could ignore them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12 . Letter to Yajnik, MJP, Lok Sabha MP from Ahmedabad, Gujarat; journalist, social worker and Kisan Sabha leader.

13. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 199-203.

(iv) Jammu and Kashmir

25. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: Setting Up Chemical Plants¹⁴

April 3, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

Your letter of the 3rd April about the drug industry and establishing a plant in Kashmir.¹⁵ I do not know what the position is. So far as I remember, it has been decided to set up some major plants. Whether a phyto-chemical plant is included in them, I do not know; I rather doubt it. I am, however, sending your letter to the Commerce & Industry Ministry to consider.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: Sheikh Abdullah's Defence¹⁶

April 8, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Sheikh Abdullah today.¹⁷ I hope you will especially look into the matter of the accommodation for the

14. Letter to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
15. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad pleaded strongly for locating a phyto-chemical plant in Kashmir on the following grounds: (i) the Central Government had decided to set up, with Soviet assistance, several plants for the drug industry; (ii) his Government had been in touch with the Planning Commission's Committee that assessed locations for such plants; (iii) a network of drug farms growing important medicinal and insecticidal plants already existed in the State; (iv) the quality of their output had been adjudged excellent; (v) costs of production would be advantageous owing to the temperate climate; (vi) the Drug Research Laboratory in the State, established in 1943, had done "remarkable work" and was now under the CSIR; (vi) Soviet experts had visited these sites in August 1958 and were "highly impressed"; and (vii) lower levels of industrial development and high unemployment in the State called for such a decision.
16. Letter.
17. See Appendix 8, pp. 581-582.

defence lawyer, Mohd Latif. If Sheikh Abdullah's facts are correct, then the lawyer has not been treated very fairly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹⁸

April 12, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I have just received your letter of April 12. Thank you for it.

The fact that criticism is being leveled at you from both sides and there is what you call a political cross-fire should be to your advantage. One should partly cancel the other. I have no doubt that the policies you have adopted are the correct ones.

I would gladly refer to this matter on a suitable occasion. But I am going to South India for a few days and an opportunity is hardly likely to arise there. When I return, I shall seek some such opportunity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: Kargil-Leh Road¹⁹

April 12, 1959

My dear Bakhshi,

I think I have drawn your attention previously to the great delay in dealing with the construction of the Kargil-Leh road.²⁰ We started this project several years ago, and it has taken a mighty long time. This kind of thing is rather frustrating. I understand that there were charges of misappropriation of considerable sums of money by the engineers and that an enquiry was started in September last. It is alleged that about five lakhs of rupees have been misappropriated or wrongly paid. I hope this enquiry will be completed soon and work started on the road.

18. Letter.

19. Letter.

20. The first part of the Srinagar-Leh Road up to Kargil was completed in 1948 but the remaining 150-mile long Kargil-Leh Road could be opened only on 1 August 1960.

The working period there, as you know, is a very short one. If we miss this summer, then everything is delayed for another year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. In the Lok Sabha: Karan Singh's Visit to the USSR²¹

कश्मीर के सदर-ए-रियासत और प्रधानमंत्री की रूस यात्रा

श्री भक्त दर्शन:²² क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) क्या यह सच है कि पिछले दिनों जब रूसी प्रतिनिधि-मण्डल ने कश्मीर की यात्रा की थी, तब उसके नेता ने जम्मू और कश्मीर के प्रधानमंत्री को रूस आने का निमन्त्रण दिया था।
- (ख) यदि हाँ, तो क्या यह निमन्त्रण स्वीकार कर लिया गया है;
- (ग) क्या यह भी सच है कि रूस सरकार के निमन्त्रण पर जम्मू-कश्मीर के सदर-ए-रियासत²³ महोदय भी रूस जाने वाले हैं; और
- (घ) यदि हाँ, तो उक्त दोनों महानुभावों की रूस यात्रा के लिये कैसा कार्यक्रम तैयार किया गया है?

वैदेशिक-कार्य उपमन्त्री (श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मेनन): (क) जी हाँ।

(ख) जी हाँ।

- (ग) जम्मू और कश्मीर के सदर-ए-रियासत 23 अप्रैल को सोवियत समाजवादी गणतंत्र संघ के लिए रवाना हो गये। यह निमन्त्रण उनके लिए कुछ अर्सा हुआ आया था।
- (घ) कार्यक्रम बनाने का काम मेज़बान देश का होता है।

श्री भक्त दर्शन:- श्रीमान, सोवियत प्रतिनिधि मण्डल के नेता ने जब जम्मू और कश्मीर के प्रधानमंत्री को निमन्त्रण दिया, तो उससे पहले उन्होंने भारत सरकार को क्या इसकी सूचना दी थी?

21. Reply to questions, 27 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), cols 13448-13450.

22. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Garhwal, UP.

23. Karan Singh, *Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir*, 1952-65.

प्रधानमंत्री तथा वैदेशिक-कार्य मन्त्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : जी हाँ, उसके पहले उन्होंने भारत सरकार को यह सूचना दी थी। जब वे हिन्दुस्तान आये थे उसी वक़्त यह सवाल उठा था।

श्री भक्त दर्शन: मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जम्मू और कश्मीर के प्रधानमंत्री ने अपनी रूस जाने की स्वीकृति से पहले क्या भारत सरकार से इस बात को अनुमति ले ली थी कि उन्हें बाहर जाना चाहिये या नहीं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: सवाल दो आदमियों के मुताल्लिक़ था। एक तो मन्त्री है और दूसरे सद-ए-रियासत है। अभी मैंने जो जवाब दिया वह सद-ए-रियासत की निस्बत था। उस वक़्त यह सवाल उठा था और उसके बाद भी दो तीन दफ़े उधर से याद दिलायी गयी कि उन्होंने बुलाया है सद-ए-रियासत को और वहाँ के प्रधानमंत्री को। हमें यह मालूम था। हमेशा हमारे मश्विरे से सब बातें होती हैं।

[Translation begins:

Bhakt Darshan :²⁴ Will the Prime Minister kindly inform whether :

- (a) It is true that when the Russian Delegation visited Kashmir recently, its leader extended an invitation to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir to visit Russia.
- (b) If the answer is yes, then has this invitation been accepted.
- (c) Is this also true that the Sadr-e-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir,²⁵ too, is going to visit Russia; and
- (d) If so, then what programme has been chalked for the two leaders?

Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon) :

- (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) The Sadr-e-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir departed on a visit to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on April 23. This invitation had come for him some time ago.

24. See fn 22 in this section.

25. See fn 23 in this section.

Bhakt Darshan : Sir, when the leader of the Soviet delegation extended this invitation to the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, did he first inform the Indian Government of it.

Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) : Yes, he first informed the Indian Government of it. This matter was raised at the very time he came to India.

Bhakt Darshan : I wish to know whether the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir had asked the Indian Government for permission to go abroad before his acceptance to go to Russia, or not.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : The matter is related to two persons. One is a Minister and the other is the Sadr-e-Riyasat. Just now the answer I gave was with regard to the Sadr-e-Riyasat. At that time this matter was raised and even afterwards two or three times reminders came from that side that they have invited the Sadr-e-Riyasat and the Prime Minister of that place. We knew of this. All things are done with our consultation.

Translation ends.]

Shri Hem Barua:²⁶ May I know whether the Prime Minister of Kashmir who was invited to visit the Soviet Union on a State visit would be at liberty to negotiate loans and financial aids for the State?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No such question arises. I do not understand. It is a very normal thing. When Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin came here and went to Kashmir, it was then—three or four years ago, I forget exactly when it was—that they invited the Sadr-i-Riyasat and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir to visit them as their guests.²⁷ This matter has been pending since then and occasional enquiries have been made again and again about it.

So far as the Sadr-i-Riyasat is concerned, it was ultimately decided that he should go. Long before this present delegation they fixed up the date and he

26. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

27. Bulganin and Khrushchev visited India from 18 November to 13 November and from 7 to 14 December 1955. They were in Kashmir from 9 to 11 December 1955. See SWJN/SS/31/pp. 322-323.

has gone.²⁸ When the present Soviet delegation went to Kashmir, they reminded the Prime Minister of this again, and he said he would like to go there. No date has been fixed. We do not know whether he will be able to go. All that he said is that he would like to go.

30. To MEA: Ladakh Border²⁹

I met Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed today, and spoke to him about Ladakh. I pointed out that since the new developments in Tibet, the question of the frontier between Ladakh and China had become a more important one than previously. Even previously, we were not happy about the uncertain state there. In fact, it was not merely a question of the border check-posts, etc. but rather of an integrated view of this whole question of Ladakh.

2. I suggested to him, therefore, that some competent Political Officer should be appointed by us for Ladakh who would pay special attention to this question of the border. Bakhshi Sahib not only agreed with this proposal but said that he had long been asking us to take the responsibility for that region. Anyhow, he would like the officer we send to supervise the civil administration there also and to coordinate the activities of the Army, Police, etc.

3. I think that we should try to find a really suitable officer for this purpose. It is no good sending some person on the list. The person sent must have the particular qualifications required for this work, and he should be young enough to be able to stand the high altitude.³⁰

28. The Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh visited the Soviet Union from 23 April to 15 May 1959. For his reflections on the visit, see Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64, Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh* (New Delhi: Viking, Penguin 2006), pp. 222-259.

29. Note to N.R. Pillai, the SG, Subimal Dutt, the FS and M.J. Desai, the CS, 29 April 1959. File No .9/2/59-K. p. 1, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

30. On 2 May 1959, M.J. Desai suggested that the officer could be a Joint Secretary with the special qualifications that Nehru had in mind in paragraph 3 and would also assist in development work. B. N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, noted the same day that V. Viswanathan, Special Secretary in the Home Ministry, had recommended Naire, then Deputy Commissioner in Manipur, who had the advantage of being single. A senior officer from the IFAS was P. N. Luthra, the Commissioner at Kohima; another was G. S. Puri, a Deputy Secretary in the Ministry, but Chakravarty thought he might find the climate of Ladakh difficult.

4. I have asked the Cabinet Secretary to give thought to this and make suggestions.³¹ I might add that I mentioned this to my Cabinet colleagues also who approved of this idea.

5. A meeting might be held of the Cabinet Secretary and representatives of the Ministries of External Affairs, Defence and also possibly Home Affairs. This meeting should not only try to find a suitable officer, but indicate the type of responsibility he should have.

6. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad told me that they have not got any of the good Survey of India maps of the Ladakh border region. He would like us to send such maps to him. This might be done.

[Following paragraph was added in the manner of a postscript]

I might add that Bakhshi Sahib told me that the activities of Lakhanpal³² and J.N. Sathu (*Dawn* correspondent in Delhi) were highly objectionable and harmful. Could we not do something about them?

(v) Kerala

31. To A.P. Jain: Kerala Food Demands³³

April 21, 1959

My dear Ajit,

I find a rather old letter from the Chief Minister of Kerala in my papers, I have been overwhelmed with correspondence and hence could not deal with it earlier. I enclose a copy of this letter.³⁴

Namboodiripad has made extravagant demands, but, as I spoke to you, I think we shall have to review this matter afresh. The present arrangements do not appear to be at all satisfactory and displease everybody.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. After discussing the matter with Vishnu Sahay, the Cabinet Secretary, Desai wished to see, on 4 May, Naire's confidential reports, and discuss this matter with Shankar Prasad, Secretary, Kashmir Affairs.

32. P.L. Lakhanpal, a supporter of Sheikh Abdullah and chairman of the End Kashmir Dispute Committee.

33. Letter to the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

34. See Appendix 5, pp. 572-573.

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

32. To K. N. Katju: Bhopal Communal Riots³⁵

25 April, 1959

My dear Kailas Nath,

The Bhopal disturbances have left a bad taste in the mouth.³⁶ As far as I can make out, the Government and the police functioned adequately. But the fact remains that some of our people, whether Hindu or Muslim, have not quite come out of the barbarian stage. I have received numerous notes on this affair from MPs and others and repeated requests have been made that someone from the AICC should go to Bhopal. It is also suggested that AICC might send a few Congress MPs.

I gather that you are entirely opposed to any such move which savours of an enquiry thinking that this might have a bad effect on police morale.

As a matter of fact, some days ago, I told Sucheta Kripalani³⁷ that it would not be desirable to send a number of MPs there; at the same time it was necessary and desirable to send someone not for an enquiry but rather to show our deep sympathy and interest. I suggested that Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the AICC, should be sent.

I mentioned this matter to Rustomji³⁸ who saw me two or three days ago and he entirely agreed and said that it would be a good thing if Sadiq Ali went there quite informally and quietly and without any fuss. In view of this, I suppose I can have no objection on the ground of police morale.

I think it should be an invariable rule for the AICC to send somebody whenever any such trouble occurs. It should not function merely as an appendage of our Central or local Governments, or it will have no reputation left. But, of course, whatever it does should be done with Central responsibility and with a view to help Governments. I am sure that Sadiq Ali will say or do nothing which can embarrass the Government. His presence there, however, will indicate that the AICC Office does not ignore and bypass such important happenings and merely take Government assurances for granted. I would suggest Sadiq Ali first meeting you when he goes there. Of course, Rustomji also. Then he can

35. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

36. Communal riots broke out in Bhopal on 29 March on Holi and dawn to dusk curfew was imposed till 4 April 1959.

37. General Secretary, AICC, and Lok Sabha MP from New Delhi.

38. K. F. Rustamji, IG of Police, Madhya Pradesh.

meet some of those who have suffered. As I have said above, it is by no means an enquiry but an attempt to soothe people who have suffered and are deeply hurt.³⁹

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) Madras

33. To Y.D. Gundevia: Migration to Ceylon⁴⁰

April 19, 1959

My dear Gundevia,

I received your letter about your journey through Southern India, also your note on the need for intensive development of our South-East coast area.⁴¹ I agree broadly with your argument, but I do not think it is correct to say that people in these areas are poorer than in many other parts of India. I have just myself travelled about four hundred miles by car through Madurai, Ramnad⁴² and Tinneveli⁴³ districts.⁴⁴ The general impression I got was of better living conditions than in South-East U.P., parts of Bihar and Orissa and West Bengal. The villages had more solid houses, people were better clad and general conditions were not quite drab and dismal as I have seen in some other parts of India. However, I agree generally with your argument.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. Sadiq Ali reached Bhopal on 28 April 1959. On the same day, a three-man parliamentary team of the CPI, consisting of Bhupesh Gupta, Raj Bahadur Gour and Renu Chakravartty, also reached Bhopal, so did the PSP secretary Prem Bhasin, according to a report in *The Statesman* on 30 April 1959.

40. Letter to the High Commissioner of India to Ceylon.

41. For Gundevia's note of 8 April 1959, see Appendix 9, pp. 582-586.

42. Earlier name for Ramanathapuram.

43. Earlier name for Tirunelveli.

44. For Nehru's tour, see items 7-13, pp. 87-136.

(viii) The North East

34. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: Ayub Khan's Meeting with the High Commissioner⁴⁵

April 5, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

I am distressed to learn that you are not keeping well. Fakhruddin⁴⁶ came to lunch with me today and we discussed many matters relating to Assam.

Two days ago, I had a letter from our High Commissioner in Pakistan. In this he gave an account of an interview he had with President Ayub Khan of Pakistan. As this letter is a very interesting one and I thought that you would like to read it, I am sending you a copy.⁴⁷ Naturally this should be kept secret.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. In the Lok Sabha: Phizo's Departure for USA⁴⁸

Shri P.C. Borooah⁴⁹ and two others: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Government of India's attention has been drawn to news appearing in the *Statesman* dated the 19th March, 1959 to the effect that Phizo, the rebel Naga Leader, is not in Pakistan but that he is now on his way to the U.S.A., if he has not already reached there;
- (b) whether the Government of India have made any enquiries in regard thereto; and
- (c) if so, with what result?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan):⁵⁰ (a) to (c). We have no definite information that Phizo has

45. Letter to Governor of Assam.

46. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, Finance Minister, Assam Government.

47. See Appendix 6, pp. 573-577.

48. 8 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIX, cols 10495-10497.

49. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

50. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Warangal, Andhra Pradesh.

gone to U.S.A. Some vague reports to that effect have reached us but we have been unable to get any confirmation.

Shri P.C. Borooah: May I know whether the Government made any enquiries as to his escape from Assam, and if they have made any enquiries, whether any move was made to the Pakistan Government to bring him back for trial?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): I have not heard the question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker:⁵¹ The question is whether any enquiry has been made from Pakistan as to whether he has actually left that country and gone somewhere else.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We cannot make enquiries from the Pakistan Government because the Pakistan Government has not admitted that he has been there. As for other enquiries, one tries to get as much information as possible.

Shri Raghunath Singh:⁵² May I know whether it is a fact that there is an arms deal between the party of Phizo and Pakistan to supply arms?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What has that to do with this question?

Shri Raghunath Singh: He has gone to Pakistan for that purpose, for arms.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Purposes are not discussed here.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:⁵³ May I know whether any enquiries are being made from the USA about Phizo's presence there?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Why should those enquiries be made, I cannot follow.

The question is whether any enquiries are being made from the USA.

51. Hukam Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bhatinda, Punjab.

52. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Varanasi, UP.

53. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad-SC, UP.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We do not make enquiries from Governments about such matters, but we try to take advantage of such sources as we have.

Shri Hem Barua:⁵⁴ May I know whether it is a fact that Phizo's escape to Pakistan was made possible by the cooperation of some of the European planters on the Cachar border, and whether the documents that were seized by the Manipur police establish this fact?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say. Is it the question whether his visit to Pakistan was aided by some planters?

Shri Hem Barua: European planters.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not say that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Have the Manipur police seized some documents which give that clue that he was aided by some planters?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I should not like to answer that question without finding out what the exact facts are.

Shri P.C. Borooah: Is it a fact that Pakistan, in order to mislead India about Phizo's re-entry into the Naga Hills, has made out this news?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not understood the question.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He himself put that question, and now that the answer is given, he goes back that that is not correct.

36. In the Lok Sabha: NEFA ⁵⁵

Shri D.C. Sharma:⁵⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the cultural programmes planned and executed in the North East Frontier Agency during 1958 for its different tribes; and

54. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

55. Written reply to questions, 14 April 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIX, cols 11257-11258.

56. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

(b) the total expenditure incurred thereon?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) In NEFA the cultural programme has been planned and is being executed under the guidance of Dr. Verrier Elwin, Adviser on Tribal Affairs.⁵⁷ A Cultural Research Section has been set up which is mainly engaged on the study and collection of Anthropological data with special reference to social and family organisation, religion, folklore, dance and music and other arts from the Interior. Cultural Centres-cum-Museums have been established in each of the Five Divisional Headquarters and in Pasighat.⁵⁸ The aim of the Cultural Centres is to promote dance and music of the people and for this purpose special stages are set up where dances and dramas are performed. The aim of the Museums is to present the tribal culture in its dignity and beauty and thus to increase the people's respect and pride in their own traditions and at the same time to exhibit samples of the best folk art of India in order to inspire people to make further effort in their Cottage Industries.

A Photographic Section has been built up with a fine stock of pictures. Artists have been engaged for preparing posters and calendars with the tribal background and in the illustration of text-books.

It is also planned that one officer in each Division should write a small Monograph or booklet on an individual tribe every year for the next few years. The aim of these booklets is to provide the official staff with the knowledge about customs and outlook of the tribes they have to administer as well as to make the scientific record. Collection of songs and stories in the local languages are also in preparation.

The following books have already been published.

1. Tribal Games,
2. Adion Ke Nritya Aur Git,
3. Myths of NEFA,
4. A Philosophy of NEFA, 1st and 2nd enlarged edition,
5. NEFA calendars for 1958 and 1959.

In addition to the above, Art of NEFA and 7 monographs on Idus, Tangsas, Gallong, Daflas, Sherdukpens, Padam-Minyong and Akas have been completed and are in press. Special calendars for 1958 and 1959 have been designed and printed.

(b) Total expenditure incurred during 1958 is Rs. 2.31 lakhs.

57. Adviser to the Governor of Assam on tribal affairs since 1955.

58. Located in the East Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh (then NEFA).

37. To Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed: Misdemeanours by Tea Association Officers⁵⁹

April 22, 1959

My dear Fakhruddin,

Your letter of the 21st April. I had already seen the statement made by the Ao⁶⁰ student, Imtitemjen.

I think that the junior officers of the Tea Association⁶¹ who helped Donald Wise should certainly leave India.⁶² If the Tea Association can send them away soon, well and good. If not, we shall have to take other action.⁶³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

38. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: Appointing an Adviser⁶⁴

April 28, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Your letter of April 24th.

I entirely agree with you that a person chosen for the post of Adviser for the NEFA should be noted for his suitability for that particular post. The kind of work there is out of the general run. A person who may be good at secretarial or other work may be wholly unsuitable as an Adviser with you. There can be no two opinions about this.

59. Letter to the Minister of Finance, Government of Assam.

60. A Naga tribe.

61. The Indian Tea Association, founded in 1881.

62. An article by Donald Wise had appeared in the *Daily Mail* on 9 February 1959. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 212-214.

63. Nehru wrote to FS on the same day: "I enclose a letter from the Finance Minister of Assam. This is about Donald Wise etc.

I think we should get rid of these junior officers who cooperated with Donald Wise. If they are sent away by the Tea Association, that should be enough. If not, then we can take other action.

It hardly seems to me worthwhile for us to proceed against the Ao student Imtitemjen. He has given us a full account. It appears to be a true one."

64. Letter.

Secondly, no person should be sent there who is not fully acceptable to you. Any person who goes will naturally have to work with you and you are the best judge. Therefore you can rest assured that any person who you think is not wholly suitable, will not be sent.

The question, therefore, is as to how we could find such a person. If no obvious choice can be made now, then a temporary appointment might be made for three or four months. This will give us some time to find out a suitable person for a more permanent appointment. We would very much like K.L. Mehta⁶⁵ to come to the Ministry as soon as possible. Because of the Tibet situation, very heavy work has fallen on that department of our Ministry which deals with Tibet etc. Just at this moment we have no Joint Secretary.

I think, therefore, that some temporary arrangement should be made quickly and we can think of the more permanent appointment a little later. This period need not be much more than three months or so.

I see that you have expressed your preference for an I.C.S. man of requisite seniority. I do not know why you are keen on an I.C.S. man. Of course, if a good I.C.S. man is available, well and good, but why limit our choice? I should have thought that the temporary appointment of a Frontier Service man might have good results. It would boost up the morale of the Frontier Service and you could appoint a man whom you know thoroughly and who is acquainted with the problems of the NEFA. As the initial appointment may only be for about three months, there is no risk of being saddled with an officer who may not suit. I would personally like to encourage the Frontier Service. As for the I.C.S., undoubtedly it contains good officers, but few of them, I suppose, will be good from the point of view of NEFA. Isar's⁶⁶ name was suggested, but he has expressed his unwillingness to go. I do not like the idea of pressing a man to go when he does not want to do so. In fact a man's reluctance itself rather disqualifies him in my opinion.

So please let us know if you would be agreeable to a temporary appointment from the Frontier Service people. In that even, you will yourself of course be the best Judge. Meanwhile we can consider the permanent appointment.

65. Adviser, Assam Government till 1959; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1959-62.

66. R.F. Isar (b. 1916); entered ICS, 1939; served in Madras State, 1940-47; Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Health, 1947-48, and MEA, 1948-49; First Secretary, Legation of India, Stockholm, 1949-50; Secretary, General Department, London, 1950-52; Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1952-54; Deputy HC, Colombo, 1954-55, and Karachi, August-November 1955; Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1955-56, Ministry of WHS, 1956.

As for Rustomji,⁶⁷ he is undoubtedly a good man for this type of work and indeed he knows it from personal experience. He has gone back to Assam after a long interval. The Assam Government had been pressing for him for two or three years. I do not quite know how he is situated at present and whether there is any chance of his being available.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. In the Lok Sabha—Naga Political Convention⁶⁸

Shri P.C. Borooah: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Select Committee of the Naga Political Convention is meeting in May, 1959 to consider a draft for the Naga political settlement and that a nine-point questionnaire has been circulated amongst the Naga people; and
- (b) if so, what are the details of the said questionnaire?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The Select Committee of the Naga People's Convention proposed to hold a meeting in May 1959 with a view to prepare a draft for the Naga political settlement. For this purpose they circulated a questionnaire, a copy of which is placed on the Table of the Sabha. (See Appendix VII, annexure No. 97)

The date of the meeting has not yet been fixed.

67. N.K. Rustomji, Adviser to Governor of Assam for NEFA and Nagaland, 1959-63.

68. 30 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, pp. 14239-14240.

(ix) Punjab

40. To Tara Singh: Gurdwara Politics⁶⁹

April 4, 1959

My dear Master Tara Singh,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 28th March 1959.⁷⁰ I have also received your second letter of the 3rd April.⁷¹ As you might be aware, I have been very heavily occupied during the last few days and have been partly away from Delhi. The meetings here and, more especially, the meeting of the National Development Council, have taken up all my time in the day and even partly in the night. In addition to these, there have been the serious developments in Tibet.⁷²

I have carefully considered your letter. Your main point is that there has been interference in religious matters.⁷³ I have been unable to find out where such interference has taken place. In fact, you yourself say that you concede that such a dispute is not a fit subject matter for reference to arbitration.

It is obvious that the Legislature has to function. Indeed, the Gurdwara Act itself was passed by the then Legislature at the instance of the Sikh community. No legislation can be passed unless the Legislature passes it. The question, therefore, is as to the convention or practice that governs such legislation, which must be an act of the Legislature. The Legislature consists of members of all communities and all such members have the right to vote. But in such cases, the procedure adopted normally is that no such measure should be passed without consultation with and approval of the Sikhs. Such consultation should take place by available means.

I understand that it is admitted that all shades of Sikh opinion desired that the PEPSU Gurdwaras should be brought within the ambit of the Punjab Act. The demand for this from the Sikh community was unanimous and insistent. A deputation of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, of which, at that time, you were the President, saw the Chief Minister and other Ministers on the 7th August 1958 and urged the speedy accomplishment of this object, even by an ordinance, if possible. At that time, an Advisory Committee was

69. Letter to Tara Singh, the Akali leader.

70. See Appendix 4, pp. 569-572.

71. Not available with us.

72. See section on Tibet, pp. 421-512.

73. See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 223-224, and Appendix 24, pp. 601-603.

already examining the subject, and it has nowhere been contended or suggested that this Committee was not fully representative of the Sikh Community. A proposed amendment of the Act was then referred, through the Legislature, to Regional Committees. Up to this time, so far as I can see, no objection was raised by you or others.

It would appear that it was only after the Presidential election for the S.G.P.C. on the 16th November 1958 that objection began to be raised. So far as I can find out, even after this date, the normal processes of consultation with and obtaining the approval of the Sikh legislators were gone through. Further, the elected President of the S.G.P.C. was also consulted and gave his approval. It was in this manner that Clause 148 B was passed and became law.

My attention has also been drawn to the fact that the Joint Sub-Committee of the Regional Committees in their proceedings of the 17th October 1958 gave their broad approval to the very point which is now objected to by you. Only the detailed provisions remained to be worked out, and this was done at the subsequent meetings of the Committee.

It is true that the party whip has been used, but this was only done after consulting the Sikh members as well as the President or other representatives of the S.G.P.C. Thus the normal constitutional and legal processes as well as conventions appear to have been followed, and I cannot understand how any question of mala fides can arise. The fact that some people are dissatisfied with the decision of a majority would make every legislative act which is not passed unanimously subject to such an objection.

Apart from all this, the sole dispute relates to a rather minor point, because Section 148 B merely deals with an entirely short-term arrangement. Some ad hoc short-term method had to be devised pending the general election.

I am thus unable to understand how any charge of interference in religious affairs can be legitimately made in regard to this matter. As I wrote to you previously, it would be a very unusual and odd procedure for an act of the legislature to be considered in any manner by arbitrators. It would be still more extraordinary for a matter involving vague charges of mala fides of Government to be made the subject of an arbitration, by any person, however eminent he might be. I regret, therefore, that I am unable to accept this proposal.

If there are any individual cases when you think that Government has interfered in religious matters, these certainly can be examined.⁷⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. To Tara Singh: Gurdwara Politics⁷⁵

April 8, 1959

My dear Master Tara Singh,

On my return to Delhi from Allahabad today, I have received your letter of April 5th, 1959.⁷⁶ I have read your letter with deep regret. May I say, right at the outset, that it was not my intention, in what I wrote to you previously, to indicate that it was the presidential election to the SGPC that was the basis of your struggle. I mentioned the presidential election in the course of a narrative of events. That, together with other events, may have affected your thinking. But I certainly do not suggest that it was the main cause of the decisions you have arrived at. In any event, if what I wrote was liable to any other interpretation, I am sorry for it and would like to apologise to you.

When you wrote to me for the first time on the subject. I pointed out to you how difficult, and indeed almost impossible, it was for me to accept your proposal for arbitration in a matter of this kind, even on the facts stated by you. So far as one aspect of this is concerned, you have yourself agreed that the validity of the Act is not being challenged. It is the intentions that motivated that Act that you have disapproved. I ventured to point out to you that it is exceedingly difficult to have an enquiry into the inner motives of individuals. That is not a precise subject for adjudication. All of us have many mixed motives for any action that we may take. Some of them are conscious motives; many unconscious ones, even though we are affected by them. I am not aware of any reference to arbitration of a question involving the motives behind a piece of legislation. It was this difficulty that I placed before you. One can arbitrate about definite and precise matters.

There is another aspect of this problem which affects me personally. The proposal you have made seems to me indirectly to over-ride our parliamentary

74. See Appendix 17, pp. 598-601.

75. Letter. U.N. Dhebar Papers, NMML.

76. See Appendix 7, pp. 577-580.

and constitutional procedures. For me to encourage any such step would be improper as it is my function to uphold the letter and spirit of the Constitution. A wrong procedure adopted, even when there might be some factual justification for it, would lead to wrong results. I hope you will appreciate my position in this matter. I think that if the suggestion you have made in this matter was accepted, then similar suggestions could always be made in regard to any activity of Government. It would make the functioning of our legislatures and the parliamentary system very difficult. I am sure you do not wish that to happen.

In one of my previous letters I had suggested to you that we might take advantage of Acharya Vinoba Bhave's presence in the Punjab to remove misunderstandings for the future.⁷⁷ It is common ground that there should not be interference in religious matters. There may be a difference of opinion as to what constitutes interference and this is a matter which can be discussed and conventions developed for the future.

In your letter you have referred to many facts. Some of these are within my knowledge; about others, I do not know much. But what I have written above really is more or less independent of a purely factual approach. Whatever the precise facts might be, I cannot see how I can possibly accept the proposal about arbitration in regard to intentions and motives of individuals in connection with a piece of legislation in the Punjab Legislature. In regard to future procedures, one may consider the matter so as to avoid misunderstandings.

Please, therefore, do not think that I close any door, I am not in the habit of closing doors, least of all in your case. I trust that you will appreciate my position and give up the idea of fasting indefinitely.⁷⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

77. See SWJN/SS/47/p. 219.

78. Tara Singh informed Nehru that he had decided to go on a fast unto death from 16 April 1959. Nehru wrote to Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab, on the same day: "I sent you today a copy of my letter to Master Tara Singh. I now give below a telegram I have received, which says it has been sent on behalf of fifty-five M.L.As of the Punjab Assembly:

'Master Tara Singh's contemplated fast unto death is fraught with grave consequences to the people of the State. We request the Prime Minister of India to intervene and save the situation. We also request Master Tara Singh not to take this drastic step—Balwant Rai Tayal, Bhupinder Singh Mann on behalf of fifty-five M.L.As'."

Nehru also wrote to N. V. Gadgil, Governor of Punjab, on the same day: "I do not think it will be desirable for me to send for him at this stage, but I shall see how matters develop."

42. To N.V. Gadgil: Bhakra Dam and Slocum⁷⁹

April 11, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Slocum⁸⁰ came to see me today on his way back from the U.S.A. As usual, he talked in doleful terms of Bhakra and how things were not being done as they should be done. The disaster potential was great, his advice was not needed and he had to struggle all the time. Even knowledge of past errors did not lead to any improvement. If he had authority to go ahead by himself, he could do everything alone. As a matter of fact, he was treated far too much as an outsider, and not as a partner in this great undertaking, and so on.

I am just giving you a brief account of what he said to me. I did not ask him and he did not go into any details. He did mention, however, the accident that had occurred last year when the waters were opened out and a bit of a side-wall was broken up. He said this was due to his advice not having been followed.⁸¹

Yours Sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

79. Letter to the Governor of Punjab. File No.17(50)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

80. Harvey Slocum, US expert on the construction of dams, Chief Engineer, Bhakra Dam Project.

81. See also SWJN/SS/44/pp. 433-434.

43. To Partap Singh Kairon: Gurdwara Politics⁸²

April 12, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

Master Tara Singh came to see me this afternoon and was with me for about an hour and a quarter.⁸³ As a result of our talks it was agreed that a statement should be issued. I enclose a copy of this statement. I hope you approve of it.⁸⁴

When I discussed the formation of a committee (referred to in paragraph 2 of the statement), Master Tara Singh said that this committee should not consist of you and Giani Kartar Singh.⁸⁵ Anyone else could be appointed. I pointed out to him that it would be very improper for me to tell the Punjab Government not to appoint somebody or to appoint a particular person. This must be left to the discretion of the Punjab Government. He said that since the allegations concerned some people particularly, it would hardly be suitable for those very persons to consider those charges. I still maintained that I could not rule out any person. He then said that his objection to your name was not very great, but he would certainly not like Giani Kartar Singh to be appointed to the committee. However, I said that I could not agree to a particular exclusion or inclusion.

It was at this stage that I suggested that if there was any disagreement among the members of the committee, the matter might be referred to the Governor of the Punjab. He said that he had no grievance against the Governor, but he would like the matter to be referred to me rather than to Governor. This would satisfy the public more. I said that that would not be very proper as I

82. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

83. Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, who had been opposing the Sikh Gurdwara (Amenment) Act, 1959, had proposed to lead a silent mass protest march in Delhi on 15 March. But he was arrested on 12 March in Amritsar under the Preventive Detention Act, the march nevertheless took place with a large number of Sikhs participating. After his release on 21 March, Tara Singh wrote to Nehru on the issue but found the response unsatisfactory. See Appendix 7, pp. 577-580 and item 41, pp. 301-302. He announced on 6 April that he would begin a "fast unto death" on 16 April unless the legislation was repealed. Nehru had a personal meeting with Master Tara Singh on 12 April when a statement was issued announcing that they had reached an agreement. As a result of this agreement Master Tara Singh announced that he would abandon his proposed "fast unto death."

84. See Appendix 12, pp. 590-592.

85. Member, SGPC, and a Minister in the Punjab Government.

could not be constantly dealing with these matters and the Governor was the right person, but then I added the last paragraph which you will see.

Master Tara Singh had given me a paper which I enclose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. To Partap Singh Kairon⁸⁶

April 19, 1959

My dear Partap Singh,

I have just returned from South India. I have received your letter of the 10th April with which you sent me a copy of your letter to Pantji. This is about certain actions that the Governor has taken about a Bill passed by your Assembly.

I understand that Pantji has referred this matter to our Law Ministry for their advice. Whatever the legalities might be, and probably the Governor had the strict constitutional right to take the action he did, I think that from the point of view of propriety, his action is being looked into thoroughly by our Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. To N.V. Gadgil: Gurdwara Politics⁸⁷

April 19, 1959

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your note of the 16th April.

I see that Master Tara Singh is trying to exploit the fact that I agreed to a certain procedure and calls it a great victory for himself or for the Akali Dal. Also, immediately after, he goes and talks about a separate Sikh State. He is quite incorrigible.

I think that in this matter of the Committee about which I wrote to you, Tara Singh should be made to realise that we have merely suggested a procedure for him to place his complaints before the Punjab Government. We are not

86. Letter.

87. Letter.

Calm After The Storm



*Following tea with the Prime Minister,
Master Tara Singh withdrew his decision to fast unto death.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 APRIL 1959)

putting him on the same level as the Punjab Government. In other words, he should not be encouraged in his wrong ways.

Whatever I agreed to with Tara Singh, I did after consulting Partap Singh Kairon. In fact, that day, I telephoned to Partap Singh three times. Naturally, I could not tell him of the exact wording of the statement issued, but I got his agreement with the substance of it. I am answering a question in Parliament about the statement, and I am saying that, in accordance with constitutional procedure and propriety, I only acted after consulting the Chief Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. In the Lok Sabha: Talks with Tara Singh⁸⁸

Question:⁸⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the decisions taken by Government following the talks between the Prime Minister and Akali Leader Master Tara Singh in respect of the alleged official interference in the management of Gurdwaras;
- (b) whether the Government of Punjab had been consulted before these decisions were taken;
- (c) whether the Central Government case (sic) satisfied itself that a prima facie case in regard to the allegations of official interference in the management of Gurdwaras has been made out by the Akali leader; and
- (d) the steps being taken in respect of the decisions made?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) The statement issued as a result of the talks of the Prime Minister and Master Tara Singh is placed on the Table of the House.

(b) The Prime Minister consulted the Chief Minister of the Punjab on several occasions and it was as a result of the broad agreement of the Chief Minister that the statement was issued.

(c) and (d) The Central Government have no reason to think that there has been any official interference in the management of the Gurdwaras. The statement issued is meant principally to lay down a procedure for the future. It is for the Punjab Government to take such steps as it considers necessary.

Shri Vajpayee: According to the joint statement in case of disagreement among the members the four men committee, the matter will be referred to the Governor, May I know if the Akali leader has given an assurance that he will accept the verdict of the Governor as final and no fresh controversy will be raised?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; I did not ask for any undertaking from anybody. Normally speaking, Government's will prevails in all such matters. But before the Government's will is made to prevail, one seeks all opportunities of cooperative settlement of disputes. There is no particular point in my asking a

88. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, 21 April 1959. Vol. XXX cols 12497-12501.

89. By Jan Sangh MP Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Congress MPs Nek Ram Negi and Bhakt Darshan.

citizen to give me an assurance that he will obey a law; it does not help at all. But the Governor is mentioned there in order to facilitate this process of agreed procedures. It helps if there is some agreed procedure about the future, etc. I cannot obviously guarantee that there will be agreement always or that anything agreed upon will be acted upon always.

Shri Vajpayee: My question is: what will happen in case of disagreement among the members of the committee: whether the verdict of the Governor will be binding on the Akali leader or he will again come out with threats and the Prime Minister will again succumb to his threats? (Interruptions)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Prime Minister is very happy to truckle always, if I can use the word which the hon. Member has used. I cannot guarantee what will happen in future. If the statement is read carefully it will be seen that first of all it repeats and affirms a thing which has been said by everybody that is, it is common ground among all concerned that there should be no governmental inter-ferece in religious affairs. Then, some machinery should be devised to ensure implementation of this policy. The machinery is that the persons who are likely to complain are allowed approach to Government representatives so that they may consider the matter and the complaint might be dealt with forthwith. If, nevertheless, some difficulty arises, the Governor's help is taken to consider the matter and his advice is taken. The Governor cannot issue a decree and as I have just now said, ultimately the law of the land prevails.

Shri Vajpayee: May I know why other Sikh leaders, particularly the President of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee were not invited along with the Akali leader and why the Akali leader has been treated as if he was the sole spokesman of the Sikh community which, in fact, he is not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, if the hon. Member will see, has been given a very special place in the statement. It is only by its approval that any future changes in the Act should be taken because the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee is supposed to be the final authority dealing with religious matters. As to why Master Tara Singh is invited and not others, well, in the particular context of the situation, only he had to be invited. There is no point in my inviting others. What has been said in the statement is so obvious that I do not see how anyone can take exception, unless a person says that by inviting a particular person, as the hon. Member hinted, a special position as the leader is given to him. I do not think that by my inviting anybody, such a position is given. That position is there or is not there and I meet all kinds of

people, people with whom I disagree.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: In this connection, may I say a word?

Mr. Speaker: He may say it later on. Now, Shri Bhakt Darshan.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान, क्या यह सत्य नहीं है कि यह समझौता मास्टर तारा सिंह के आमरण अनशन में से उत्पन्न परिस्थितियों की छाया में किया गया था? तो क्या उसके कारण भविष्य में वह उन्हें अपना रख और अधिक कड़ा तथा समझौता न करने वाला यानी अनकम्प्रोमाइज़िंग करने में मदद नहीं देगा?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : खैर, जो कुछ और लोगों का रख हो, मेरा रख तो हमेशा ही नरम रहेगा।

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan : Sir, is it not true that this accord was arrived at in the shadow of the circumstances produced by the indefinite hunger strike undertaken by Master Tara Singh ? And therefore, will it not help him in hardening his stand in the future and making it more uncompromising ?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Well, whatever be the attitude of other people, my attitude will always be soft.

Translation ends.]

Raja Mahendra Pratap: I beg to say that our hon. Prime Minister has not understood the disease in Punjab. I spoke to the hon. Prime Minister before. In Punjab the struggle is between the castes and some people in Punjab believe that today Jats are ruling Punjab because the Chief Minister is a Jat, Surajmal Rao Sahib⁹⁰ is a Jat, Sardar Kartar Singh⁹¹ is a Jat and Sardar Rarewala⁹² is Jat. Some people think that these Jats are ruling Punjab. How, certain section—anti-Jat—tries to pull them down and this fact is not

90. Minister of Public Works, Capital Project, Public Health, Engineering and Housing in the Punjab Government.

91. Forests Minister in the Punjab Government, and member, SGPC.

92. Gian Singh Rarewala, Minister of Irrigation, Power and Community Development.

understood. Unless you understand what is the disease, how can you remedy it? I propose to you this. You may kindly form four associations in Punjab: Khatri Sangh, Jat Sangh, Ahluwalia Sangh and Arora Sangh comprising of Sikhs and Hindus. There will be no more trouble in Punjab. I can do it if you allow me to do it.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Am I wrong in imagining that the hon. Member is also a Jat? (Interruptions)

Raja Mahendra Pratap: I happen to be the President of the All India Jat Mahasabha.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान, क्या यह सत्य है कि इस समझौते पर हस्ताक्षर करने के बाद, मास्टर तारा सिंह ने अपनी पंजाबी सूबे की माँग को फिर दोहराया है और क्या इससे यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि वे इस समझौते से बुनियादी तौर पर सहमत नहीं हैं और यह एक दिखलावा मात्र है?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : एक बार फिर माननीय सदस्य और प्रश्न को दोहरा दें।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : मेरा प्रश्न यह है कि मास्टर तारा सिंह जी ने यहाँ से जाने के बाद जो यह वक्तव्य दिया है कि वे अपनी पंजाबी सूबे की माँग पर दृढ़ हैं तो क्या इससे यह सिद्ध नहीं होता कि वे इस समझौते से पूरी तरह से सहमत नहीं हैं और यह एक दिखलावा मात्र है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मैं इसका क्या जवाब दूँ? मैं ज़िम्मेदार नहीं हूँ कि मास्टर तारा सिंह किस वक्त क्या कहें। मैं कैसे इसका जवाब दूँ, सिवा इसके कि मैं इत्मीनान दिला सकता हूँ उनको और औरों को भी कि पंजाबी सूबा नहीं होगा।

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan : Sir, is it true that after signing this accord Master Tara Singh has again reiterated his demand for a Punjabi Suba and does this not prove that he does not basically agree to this accord and it is only a pretense ?

Speaker : May the honourable member repeat his question.

Shri Bhakt Darshan : My query is does the statement issued by Master Tara Singh after going from here that he is firm on his demand for a Punjabi Suba not prove that he is not in complete agreement with this accord and it is only a pretence ?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : What answer can I offer to this ? I am not responsible for what Master Tara Singh may say at any given time, except that I can assure him and others too that there will be no Punjabi Suba.

Translation ends.]

(x) Uttar Pradesh

47. To Jagjivan Ram and S.K. Patil: Bridge Over the Ganga ⁹³

On arrival here in Allahabad today,⁹⁴ I have been overwhelmed with demands for a new bridge over the Ganga at Jhusi or nearabouts, joining Jhusi with Daraganj in Allahabad.⁹⁵ This is an old demand based chiefly on the large number of pilgrims that come to Allahabad at all times of the year and, more especially, at the time of the Magh Mela.⁹⁶ There is a bridge nearby which used to be called the Izat Bridge,⁹⁷ but this only carries the small gauge railway and there is no cart road or even a footpath over it. There is no doubt that a very great deal of inconvenience is caused by this absence of proper means of communication across the river at this place. At the time of the Magh Mela or the Kumbh Mela, more particularly, the traffic is tremendous and lakhs of persons come to bathe in the Ganga.

2. A pontoon bridge is made every year during the winter season. It has to be taken away during the rains and when the river is in flood. It is impossible

93. Note to the Union Minister of Railways, and Union Minister of Transport and Communications, Anand Bhavan, Allahabad. 6 April 1959. File No.7(183)/59-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

94. Nehru was in Allahabad from 6 to 8 April 1959. See items 1-6, pp. 1-86.

95. Daraganj is a suburb of the Allahabad city. See also item 2, pp. 27-28.

96. The Magh Mela commences around the middle of January with the festival of Makar Sankranti. It ends after a month with Maha Shivratri.

97. Designed by Alexander Izat.

for anyone to cross then and even boats are not always safe. The nearest bridge is the Curzon Bridge at Phaphamau⁹⁸ which is a long distance away.

3. This old demand has been suddenly intensified by the tragedy that occurred during the last Magh Mela, when the pontoon bridge broke down and a large number of people were drowned. This has naturally led to a great deal of excitement in Allahabad and roundabout.

4. It was very odd that the Izat Bridge should be built without making any provision for road traffic and not even for pedestrians. This was almost criminal folly. Indeed, because of this lack, the Izat Bridge used to be called Izat's folly.

5. The small gauge railway that runs over this bridge was owned by a private company and we were told in those days that the private interests controlling that bridge brought a lot of pressure on the then Government so as to avoid having to spend more on a bridge having a cart road. Also that this would mean more railway traffic. That private company⁹⁹ had among its important shareholders some members of the British Royal Family, and so the pressure was considerable, and the then Government of India succumbed to it.

6. I think that there is undoubtedly strong ground for having a proper bridge not only for ordinary traffic, but more especially to provide for the huge concourse of pilgrims who come to Allahabad during the big melas. But such a bridge would be a very costly undertaking, and I am afraid we cannot undertake this in the near future, though some time or other, I think, we shall have to accept this proposal.

7. There is one thing, however, which I think should be undertaken immediately. This is to provide footpaths for pedestrians on the present bridge of the small gauge railway from Daraganj to Jhusi. It should be quite easy to have a double footpath on either side of this bridge, and it should not cost very much. This is not only meant to provide a means of pedestrian traffic throughout the year and even when the river is in spate, but also to relieve to some extent the tremendous congestion at the time of the annual fairs in Allahabad. I spoke about this matter some years ago to Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who was, I think, the Minister of Communications then, and impressed upon him the urgency of giving effect to this proposal. He tells me that he took it up and the matter was discussed between the Railway Ministry and the Communications Ministry, and a great deal of progress was made, though final decisions were not taken then. He then ceased to be connected with that Ministry, and apparently the matter was dropped.

98. A suburb of Allahabad.

99. Bengal and North-Western Railway Company.

8. On my coming to Allahabad this time, I was surprised to find that no progress had been made on this fairly simple but important proposal. I do think that this matter should be taken up immediately. I suppose that both the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Transport & Communications are connected with this matter and the two will have to come to some agreement on the subject. Probably the best course would be for the Ministry of Railways to take it up as they anyhow have to deal with this railway bridge. The Ministry of Transport & Communications should share in the cost. I would request the Ministers of Railways and Transport & Communications to consider this matter as early as possible. It would be very good indeed if this footpath could be put up before the next rainy season. Perhaps one side of it could be put up then and the other side later.

48. To Jagjivan Ram: Footpath on Ganga Bridge¹⁰⁰

April 19, 1959

My dear Jagjivan,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th April.

I think you should certainly go ahead with the footpath on one side, as you have suggested. At any rate, this will come into being soon. Any other proposal will take a long time and hope deferred makes the heart sick.

The proposal to have a new bridge, as I have said previously, will have to be considered some time or other. You might ask the Transport Ministry to consider this question for the future in consultation with the U.P. Government.

As for the other footpath on the present bridge, this should also be considered.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

100. Letter.

49. To Charan Singh: Resignation¹⁰¹

April 22, 1959

My dear Charan Singh,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of April 3rd. I have been terribly busy and for about a week I was away from Delhi.

It is clear from your letter that you were in no way responsible for the items of news that appeared in the *Times of India* or other papers. Since, however, this news item had appeared there, I felt I should write to you.¹⁰² There is no question of my being in an angry mood.

I do not understand how Chaturbhuj Sharma¹⁰³ had misunderstood me. I cannot remember, of course, what exactly I said to him. Probably what I said was that I hoped that you will continue to do good work in some form or other. That, indeed, is my wish.

Quite apart from the merits of the various points that have been raised in connection with this matter, I think that the general attitude you took up made it very difficult, and indeed impossible, for you to continue in the Ministry. In fact, you had told me so yourself. You had taken a step which inevitably led either to your leaving the Ministry or the whole Ministry going and something new taking its place.¹⁰⁴

It is thus not a question of my appreciating or not what you told me about conditions in Uttar Pradesh. I am not at all happy about those conditions. But you made some personal equation. Personal matters, of course, count and one has to balance many factors. Often we have to choose between what is considered the lesser evil. None of us is above criticism or can pretend to be completely right.

You refer, at the end of your letter, to a feeling that because of your views on certain questions, you have been labouring under a handicap. I take it you are referring to joint cooperative cultivation. I do not think this particular matter

101. Letter to the Minister of Revenue in the Uttar Pradesh Government.

102. See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 235-236.

103. President, Uttar Pradesh PCC.

104. Charan Singh sent his resignation on 2 April 1959 and it was accepted on 22 April. The delay was to prevent any adverse effect on the Congress prospects in the by-election to the UP Assembly in Baraut constituency in Meerut, scheduled for 20 April. However, the Congress candidate was defeated.

really affected any decision, though it may be that unconsciously it created an impression.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. To Mohanlal Saksena: Resignation from Congress¹⁰⁵

April 22, 1959

My dear Mohanlal,

I have received your letter of April 16 with its enclosures. I am so heavily occupied with work and difficult problems that I cannot write to you at any length at present. I am sorry, however, to find that you wish to resign your primary membership of the Congress. Whatever your views may be about the deficiencies of the U.P. Congress, I do not understand how this should lead you or anyone else to resign from the primary membership. For a person who has grown up with the Congress like you and me, this seems to me an inconceivable contingency. I hope, therefore, that you will revise your decision.

I am, therefore, for the present, not forwarding your letter of resignation addressed to the Congress President.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

51. To Sampurnanand: Disintegration of Congress¹⁰⁶

25th April, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have written to you separately about my visit to Mussoorie yesterday.¹⁰⁷

Now I am writing to you about a matter which is causing us a good deal of concern and even anxiety. Reports reaching us from a variety of sources from UP indicate some kind of a process of disintegration of the Congress

105. Letter to Mohanlal Saksena, a freedom fighter and Congressman from UP.

106. Letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. File No A/137, Sampurnanand Collection, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

107. During his visit to Mussoorie on 24 April 1959, Nehru met the Dalai Lama. See item 135, pp. 478-498.

organisation. Charan Singh's departure had become inevitable after the line he had taken up. I am not worried about that at all. But the question remains as to what effective steps should be taken to check this process of slow disintegration. The mere fact that many persons talk about it constantly in different parts of the UP itself becomes a fact to be considered.

The Governor of UP¹⁰⁸ met me day before yesterday and also gave me the same impression. Obviously, to allow matters to drift is not to meet a situation. Some positive action has to be taken. What that positive action should be, it is for you to judge. I think that your having a good talk with Chandra Bhan Gupta¹⁰⁹ would be desirable. In spite of Chandra Bhan's many failings, he is at least an old Congressman of considerable capacity for work. He has had a number of hard blows in the past two-three years.¹¹⁰ I think it is time to make a gentler approach to him and get his cooperation.

Of course, this can only be done by you and you should know best how to do it.

The Congress President who went to some parts of UP recently also came back with the same impression and is anxious that something might be done before other crises confront us. The crises at the top can be faced but an inner process of disintegration is much more difficult to counter.

You will be coming here, I hope, for the AICC meeting. Probably Chandra Bhan Gupta will also be coming. But I would much rather that you talked to Gupta before your coming here.

I hope you will forgive my writing to you about this matter, but it has been worrying me and others and I did not think it fair to myself or to you not to write to you on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. V.V. Giri.

109. Congressman from Uttar Pradesh.

110. Chandra Bhan Gupta, a faction leader in UP, was defeated in the general election in 1957 and in a by-election in April 1958 to the UP Assembly.

52. To Sampurnanand: Communal Riots and Bureaucratic Sloth¹¹¹

April 25, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am writing to you about the riots which occurred in Mubarakpur, District Azamgarh.¹¹² From some reports I have received, these riots were in some respects very bad and that the behaviour of the police was particularly objectionable. According to one fairly reliable report, there was some rather petty conflict between Hindus and Muslims and they threw bricks at each other for about fifteen minutes. After that all the beating and looting was done by the police and hundreds of Muslims were mercilessly beaten the next day. Their houses and shops were looted by the police. Telephone calls to the District Magistrate during the whole day brought a reply that he was asleep and could not be disturbed. It was only on the third day when some prominent leaders reached the spot that the police misbehaviour came to an end.

I understand that you have entrusted the enquiry into these riots to the very District Magistrate who was supposed to be partly guilty or at least neglectful of his duties.

It has long been my view that communal riots can hardly take place if the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police are vigilant and competent. If they take place, for my part I hold the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police responsible, if for nothing else, then for incompetence and carelessness. In such a case, as at Mubarakpur, to ask the District Magistrate to enquire into the matter, when charges are brought against him will surely not give satisfaction to anyone. I do hope you will look into this matter.

Normally, the AICC sends someone for a non-official enquiry or, at any rate, to go informally and soothe the people who have been hurt or harmed. I think it would be a good thing if the AICC did so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

111. Letter. File No. A/138, Sampurnanand Collection, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

112. Communal disturbances broke out on 25 March, the Holi day, in Mubarakpur, a town eight miles from Azamgarh.

(xi) West Bengal

53. In the Lok Sabha: Supreme Court Reference on Cooch-Behar Enclaves¹¹³

I should like to inform the House that the President has decided on the advice of his Government to refer certain issues to the Supreme Court for their opinion. These issues relate—if I may read out—to the steps to be taken concerning the Berubari Union and the so-called Cooch-Behar enclaves.

The reference is:

“1. Is any legislative action necessary for the implementation of the agreement relating to Berubari Union?

2. If so, is a law of Parliament relatable to Article 3 of the Constitution sufficient for the purpose or is an amendment of the Constitution in accordance with Article 368 of the Constitution necessary in addition or in the alternative?

3. Is a law of Parliament relatable to Article 3 of the Constitution sufficient for the implementation of the agreement relating to exchange of enclaves or is an amendment of the Constitution in accordance with Article 368 of the Constitution necessary for the purpose in addition or in the alternative?”

The actual reference has not been sent to the Supreme Court because of some maps et cetera, but I thought I would take the earliest opportunity to inform the house. I shall, of course, place a copy of that before the House as soon as possible.

113. Statement regarding exchange of Berubari Union and Cooch-Behar Enclaves with Pakistan, 2 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, cols 9288-9289.

(c) Goa

54. For the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Pakistan-Portugal Trade Agreement¹¹⁴

Mr. Speaker might be informed that I have little to state in regard to this matter.¹¹⁵ It is true that a trade agreement was signed between Pakistan and Portugal on June 16, 1958.¹¹⁶ No Direct mention is made of Goa in this agreement. It may, however, be said that by implication Goa is included in the so-called overseas provinces of Portugal. We have always rejected this contention which is on the face of it wrong and absurd.

2. As Goa is not mentioned in this document, it does not seem desirable for us to draw particular attention to this matter.

55. For the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Pakistan-Portugal Trade Agreement¹¹⁷

While dealing with a previous Short Notice Question on this very subject, I wrote a note not accepting the Question and pointing out some facts about this agreement. We can repeat more or less the same thing here.

2. The following note should be sent to the Parliament Secretariat:-

"I regret that I cannot accept this Short Notice Question. Another Short Notice Question on the same subject came a few days ago, and I was unable to accept it, and I placed certain considerations before Mr. Speaker.

As a Short Notice Question, there is no urgency about this. But even as an ordinary Question, I would submit that it is not very desirable to

114. Note, 10 April 1959. File No. 10-15/19-Goa (NGO), p.5/n., MHA (MEA).

115. An advance notice was sent by Ila Palchoudhuri, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nabadwip, West Bengal, on 6 April 1959 to the Secretary, Lok Sabha, to request the Prime Minister to make a statement on the "reported recognition by Pakistan of Goa as part of Portugal—an Overseas Province—in one of the articles of a trade Agreement signed between Pakistan and Portugal last year—on June 16, 1958—and the reaction of the Government of India thereto as also the steps taken, if any, in regard thereto. Reference *The Statesman* dated 6 April, 1959." This was forwarded to Nehru.

116. The agreement, signed on 16 June 1958, was released in Karachi on 4 April 1959. It provided for most favoured nation status and was applicable to all Portuguese territories, including those overseas.

117. Note, 12 April 1959.

allow any such Question simply because of a newspaper report drawing attention to some implications of the agreement between Pakistan and Portugal. This agreement was signed in June 1958. There is no mention in this agreement of Goa, Daman or Diu. All that is said is that the agreement applies to the "overseas provinces" of Portugal. Some of the principal colonial possessions of Portugal are mentioned by name, but not Goa, Daman or Diu. There is no reason why we should draw particular attention to the fact that inferentially this phrase includes Goa, Daman or Diu. That would only result in drawing attention to a matter which may not be considered as certain. Unfortunately the Pakistan Government have had close contacts with Portugal, and there is nothing that we can do about it. For us to ask the Pakistan Government to clarify this matter can hardly be to our advantage."

56. In the Rajya Sabha¹¹⁸

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan:¹¹⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether it is a fact that Portuguese soldiers crossed into the Indian territory at Banda border on March 26 last and kidnapped one Indian constable after opening fire; and if so, what are the details of the incident; and

(b) What action Government have taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) The incident took place on the morning of 26th March, 1959 at about 10 A.M. near a place called Lakkarkot, not far from Banda border. Indian customs police post at this place saw some persons coming from Goa side. They were suspected to be smugglers. On seeing the customs police, they fled into the Portuguese territory. Soon after this, 6 Portuguese soldiers came and opened fire on our customs police. One sepoy was also wounded in the left ankle but he managed to escape the Portuguese intruders. At least one rifle belonging to the Indian customs post was also taken away by the Portuguese.

(b) We have protested strongly to the Portuguese through the Brazilian Embassy in New Delhi. We have also asked for the return of the customs

118. Reply to questions, 20 April 1959, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 29-32.

119. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

sepoy together with arms and ammunition taken away by the Portuguese. We are considering what further action should be taken if the Portuguese do not put a stop to the incidents of this kind.

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान : क्या वह सिपाही अब भी पुर्तगालियों के हाथ में है, और ब्राज़ीलियन दूतावास के ज़रिये जो आपने प्रोटेस्ट किया है, क्या उसका कोई उत्तर आपको मिला है?

[Translation begins :

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan : Is that soldier still in the custody of the Portuguese, and have you received any reply to the protest you have lodged through the Brazilian Embassy?

Translation ends.]

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: We are waiting for the reply.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:¹²⁰ International law permits in such cases what is called hot pursuit. May I know the reason why in these particular cases we are not taking recourse to the well-established principle of international law and carry out hot pursuit in order to apprehend the violators of our frontiers?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Because, I presume, it was not considered practical at the time.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know the reason why an otherwise simple thing should be found impracticable?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not at all a simple thing for the armed forces to meet. One has to take care that for the armed force that meets them is a bigger one.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: No, Sir. I understand from the report that stray violations take place, only a few people taking part. In such a case I would like to know from the Prime Minister as to why it should be difficult for some coin and get them on this side of the frontier?

120. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer these questions. There are some customs people, not even regular soldiers, some armed customs people who are suddenly pounced upon—that is our account—from behind, almost from the bushes behind, seized and carried away. Now, two or three customs people could hardly pursue the Portuguese army into Goa. Of course, one can make a separate matter of this.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: I understand the Prime Minister's point. But in such a case why is there not an arrangement at least for some men of the armed forces to be there in order to help the customs and other officials? Why are they pounced upon in this manner from the other side?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: When the armed forces are there, they are presumably not pounced upon. And you cannot keep the armed forces, normally speaking, at every yard of the frontier.

(d) Administration

57. Speech at New Delhi¹²¹

Mr. Chairman,¹²² Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am happy to add to the welcome which this Conference is receiving and to be associated with it in this way. I must say however that, when I was first approached to inaugurate this Conference I could not make out what this name, which is a mouthful, meant? And which is not a very sweet soothing name at all, non-governmental organisation. I wonder if they could not find a somewhat more soothing name for it. But I suppose it, the name, was meant to show what it was, and to lay stress that it was not, if I may use the word, one of the stooges of governments, but to function independently to represent public opinion. It is

121. Speech while inaugurating the Second Indian National Conference of Non-Governmental Organisations of the UN, 3 April 1959. New Delhi. AIR tapes, NMML.

The conference was attended by delegates and observers from about 140 national and regional organisations and representatives of various UN agencies. C.V. Narasimhan, Under Secretary for special political affairs of the UN conveyed Hammarškjöld's greetings and good wishes.

122. J. N. Sahni, chairman of the preparatory committee.

a curious thing, that while on the one side, because of various factors, public opinion has become increasingly important and vociferous in a great part of the world, at the same time governments become more dominant, and though they are no doubt affected by public opinion, often carry on in spite of it, and almost opposed to the public opinion, or, I may put it differently, often public opinion is more in advance of all governmental opinion. And so it has to push governments and drag them along a certain path, which they are a little afraid of doing because of their responsibilities. Anyhow, I am quite convinced that it is of high importance that public opinion should assert itself in various ways and represent, well, many people who do not find a voice in organised governments.

I am not referring to different parties and minorities and all that. I am really referring to the fact that governments inevitably get tied up with certain problems. People connected with governments, have to work very hard as a rule, because of this multitude of problems that face them. With the result that they are apt sometimes to overlook other problems not only of equal importance, but even greater importance but which do not bear down upon them, and is there, that public opinion that can play a very important part.

Now, in what direction should that part be played? Well, these organisations are directly or indirectly connected with the United Nations. And many of us from time to time have criticised some aspect or some activity of the United Nations. But I wonder if any of us ever think of what the world would have been without the United Nations. It is a sobering thought that if the United Nations had not been there, what exactly would have happened to this world of ours. I don't think that the consequences would have been good at all, from almost any point of view, certainly from the point of view of peace in the world, certainly from the view of people being thrown together, at the governmental level, certainly to some extent to our levels too. People who would, might avoid each other, might shun each other, yet have to function together whether they like each other or not, and even though they might bandy arguments and words, nevertheless, they talk to each other, discuss matters with each other, and sometimes even come to agreements. That is, the United Nations is continuously fighting, and with a measure of success, against the other and more destructive tendencies in the world. You may think that the destructive tendencies are stronger than the cooperative or you may think otherwise. It is a matter of opinion. But the fact is that the United Nations has with considerable success fought those disruptive and disintegrating tendencies and tried to hold the world together in some measure, which otherwise it might not have done.

Then, there is, there are, the other, the activities which normally do not raise any political arguments, activities of the various specialised agencies of

the United Nations, and which have done remarkably good work, although if I may venture to criticise, they do all this work at terrible cost. They function at such levels of expenditure that a poor undeveloped country like India is appalled when it sees their budgets. However, that is not my concern at the present moment. But the work these specialised agencies have done all over the world, and certainly in the undeveloped countries and underdeveloped countries of the world, has been remarkably good, and we welcome it and are grateful for it. This work, apart from being good in itself, has another very great advantage, that it draws people away and apart from the political conflicts which afflict the world, and it makes people who politically may be in conflict cooperate in other fields of human endeavour, which is a good thing. Because, very often, in order to meet an evil, sometimes the direct approach is good. You fight it directly, but not always, because then conflicts come, and unless one side is much stronger than the other, stronger in any way you like, this conflict continues, and where passions are involved, nobody likes to give in, and minds are closed, and no one will listen to a reasonable argument. Therefore, it is easier to deal with an evil also indirectly, because indirectly if you come together and discuss matters which are not basically controversial, you get in a mood of cooperation and gradually you see that the big barrier was not such a big barrier as you thought. And you could meet that evil in that way.

Anyhow the United Nations approach is two-fold, direct with limitations, of course, limitations which are inherent in the situation today, and indirect. And both are useful, and in this work again, while governments play a very important part, which is inevitable, it would be pity if it was left to governments alone to function, and therefore it becomes important that non-official, non-governmental organisations should throw in their weight. And where they function and a variety of such organisations come together, differing in many ways in regard to political or economic questions, yet they function together, broadly having the same ideals. That also has not only a direct impact on the United Nations, but it helps in lowering those tensions and partly removing those barriers which come in the way of world cooperation.

Many people or some people talk today of a world order, a world federation and the like. And the ideal appeals to any sensitive individual or any person who can, who tries to find some light in the conflicts of today; and yet, feeling that way, he has to come to the conclusion that that time is not ripe for it. Something is lacking, and it is not enough for a large number of people, good people, to get together and to vote in favour of a world federation. When we see something the very reverse of that happening in the world, preparations for war, cold war, heated arguments, and very impolite language held by the leaders of one country against the leaders of other countries, which is the very reverse

of that atmosphere which creates or which might ultimately create a world federation.

Now, I am convinced that sometime or other, when, I do not know, and if the world survives big scale disaster, some kind of world federation is bound to come, because it is inherent in the shape of things; but it seems to be rather far off. Anyhow, the vague picture of what might come, might take definite shape much later, is the United Nations. Imperfect as it is from that point of view, it is something: and it is far better to have that something, than to have nothing and think vaguely and dream about some perfect order, which may take a long time to come. The United Nations is based upon the Charter, and whenever I have read this Charter, especially the opening words of it, I have been impressed by the vision of the founders of the United Nations, because it is a very fine charter. And at the same time again, we find that although the ideal place before the world was a very fine one, how far we are from that ideal, and how we lose ourselves in our rivalries, in our attempts to, well, think of ourselves only, at the expense even of others, in our fears, apprehensions, hatreds, and capacity for violence. It is surprising how far, how practice and ideals differ. Yet the ideals enshrined in the Charter are good and noble ideals. And it is good to have those ideals and to be constantly reminded of them to pull us out of the ruts that we are in.

Here in India we used a word which has become almost common coin, in other parts of the world, "Panchsheel", the "Five Principles", and anyone who sees those Five Principles will admit that while they do not deal with the problems of the world, they do deal with certain basic relationships between different countries which, acted upon, would reduce tensions and troubles and fears tremendously. As I said, that would not solve the problems of the world, but it will create the atmosphere which would help in the solution of the problems of the world, and that is a great thing. We used these words "Panchsheel" and the "Five Principles", and many countries do so, and yet we do not always act up to them. When something happens which frightens us or which, according to our thinking, affects our own narrow interests, we forget that. And so, we live in two kinds of worlds, the world of, well, in a way, of ideals and noble precepts and Charters, and the actual world of practice which is very far removed from that. Other words which are so often used, good words, also lose their essential meaning. We talk of peace and everybody admits that peace is good, and yet we prepare for war, and sometimes even we talk of peace in such harsh tones, that they remind one of war, not of peace. So we talk other words, of democracy, and so many other words which seem to have lost their basic meaning. Words, like hard coin, lose their brightness and their essence. That is so. Nevertheless, there is the other ten-dency too, more and more people think

about these matters and more and more people talk about them, feel about them, and more and more people positively try in their various ways to help in the process of the world, going ahead in peace and cooperation.

Now the United Nations, as I said, in spite of the many things it may have done or may not have done, which we wanted it to do, is nevertheless, a basic foundation for many things that we desire. We may criticise its composition, we may say as we do say, that as constituted today it gives far greater weight to a certain group of countries and not to others in certain continents and not other continents and all that, and which is perfectly true criticism. But, nevertheless, the fact remains that it is there and its objectives and ideals are good, desirable, and indeed essential for the world has to go forward. And if that is so, and it is I believe, it is important that its message should be carried far and wide, and pressure should be brought to bear upon it by enlightening public opinion and indeed the public opinion should be enlightened about it too. It is a two way traffic, because the United Nations does not finally function all the time in terms of its Charter. No government does, no organisation, can. It functions ultimately because of the various pressures brought to bear upon it by governments, who are interested in their own particular viewpoint or their own self-interest, and it is there that public opinion can and sometimes has made a big difference, even their own countries or of other countries. And thus an organisation like this, the non-governmental associations can make a great deal of difference in, not only in smoothing matters, not only in enlightening people, but even in creating that public opinion, which affects the larger decisions of the United Nations. And the activities of such organisations is to be welcomed and encouraged in every way. I am therefore glad to pay my tributes to these activities here, and I inaugurate this Conference. (Applause)

58. To R.K. Khadilkar: Question on Apa Pant¹²³

April 8, 1959

Dear Shri Khadilkar,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th April. I agree with you that it is improper for anything to be said or done which savours of an unfair attack on our officers, more especially those who are serving in strategic border regions. But the particular object of your Short Notice Question about Shri Apa Pant will hardly be served that way. In fact, more attention will be drawn to the irresponsible

123. Letter to R. K. Khadilkar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ahmednagar.

statement appearing in the *New Age*, and more, publicity given to it. As a matter of fact, some reference to this was made in the course of a debate recently in the Lok Sabha, and I answered it.¹²⁴

I, therefore, feel that I should not accept this Short Notice Question. Indeed, I would not like any question to be put merely because the *New Age* has said something about an officer.

These vague charges casting a slur on our officers are, I think, very unfair, and yet the answer can only be a general one. As a matter of fact, Shri Apa Pant is a very fine officer of ours. As part of his duty, he often has to meet people in Gangtok who come there. The persons he meets might be desirable or undesirable. Sometimes press correspondents go there and seek an interview. Gangtok is a very small place, and every foreigner who goes there comes across most of the important residents there. Shri Apa Pant has met from time to time various such persons who have been there. It is quite possible that some of these newspapermen were not very desirable types.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

59. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Arthur Lall's Appointment¹²⁵

10 April 1959

Nan dear,

I have been wanting to write to you for a long time but as the letter had to be hand written it has been delayed.

About Harsha,¹²⁶ I fear I have no good opinion. If Cambridge can produce this medley of conceit, pseudo-intellectuality and self-centredness, it does no credit to it.

You wrote to me an angry letter about Arthur Lall¹²⁷ &c. Perhaps you came to conclusion too soon and without inquiry. First of all I do not consider my business to interfere too much in postings and transfers. I am less competent to

124. See item 16, p. 223 and also item 105, pp. 421-433.

125. Letter to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.

126. Elder son of G.P. Hutheesing and Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's youngest sister.

127. India's Ambassador to Austria, 1959-63.

judge than those whose business it is to deal with these matters from day to day. It is quite possible that they may err or even show partiality. But I cannot possibly keep track of nearly 300 foreign service officers. I know a few well, some indifferently and others very little. Because of my lack of full knowledge I am as liable to err. Anyhow I think I ought to devote such energies as I possess to more important matters than service affairs. I try to keep a general supervision.

My experience of the present senior officers in E. A. Ministry—Pillai, Dutt, M. J. Desai & Chakravarty—is that they are competent, conscientious and hard working. I have, in fact, a high opinion of all the four.

As for Arthur, he is not a favourite in the E. A. Ministry for some of the reasons you mention as well as others. He has been appointed to Vienna because of reasons entirely unconnected with any favour being shown to him. He did not ask for it. The only person who recommended him was Homi Bhabha¹²⁸ for Atomic Energy work in Vienna.

Austria had long been asking for an ambassador. We had to agree. Temporarily we intended to keep Vellodi¹²⁹ there as ambassador. Then came another development. It became necessary to have an ambassador in Vienna for the Atomic Energy work there. We could not find two ambassadors there. Homi Bhabha pressed us to appoint Arthur as he had done much of this work in the U. S. It was chiefly because of this that ultimately Arthur was chosen for the double functions. I do not think there was any favouritism about this.

This is a hasty note.

Love,

Jawahar

60. To Lakshmi N. Menon: N.V. Rao and Other Corruption Cases¹³⁰

When I received Deputy Minister's note, I remembered the case. Nevertheless, I wanted to refresh my memory with the facts, especially the recent ones. I have now examined the file again.

2. This matter was mentioned to me on several occasions by the Special Secretary, and my views were ascertained by him. Some months ago, an article

128. H.J. Bhabha, Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

129. M.K. Vellodi, India's Ambassador to Switzerland, 1958-62.

130. Note to the Deputy Minister, MEA. 12 April 1959.

appeared in the *Statesman* newspaper accusing the External Affairs Ministry of suppressing cases of misappropriation because of private pressures. No name was mentioned in it. I, thereupon, had an enquiry made from the writer of the article (Shri Prem Bhatia) as to whom he referred to, and he mentioned the name of Shri N.V. Rao.¹³¹ Thereafter I went into Shri N.V. Rao's case rather thoroughly, and I found that an enquiry had been proceeding for some time.¹³² It had been delayed because of the absence of Shri Rao in Germany and because some facts could not be ascertained easily by the police. There had been no question of suppressing this enquiry.

3. Subsequently, a question was asked in Parliament about this particular case and I said that departmental proceedings were being drawn up against Shri N.V. Rao. This was, I think, in September or October last year. I kept in touch with this matter. On the 27th of January, N.V. Rao submitted his resignation. This was not done under any pressure from the Ministry. About a week later, on the 3rd February, I accepted this resignation. This inevitably involved the cancellation of the suspension order. There was no question of Shri N.V. Rao being hustled either to offer his resignation or of his resignation being accepted. Normally a long period does not elapse between the resignation and its acceptance as this would be objected to by audit, because it causes a loss to Government by way of salary.

4. I might mention here that when the *Statesman* article came out and I enquired into this matter more fully, I insisted on Shri N.V. Rao being suspended.

5. Every step that has been taken in this matter has been not only in consultation with me but after I had considered it fully. Therefore, the responsibility is entirely mine, though it is certainly shared by Secretary-General and Special Secretary, both of whom were consulted by me repeatedly. I do not myself see anything unethical or wrong about the procedures that have been followed. Nor do I think that there has been any particular slackness in the Ministry in enforcing its rules. Probably there was delay in the early period when an informal enquiry was taking place. This too was largely due to the police officers conducting that enquiry and the absence of Shri N.V. Rao from India.

6. The fact that the sum involved is not a large one is not very relevant. The charge was one of misappropriation. There were other charges such as making remittances contrary to rules. Indeed, he had to pay back a sum of Rs. 4818/- because he had wrongly drawn this as Exchange Compensation Allowance.

131. Counsellor, Indian Embassy, Bonn, 1957-58.

132. See also SWJN/SS/41/p. 772.

7. So far as Shri Prem Krishen¹³³ is concerned, departmental proceedings have been drawn up against him.¹³⁴ These proceedings are entirely for making heavy remittances from Nairobi. He is not being charged with misappropriation of Government funds.

8. The reference to Shri M.O. Mathai's case is not relevant.¹³⁵ There is no formal or statutory enquiry in regard to Shri Mathai. But in view of various allegations made against him, I volunteered to have an informal enquiry conducted which was to be conducted by the Cabinet Secretary.¹³⁶ The resignation itself had nothing to do with the enquiry and preceded it.

9. Whether proceedings against a particular officer should be dropped or not has to be considered having regard to the circumstances in each case. In the present case, no regular proceedings or even an enquiry had started. All that had been done was to indicate that an enquiry will be made. When Shri N.V. Rao chose to resign, it was for us to consider whether in all the circumstances, we should accept this resignation and carry on with the enquiry or not. There is no question of any such case becoming a precedent because each case has to be considered separately. No officer can get away with grave offences merely by tendering resignation.

10. In the present case, it might perhaps be said that we were rather lenient to Shri N.V. Rao by merely accepting his resignation and not continuing any other proceedings against him. That is a matter of opinion. We thought that his leaving the service in these circumstances was itself a punishment and we need not add to it. Because of our judicial procedures, it always takes a long time to come to any decisions. This is a burden to all concerned. Anyhow, in the balance, it was decided to accept the resignation, and I see nothing unethical about it.

11. Shri N.V. Rao's resignation having been accepted, he is no longer a Government servant¹³⁷ and as such is not amenable now to discipline and the control rules of Government. We cannot, therefore, on our own motion, reopen

133. Commissioner for India in British East/Central Africa, 1956-58; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Rehabilitation, 1959-62.

134. See also SWJN/SS/41/p. 772.

135. For M. O. Mathai's case, see SWJN/SS/46/pp. 374-391.

136. The inquiry made by Vishnu Sahay exonerated Mathai of the allegations. The substance of Sahay's report was incorporated in a note presented to both Houses of Parliament by the Prime Minister on 6 May 1959, together with the findings of Morarji Desai, Finance Minister, and A.K. Chanda, CAG. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 339-346.

137. However, he worked as a Director in the MEA from 15 July 1961 to 6 Aug. 1962, and went on to become India's High Commissioner at Dar-e-Salaam in 1965, according to the MEA records.

the case now, or compel Shri Rao to submit to an enquiry. But I am perfectly prepared to have an enquiry if Shri N.V. Rao so wishes. He has not expressed any such wish, and it was entirely on his own motion that he gave in his resignation. If, therefore, Shri N.V. Rao desires an enquiry, we shall have it. But he must state explicitly in writing that he wants it.

12. As this matter has been referred to in the public press as well as in Parliament (I have already stated in Parliament in answer to a Question that he had resigned) any procedure we adopt now must be based on written applications and not on merely oral wishes.

61. In the Lok Sabha: Funds with the PM¹³⁸

प्रधान मन्त्री के नाम में कोष

प्रश्न :¹³⁹ क्या प्रधान मन्त्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि :

(क) प्रधान मन्त्री के नाम में कितने और कौन-कौन-से कोष हैं : और

(ख) प्रत्येक कोष में अब तक कितना रुपया जमा हुआ और उसमें से कितना खर्च किया गया ?

प्रधान मन्त्री तथा वैदेशिक कार्य मन्त्री (श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू) : (क) और (ख) : प्रधान मन्त्री जी द्वारा चालित जो मुख्तलिफ़ कोष हैं उनका विवरण संलग्न फ़ेहरिस्त में दिया गया है (देखिये परिशिष्ट 6, अनुबन्ध संख्या 90)। इस फ़ेहरिस्त में छे कोषों का ज़िक्र किया गया है। इन में से तीन कोषों अर्थात् रफ़ी अहमद किदवई स्मारक कोष, आचार्य का रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर स्मारक कोष तथा मुसीबतज़दा लोगों के लिए सहायता कोष का प्रधान मन्त्री जी के सरकारी पद से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं।

मुसीबतज़दा लोगों के लिए सहायता कोष बहुत समय पहले उन राशियों से शुरू किया गया था जो मुसीबत दूर करने के लिए उन्हें ज़ाती तौर पर मिली थीं।

औरतों और बच्चों की भलाई के कोष में ज़्यादातर वह धन जमा होता है जो प्रधान मन्त्री जी को उनके जन्मदिन के मौक़े पर मिलता है। उन्होंने यह ऐलान किया था कि जो धन उन्हें

138. Reply to questions, 14 April 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXI X, cols 11283-11285.

139. By Arjun Singh Bhadauria and Ram Sewak Yadav, Socialist Party MPs. However, in the Lok Sabha record, Yadav's first name is not given, so it could also be R.N. Yadav who is from Congress.

उनके जन्मदिन पर या उसके आस-पास प्राप्त होगा, वह औरतों और बच्चों की भलाई के लिए रखा जायेगा।

लोककला की उन्नति के लिए प्रधान मन्त्री कोष तकरीबन सारे-का-सारा उस रुपये से बना है जो गणतन्त्र दिवस समारोह के सम्बन्ध में हुए लोक नृत्यों पर टिकटों की बिक्री तथा विदेशी सांस्कृतिक प्रतिनिधि मण्डलों द्वारा किये गये खेल-तमाशों से प्राप्त होता है। इस कोष के कुछ भाग विविध संस्थाओं को इस काम के लिए दिये गये हैं। इसका एक बड़ा भाग लोक कला उन्नति की संस्था की स्थापना के लिए रखा गया है।

प्रधान मन्त्री का राष्ट्रीय सहायता कोष मुल्क की तक्रसीम के जल्दी ही बाद शुरू किया गया था, क्योंकि प्रधान मन्त्री जी को उस समय आम सहायता के लिए बहुत चन्दे प्राप्त हुए थे। प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने इस उद्देश्य से एक अपील की थी और इस कोष के इन्तज़ाम के लिए एक बोर्ड कायम किया था। इस बोर्ड में ये व्यक्ति शामिल थे :

१. प्रधान मन्त्री, अध्यक्ष,
२. प्रधान, भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस,
३. केन्द्रीय वित्त मन्त्री,
४. फ़ेडरेशन ऑफ़ इण्डियन चेम्बर्स ऑफ़ कॉमर्स ऐण्ड इण्डस्ट्री के प्रतिनिधि, और
५. टाटा ट्रस्ट के प्रतिनिधि।

यह कोष न ही तो सरकार के सुझाव पर शुरू किया गया था और न ही सरकार का इससे कोई ताल्लुक था।

यह कोष ज़्यादातर बाढ़, सूखा, भूचाल तथा आग लग जाने की घटनाओं जैसे राष्ट्रीय संकटों के मौकों पर मदद देने के लिए और पाकिस्तान से आये शरणार्थियों की सहायता के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाता है। कुछ एक छोटी-छोटी रकमों को छोड़ कर इस कोष से किया गया खर्चा उन राज्यों के मुख्य मन्त्रियों तथा गवर्नरों द्वारा हुआ है जहाँ कि उक्त घटनाएँ हुई।

प्रधान मन्त्री जी के राष्ट्रीय कोष में प्राप्त रकमों की पूरी तफ़्सील समय-समय पर प्रकाशित होती रही है। अतारांकित प्रश्न संख्या 2864 के जवाब में 8 अप्रैल 1959 को एक विवरण दिया जा चुका है जिसमें प्रधान मन्त्री राष्ट्रीय सहायता कोष में 1 जनवरी 1958 से 31 दिसम्बर 1958 तक विदेशों से प्राप्त चन्दों के बारे में मुफ़स्सिल तौर पर बताया गया है।

[Translation begins:

Funds with The Prime Minister

Question:¹⁴⁰ Will the Honourable Prime Minister please provide the information that :

140. See fn 139 in this section.

- (a) The names of the funds at the disposal of the Honourable Prime Minister, and
 (b) How much money has been deposited in these funds till now and how much out of that has been utilised?

Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister (Shri Jawaharalal Nehru) : (a) and (b) : Details of the various funds at the disposal of the Prime Minister has been given in the list attached (see Annexure 6, Item No. 90). Six Funds have been mentioned in this list. Out of these, three funds, viz., Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund, Chancellor's Rabindra Nath Tagore Memorial Fund and The Distress Relief Fund, have no relation with the official position of the Prime Minister.

The Distress Relief Fund was begun a long time back out of the amounts received by the Prime Minister in his personal capacity for the relief of distress.

The amounts deposited in the Women and Children Welfare Fund are given to the Prime Minister on the occasion of his birthday. He has declared that all amounts received by him on his birthday or thereabouts will be utilised for the welfare of women and children.

Almost the entire corpus of The Prime Minister's Fund for the Promotion of Folk Art is constituted of the money collected through the sale of tickets of the Folk Dance programmes on Republic Day and the various performances by foreign cultural delegations. Some amounts out of this fund have been given to various institutions. A large part of this fund has been allocated for the establishment of an institution for the promotion of folk art.

The Prime Minister's National Relief Fund was started soon after the Partition of the country because at that time the Prime Minister had received large contributions for general relief. The Prime Minister had issued an appeal for this cause and had constituted a Board for this purpose. The following persons were members of this Board :

1. The Prime Minister, President,
2. President, Indian National Congress,
3. Central Finance Minister,
4. Representatives of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and
5. Representatives of the Tata Trust.

This Fund was neither started on the recommendation of the Government nor is the Government any part of this Fund.

This Fund is mostly for providing relief for incidents of national calamity such as floods, famine, earthquake or fire and for providing help to the refugees from Pakistan. Apart from some small amounts, the expenditure from this Fund

has been managed by the Chief Ministers and Governors of the States in which such incidents have taken place.

Complete details of amounts received in the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund have been published from time to time. A detailed answer has been given on April 8, 1959 to the unstarred question No. 2864 in which information has been given about the contributions received in the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund from foreign sources between January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1958.

Translation ends.]

62. To Balwantray Mehta: Retirement from Estimates Committee¹⁴¹

April 20, 1959

My dear Balwantray,

Thank you for your letter of April 17, which I received only today.

I know that you have worked hard and done a great deal of good work as Chairman of the Estimates Committee. I agree with you that the Estimates Committee is an excellent training ground for all of us. Those who are members, of course, go more intimately into the details of administration. Even others profit by their reports.

As for your suggestion that you should now retire from the Chairmanship and someone else should take your place, I am forwarding your letter to our Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.¹⁴²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

141. Letter to Mehta, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gohilwad, Bombay.

142. Satya Narayan Sinha was the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

63. To Jagjivan Ram: Corruption in the Railways¹⁴³

April 21, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

I am enclosing a personal letter from Kripalaniji¹⁴⁴ with a note attached. If the facts stated in it are correct, they do disclose an unfortunate tendency.¹⁴⁵ Can this not be dealt with somehow? We should not appear to be helpless in such matters.

Please return to me Kripalaniji's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. To Zail Singh: Pilgrimage in Pakistan¹⁴⁶

April 22, 1959

My dear Zail Singhji,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st in which you have sent me an account of the pilgrimage to the sacred religious shrines in Pakistan. I have read this report with interest.

I am sorry to find that the arrangements made by the Indian Railways were not satisfactory. I am drawing the attention of the Railway Minister to this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. Letter.

144. J.B. Kripalani, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

145. This was a complaint of Gandhi Ashram workers in West Bengal against railway clerks demanding bribes.

146. Letter to Zail Singh, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

65. To Jagjivan Ram: Trains Inadequate for Pilgrims to Lahore¹⁴⁷

April 22, 1959

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Shri Zail Singh, MP, was one of the large batch of Sikh pilgrims who went to Pakistan to visit the Gurdwaras there. He sent me a brief report of his visit. In the course of this report he says as follows:

“ I am sorry to state that the arrangements made by Indian Railway for refugees was very poor. Pilgrims had to sit on roofs while returning from Lahore. We faced humiliation when the train left Lahore for that reason.”

This is a pity. Will you kindly enquire into it?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. At Mussoorie: To Travel Agents¹⁴⁸

Mussoorie

April 24, 1959

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, said here today that the Government should encourage tourism because that helped bridge the gulf between nations and communities. “Even unthinking and unperceptive travellers help this process,” he said.

Mr. Nehru, who was inaugurating the eighth annual convention of the Travel Agents Association of India, emphasised that as Prime Minister he would like to encourage tourism because it helped the country earn foreign exchange. But as an individual he was not greatly attracted by the present mode of travelling in which everything was made easy by a variety of agencies.

He added that he was greatly fascinated by the accounts the travellers of the past had left. They crossed deserts and high mountains learning the languages, customs, and way of life of the countries they visited. They braved the greatest risks in search of adventure and knowledge.

147. Letter.

148. Speech inaugurating the eight annual convention of the Travel Agents Association of India, Mussoorie, 24 April 1959. From *The Times of India*, 25 April 1959.

The speech was remarkable for its humour. It was interspersed with laughter from the delegates.

The Prime Minister poured ridicule on travellers who moved from one part of the world to another "wrapped in cotton wool" making no effort whatsoever to react to the new way of life and culture of the countries they were visiting.

Mr. Nehru said that a tourist, to benefit from his travel, should possess a spirit of adventure and curiosity. Above all, he must be receptive. He for one was inclined to think that one could not understand a country and its people unless one knew its language. Even knowing a few words and phrases helped to create an atmosphere of understanding. Also, it was necessary to understand something of the history and the achievements of the nation concerned.

The Prime Minister utilised the occasion to outline his approach to national and international problems. "Friendliness attracts friendliness." Excepting some man-eaters and king cobras even animals did not attack human beings unless they were afraid. "When you are afraid you act irrationally and violently. Apprehension and fear led to irrationality and violence. Violence of mind at some stage breaks into violence of action, which in the international sphere means war."

Mr. Nehru illustrated what he meant by a receptive approach by a reference to Banaras. Many tourists, he said, were repulsed by the ugliness and smallness of the city. But whenever he visited the city a succession of pictures arose in his mind. He thought of Banaras as a great city of learning 2,500 years ago at the time of Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha visited it after his enlightenment. For over a thousand years it was a centre of intellectual ferment, he added.

The Prime Minister said that the same was true of India as a whole. There were many things that he hated and wanted to change. But it was essential to remember that once India was a great nation. Today she was engaged in a mighty adventure and in the coming years she would be a great power. He said that it was not easy to understand an ancient nation whose way of life and culture had been moulded by layers upon layers of experience and thought.

Mr. Nehru said that the essence of travelling was to get out of one's environment, habits and way of life. The traveller had an opportunity to come into contact with new ways of life and thought. He should allow his mind to be moulded by it. This did not mean that he should surrender his own values and culture. He associated travelling with high adventure and said, "comfortable life is rightfully boring and dull."

He did not like the present practice of the tourists being provided with things they were used to at home. He defended prohibition in a humorous manner. Restraint and self-discipline was the basis of civilisation, he said.

Earlier, the President of the Association, Mr. K.C. Khanna, said the travelling

had become an important factor in modern life. He said that the restrictions imposed on Indian tourists on account of shortage of foreign exchange should be lifted to provide for two-way traffic.

Foreign Exchange Earners

Mr. Khanna said that in 1955 India and Japan had attracted 33,100 and 3,000 [sic] tourists respectively. Their earnings amounted to Rs. 10.3 crores and Rs. 22 crores respectively. In 1957, India received 80,000 tourists and Japan 1,80,000 and their earnings were Rs. 16 crores and Rs. 32 crores respectively. He was convinced that India could earn Rs. 50 crores a year through tourism in another five years, if necessary facilities were available. India's income from this source in 1958 amounted to Rs. 19 crores. Thus, the tourist industry was one of the first 10 foreign exchange earners.

He added that though formalities at airports had been cut down in recent years, India did not compare favourably with other countries in this matter. Also, the internal air services were still inadequate and attention was not paid by the Indian Airlines Corporation to the needs of foreign tourists.

Mr. Khanna said that Delhi was the only city where hotel accommodation was adequate. Even then, more rooms would be needed by 1960. In Delhi, restriction on drinking in hotels and restaurants, places which the tourists visited, in practice amounted to discrimination against them.

Mr. Khanna complained that the Government departments did not utilise the services of travel agents and that the railways had reduced the commission of the travel agents from five per cent to three and three quarters per cent.

Mr. S.K. Patil, Minister for Transport and Communications, thanked the Prime Minister for opening the convention.

Mr. Raj Bahadur, Minister for Tourism, is attending the convention.

Thanking the Prime Minister, Mr. Patil expressed the hope that India would be able to attract one million tourists every year within the next five or six years. He assured the travel agents that the Government would do its best to help them promote the tourist industry.

Mr. Patil added that like Italy and Switzerland, India could be a tourist's paradise. India had much to offer by way of attraction to tourist.

67. At the IIPA: Administration, Planning, Cooperation¹⁴⁹

When all of you are probably a little tired and weary and looking forward to some kind of light refreshment, I hardly think it will be very proper for me to take your time. Whenever I speak on these occasions, it is not so much about the very important specific problems with which you deal, but rather on certain general considerations which I think are important. I was just trying to refresh my memory as to what I said last year on this occasion.¹⁵⁰ I am a little afraid that I might repeat myself though a certain measure of repetition about important aspects is not bad.

Yesterday, it so happened, I was in Mussoorie and I paid a visit to the Research Centre of the Community Development Organisation.¹⁵¹ I was very much impressed by that. Only about fifty to sixty persons taking a course for I think, six weeks, five weeks at a time, till a fresh batch comes and each batch contains a number of non-servicemen. I dislike and it is not quite correct to use the words officials and non-officials. It is a relic of British times. People are servicemen or non-servicemen. That I can understand. What am I? Am I an official or non-official? I am obviously an official but I am not a serviceman. It is the correct description. Therefore, serviceman or a non-serviceman, just as in our diplomatic service we might say, he is a career man or a non-career man; they are both in service.

Both these I found mixed up at this Research Centre. But when I stopped a little, while I did not meet them as normally I am supposed to meet people—they are collected together and I am supposed to address them which may be sometimes helpful but not very much and certainly I get no idea of what they are doing—but this time I found them carrying on their work, separately, each group which, for some reason I could not understand, was called a syndicate. So each syndicate was discussing a subject heatedly; there were seven syndicates—and the idea was to discuss it, they circulate and ultimately they meet together. Obviously, that method seemed to me far better than listening to lectures. It drew people out. It made them think, criticise each other and thus their consideration of that subject became more and more mature and deeper.

149. Address to the fifth annual general meeting of the IIPA, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 25 April 1959. PIB files.

150. See SWJN/SS/42/pp. 292-296.

151. For Nehru's speech, see item 76, pp. 365-368.

LOWER ADMINISTRATIVE RANKS

So I was rather impressed by this, especially in a study of a subject like community development which is not a static subject, it is not a subject about which you have got too many precedents, it is a dynamic growing subject. In a sense community development in its various aspects covers such a variety of public administration that although it does not deal with what might be called, the higher ranks of public administration, it does deal with the rural areas, almost everything in the rural areas come into touch with the community development.

I feel that more and more attention is needed to these, what might be called lower ranks of public administration than the higher ranks. Higher ranks are important, of course, but they get some attention. They are much more before the public eye but the lower ranks are much more really in the life of the people. They deal with far more and I do not know—I speak subject to correction—how far this Institute or other institutions of this kind think of that, especially down below, the petty revenue official and the petty this and that who is far more important from the point of view of the average resident of India in the villages than your high officials.

You may remember an old story of an old lady whose son was, I believe, being tried for a very serious offence, may be murder before the High Court. And when he was acquitted by the High Court Division Bench or Judge, the old lady said, "Thank you, may you rise to be a Kotwal." For her the Kotwal was a much more important person than the High Court Judge. She had to deal with him daily. And so we have to think of these lower functionaries and they are the base.

You will see that great stress has been laid now by the Planning Commission, the National Development Council and generally by Government on panchayats, cooperatives, etc. One aspect of that stress is that they should not be officialised, that they should be controlled by the people of the village who form the members and that the official element should be rather distant, advisory, of course, helpful, but not at all in a sense of bossing it, interfering and not allowing, if I may say so, the members of the panchayat to make any number of mistakes. Let them make mistakes. Let us accept this that a mistake is often better committed by them than this helplessness and powerlessness which comes from somebody sitting on top carrying on the business of the panchayat. They will never grow in that way. That is an important emphasis. There is nothing new about it, that is, an emphasis on the great part of the administration in those stages being carried on by the non-service element, if you like, the non-official element. And that brings new problems in its train.

NON-SERVICE ELEMENT

Presumably, when you deal with the administration what you are thinking is more of the servicemen, not always of course. Now, as the country advances, and especially as it advances on the socialist pattern, there are more and more people engaged in Government service, State service rather, from below upwards. That is bound to happen. But far more persons should be engaged in administrative service in a voluntary way, in the non-service way. In fact, you draw in almost every active member of the public to do something or other in some form or other some way thus you make large network of administration.

So, I should like you, this Institute, to consider more these aspects lower down on official scale and more especially the non-serviceman coming into the picture and taking part in it and grow-ing as he does this work, because the most important thing is that when he does it he grows. Now, we are talking about cooperatives and it is suggested that we should cover every village in India with a cooperative, barring perhaps, I do not know, some special areas like tribal areas and other which will also have co-operatives but may be somewhat different.

This is a pretty big undertaking, in every village a cooperative. Again that requires a good deal of some kind of training, sometimes highly specialised, sometimes a little less so. And I take it that the Government, State and Centre, are going to take steps to train people, to train people of every kind, highly specialised courses may be for a year, may be for six months, smaller courses for a month, even smaller courses for the panchs and the sarpanchs for three or four days just to explain to them because we want millions to get some idea about.

We are launching out in this way, in fact, the new directions outside the scope of our old administrative apparatus and we want to give far greater power to the panchayat and to the village co-operative than they have today, knowing full well that they may misuse it, may make mistakes and the like. Mistakes of the panchayats will not endanger the security of a country. We can survive it but they will suffer for it and they will learn from it, and the public will learn from it.

PROCEDURAL DELAYS

As a matter of fact, the biggest mistakes or biggest errors that we commit are the errors of not doing things or of delay in doing things. I am convinced of that. A mistake is far better than not doing a thing. You can rectify an error. You can never catch back the time you have lost by not doing something and enough

stress has been laid on this always. Last year too I said it and this year too there has been references to it in your discussions this question of delay, this question of procedures which involve delay apart from the individual's slackness; it is procedure that involves delay. In spite of every effort we still go through procedures which involve far too great delay.

We have to be careful but there is a word which has a bad odour about it, it is a big word, bureaucratisation, too much bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is essential; bureaucracy means organised work, nothing wrong in that, organised work in an office, too much of it, it grows. What is it—Parkinson's law and this and that. It (bureaucracy) really has an amazing capacity to grow and create work for itself which is not wanted for public purposes at all. We work for each other and we have to be always on our guard against this and the best way to avoid all this trouble is to avoid processes involving delay.

Now, the other day, I was in South India, southern districts of Madras. It has nothing particularly special to do, I suppose, with public administration but I was very much impressed by the rapid improvement being made there in primary education. It was most impressive and most heartening. The numbers alone have increased greatly and every two miles I had to stop because there was a school and children lined up and I travelled about 400 miles in an open car in the sun and you can imagine, I must have seen, I do not know, hundreds of thousands, millions of school children, I do not know how many—vast numbers and very amazingly small age, I do not know what age they were; to me it looked four or five years old upwards, it was a very heartening sight, these schools.

The Madras Government, especially, has introduced mid-day meals and they were called school improvement societies and I went to these conferences, and I was astonished at the bigness of the conferences, each about 12,500 teachers and the teachers in Madras are mostly women—all collected together and in an ordered way discussing their problems. They were discussing how to improve their schools and a wonderful display of gifts. It was an astonishing display really. The quantity of gifts was impressive, all collected from parents and others for the improvement of the schools and what was more, a spirit of enthusiasm among the teachers and parents and all concerned and all cooperating. There were many Catholic schools, many other schools, all cooperating in this. This heartened me more than many things, and more than most things that I usually see.

THIRD PLAN

We are today giving a great deal of intensive thought to the Third Five Year

Plan, the approach to it, the size of it, the content of it. We are still in the initial stages although we have been discussing it for at least six months, discussing it very deeply because the greatest discussion, the greatest consideration, not in a wishful thinking way, that is good enough, not in a vague general way as perhaps inevitably we had to do when we have started our First Plan, but more and more detailed and more and more, well, looking into the future.

Because, the more you think of the Plan, you have to look at the future, not five, ten, or twenty years, but in a perspective way. And the more you look at this planning business, which naturally fits in with every wish of our life, the Plan has to fit in with our life and it affects even our institutions and approaches and the problem comes up to us in various ways how far the present type of institution is suited to the type of society which we are working for. Some institutions are good. I am not criticising it, goodness or badness, but fitness. How far they fit in with that type we are trying to evolve.

This Institute will have to keep this particular matter very especially in mind and try to follow the thinking of the evolution of the Third Plan from this institutional point of view.

SUPERIORITY OF PUBLIC SECTOR

There are sometimes discussions and criticisms especially in Parliament about the public sector or the new corporations or others under the public sector that are functioning. And I think it is a very good thing that these criticisms take place in Parliament, though very often they are not wholly justified. Nevertheless, it is a good thing. Of course, the private sector has no such tribunal to face unless some major development takes place, very big, when something may be seen in the newspapers. The newspapers are full of the questions and statements and discussions on the public sector.

I do not wish to be unfair to anybody but I should like to say my firm opinion gathered after some knowledge that the public sector in India today is infinitely superior to the private sector. I have not a shadow of doubt about it, superior in competence, superior in economy and superior in the general outlook it is developing of, well the general public, outlook but I see, more especially in spite of all these criticisms and the numerous errors and mistakes that we have made and we are making that it is more efficient and more economical. And I am very pleased at the way this public sector is developing in India, admitting of the errors and the results.

Many of these important things, whether it is Sindri, whether it is Chittaranjan, whether it is Machine tools, whether it is a Telephone Factory, whether it is Pimpri and so many other things where you can measure. Something

you cannot easily measure, the Hindustan Aircraft which I think is a very fine institution but you cannot easily measure it. But these are things you can measure by tape, by record any measure, yard, production, efficiency, cost, profit—any measure you like. That is far better than the others. Nobody gives them any publicity and not much. So that I should like to put on record my appreciation. And even if you take these iron and steel plants which are criticised, I think they are very fine achievements, Rourkela and Bhilai.

I should like to state that it is a very heartening sight that our people working in the public sector are doing very good work.

OBJECTIVES OF ADMINISTRATION

There is one thing which I referred last time too. Ultimately an administration has to work with some objectives in view, more especially in a dynamic society. An administration is not obviously just doing some odd job, an objective. Now, if the objective is, let us say the plan, the Second Five Year Plan or the Third Five Year Plan that is coming or let us say a socialist pattern of society which we aim at, then surely the administrator has to think of that. He is not some kind of static person who does not apply his mind to these basic objectives. He is working to that end and he must also keep that in view even in the small things as also big things. And it may be, of course, that the manner of doing something may differ as there are differences of opinion, but the basic objective should be inscribed in the room or on the walls of the administrator's office. That is where we are going to. That has to be remembered. Then only can the institutions we have, work to that end properly.

Well, you have honoured me by electing me again as President in spite of the fact that I only appear once a year. Nevertheless I am grateful to you.

Thank you.

68. To J. B. Kripalani: Corruption in the Railways¹⁵²

April 28, 1959

My dear Jivat,

I received your letter of April 19 some time ago. I sent it together with the report you had sent to Jagjivan Ram. He was much distressed to read these papers. He has now informed me that two of the staff concerned, namely one Assistant Station Master and one Ticket Collector have been suspended and

152. Letter.

the other staff concerned will be suspended as soon as they are identified by the party. Other deterrent action is also being taken.¹⁵³

I am returning Ram Lakhan Singh's letter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Social Groups

69. In the Lok Sabha: Rehabilitating Indian Workers from Malaya¹⁵⁴

Question:¹⁵⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 23 on the 17th November 1958 and state the steps taken to rehabilitate the Indian workers who have been repatriated from the Malayan Federation to India during 1958-59?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): In view of the position explained in part (a) of the reply to the question referred to by the Hon'ble Member, the question of rehabilitating the Indian repatriates from Malaya does not arise.

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know if it is a continuous process of Indian workers being turned out from Malaya or it was only an exceptional year in which they were turned out from Malaya?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is not quite correct to talk about turning out. People have gone there from India on regular terms of service and when the terms expired the Malayan Government has to pay them the passage money etc. to come back; and they have come back. They have every right to send them back. They can retain them, if they so choose. We cannot object to that. When people go out of service it does not mean that we are responsible for rehabilitating them on their return.

153. See item 63, p. 335.

154. Reply to questions, 21 April 1959, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 12729-12730.

155. By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, L. Elayaperumal, P.C. Borooah.

Of course, individual cases is a different matter, but, as a practice, it is totally undesirable.

Shri P.C. Borooah: Is it a fact that some shipping difficulties have been experienced by Indians who wanted to return to their homeland?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know anything about it.

Shri Tangamani:¹⁵⁶ From January, 1958 to October, 1958, 2003 persons have been repatriated. May I know whether the number is increasing or is normal like the previous years?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is, in a sense, normal; that is to say, the condition was that they will be repatriated to India at the expense of the Malayan Government when they are old and indigent and are not working. That was one of the conditions when they went. The Malayan Government need not send them back; they can keep back or send. But we cannot object to their sending them back when that was a condition.

Mr. Speaker:¹⁵⁷ He wants to know whether it is much more than on the previous years; that is, whether it is normal or abnormal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not quite sure. The figure that he has given for 1958, 2003, is a correct figure. I have not got the previous figures.

Shri P.C. Borooah: May I know the total number of workers repatriated upto now?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As I said, I have not the previous figures with me.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar:¹⁵⁸ May I know whether the Malayan Government have fixed any quota for the repatriation of Indian workers?

Mr. Speaker: It does not arise out of this question.

156. K.T.K. Tangamani, CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Madurai, Madras State.

157. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh.

158. R. Ramanathan Chettiar, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Pudukottai, Madras State.

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: When the term of service is there in the agreements there is no question of any quota.

(f) Language

70. To R.K. Dutta: English will Continue¹⁵⁹

April 28, 1959

Dear Shri Dutta,

Your letter of the 27th April.¹⁶⁰ In the Report of the Parliamentary Committee on Official Language, it is clearly stated that English will continue to be used even when Hindi becomes the principal official language for Central purposes. In effect, therefore, Hindi and English will both be used then and for such time later as may be determined.¹⁶¹

As for scientific subjects, that will even more be so. In addition to this, the Commission and the Committee have both commended that technical terms should be, as far as possible, those of international usage, the idea being that a common scientific language for not only the various languages of India, but also to fit in with the international language of science, should be developed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

159. Letter to a resident of Calcutta. File No.52(12)/57-63-PMS.

160. In 1965 English was to be replaced by Hindi as the official language. R.K. Dutta had written that (i) Hindi should be used; (ii) but it was not yet capable of bearing the full burden of official work; (iii) it could therefore become a parallel official language; (iv) a specific date for the changeover should not be fixed lest India "become a translator's paradise."

161. See SWJN/SS/46/p. 312.

(g) Judiciary

71. To Morarji Desai: Punjab National Bank Chairman¹⁶²

I agree that we need not tell the Reserve Bank as to what the Law Ministry has said. We cannot issue a directive, as has been pointed out by the Law Minister,¹⁶³ but it may be desirable for the Reserve Bank to point out (without issuing a directive) that in view of the developments that have taken place, it would not be in the public interest for Shri S.P. Jain to continue as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Punjab National Bank. If we are asked a Question about this in Parliament, the only answer we can give would be that this is for the Reserve Bank to consider and Government are not authorised to issue any directive, but that Government certainly feel that it would not be desirable for Shri S.P. Jain to continue as Chairman.¹⁶⁴

72. To S.R. Das: Restrict Foreign Travel¹⁶⁵

April 20, 1959

My dear Chief Justice,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th April.

I can well understand your reluctance in accepting the proposal of Shri Vivian Bose. I share that reluctance myself. It does not seem to me to be quite proper for the Chief Justice of India to wander about various countries without a proper invitation from those countries themselves. Apart from this, conditions in the countries of South East Asia are peculiar and fluid. Indonesia is becoming more and more authoritarian and constant changes are taking place. A kind of revolt still continues in parts of the country. In the Indo-China States, things are

162. Note to Union Finance Minister, 19 April 1959.

163. Asoke K. Sen.

164. Morarji Desai informed the Lok Sabha on 29 April 1959 that S. P. Jain was fined Rs 55 lakhs for maintaining an amount of Rs 19 lakhs in a West German Bank, a violation of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act. He was ordered to bring that amount back to India and the Reserve Bank of India would decide whether he would remain Chairman of the Punjab National Bank.

165. Letter to the Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India.

even more unstable. In Burma, there is a military rule¹⁶⁶ and a general feeling of dislike of Indians. In Thailand, conditions are also more or less authoritarian.¹⁶⁷ Ceylon, as you know, is having its own difficulties.¹⁶⁸

In such circumstances it does not seem to me advisable for you to go to these countries for a kind of roving mission. It is quite possible that the Governments of those countries may not be too eager to welcome you, even though they might not definitely object.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

166. General Ne Win had assumed charge as the interim Prime Minister of Burma on 28 October 1958.

167. On 28 January 1959 King Bhumibol Adulyadej approved an interim constitution for Thailand. It replaced the one abolished after Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat's coup d'état in October 1958. The interim constitution provided for a Constituent Assembly which would both draft a permanent constitution and act as a legislature; meanwhile, the Prime Minister was empowered to govern by decree.

168. Ceylon was placed under emergency rule from 28 May 1958 to 13 March 1959.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

73. To the National Productivity Council: Inauguration ¹

Lal Bahadurji² and friends,

Yesterday, I was present in this building in another room I think, to inaugurate the Shipping Board.³ And today I have come again slightly for different purpose.⁴ I presume I am invited to these functions as the Minister just said to give an impetus to the work of that particular organisation. Well, I am glad to give that impetus, but I have a slight feeling that my visits, if they become too frequent, become rather stale for everybody. At any rate, for me and the impetus required may not be so obvious if it is all the time, if I am all the time being produced to give it.

Nevertheless, I am glad to be here, even though I am very much of a layman in these matters but layman or not, the conviction comes upon me of the very great importance of well, increasing production, better methods of productivity, more production and more production through better methods, better techniques, better management, better use of the materials, one has less wastage feeding back and all the normal methods that we have.

In a society, where human beings are relatively cheap there is no great impetus for bettering methods, because one goes back to cheap labour, relatively cheap labour, it is not so, cheap it used to be in India, but comparatively it is cheaper than elsewhere. And this urge, and this pressure of circumstances to do better, does not apply so much where labour is available in abundance. But then we get into a vicious circle although we have plenty of labour and relatively cheap labour, we go down in our quality and when we have to compete as one must in the modern world with the ways and methods of other countries, with their apparatus of productivity, quality, etc., well, we just cannot do it. We may be able to manage to some extent in a protective internal market but the moment we think of export we come into the wide world. And even in the protected internal market it does not take you very far, to some extent it might. So that it does become of great importance that we should utilise our resources in the

1. Address at the inauguration of the National Productivity Council, 11 April 1959, New Delhi. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in PIB files.
2. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.
3. See item 78, pp. 369-374.
4. The Council met in Vigyan Bhavan; Lal Bahadur Shastri and Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister of Planning, Labour and Employment, also addressed it.

best possible way, and utilise also what modern techniques and methods of good management, otherwise we fall back.

Now, this objective is so obvious, that it does not need any argument and the real thing that comes in the way, I suppose, is a certain inertia to do new things, certain looseness in our working, in our structure, in our economy, how, who to tighten it up and make it more productive and therefore and thereby to improve the conditions of all those concerned in it as well as the country. It is not a question of doing good to the, let us say to the management at the cost of labour, for that will not pay and that should not pay. I am reminded of this, to give a parallel which is not exact of course, but there is something in it. If we have in land the old big zamindari system, what happened there was that there was no urge, normally speaking, for greater productivity of land because it all went to the landlord, in the shape of higher rent. If he produced at any rate that is what the tenant felt, that it will go to the landlord so he didn't, why should he work much harder in order to hand over the additional produce, to the landlord through some, through higher rents. The system was bad, the zamindari system was therefore bad. Not because the zamindars were bad, the system was bad, it is not conducive to that higher, that urge for higher productivity in the agriculturists, to put an end to that system and the wastage of it are also going.

Therefore, one approach has to be kept in mind that no such feeling is aroused, among the workers and others that their efforts will not yield them results. The result will go to someone else. At the present moment, we have many demands made by workers, employers, etc., for higher wages and salaries. Sometimes perhaps often, taking individually, there appears to be some justification for them. Sometimes they may not be. But however justified they may be taken by themselves, taken as a whole the result might well be that the sources out of which, well, they should expect higher wages will dry up; in effect they may not get what they get, or they may get less than what they get. We cannot, one has to balance naturally, the dividend will depend on the productivity, the wages, the salaries, etc., will depend on the dividend. There is no escape from that. There may be different approaches as to how to get higher dividends out of it, higher productivity. But the fact of higher productivity is so obvious for everyone concerned from the country's point of view, from the individual workers, the management that on the point there should be universal agreement.

Well, if there is an agreement then how to do it? I suppose that there are today to some extent recognised methods of doing so. And those methods will naturally be improved and are being improved from greater experience. The first thing would be, well, an active atmosphere in favour of higher production, higher productivity, better techniques. That is a basis and an acceptance of that

by all concerned including the workers. The second would be the actual methods, how to do it, because the mere atmosphere or enthusiasm is not enough unless you have some practical way of dealing with the situation.

Now, I understand that statistical methods, scientific approaches to this problem, work studies, management studies, and all that and all kinds of things now has directed, have been directed to evolving such methods and have succeeded in many countries, and even in India they have met with some success, where they have been applied. I gather that this atmosphere of scientific approach has been made among others by the Indian Standard Institution, by the Indian Statistical Institute, because it requires close study not merely when speeches, that I may be called upon to deliver and it becomes important to encourage this scientific study, the results of which are to the advantage to all concerned. The problem after all is how to use our best advantage of the work we are doing. Generally speaking, we do not do so. How to use the times of work in the best way? We may be working eight hours, ten hours a day and actually, in theory, in practice really, the work may be loose and the turnout four hours a day or whatever it may be. Now, I am not in favour of putting too great a burden on anybody, but this kind of looseness in work, in management, in everything, is neither refreshing nor productive. So it is better to have good work done and good holidays enjoyed and good rest, both good, not a vague, neither rest nor work being of the highest quality.

These Productivity Councils are presumably intended for industrial purposes. Of course same principle applies to agriculture, in a somewhat different way. But the room for improvement, the gap that has to be filled by us is so big that our potential is really very considerable although the actual may be rather low. In agriculture that is very especially so. I am continually being amazed at the results achieved where efforts have been made.

Now three days ago I came from my own district of Allahabad, which is agriculturally speaking rather a bad district—by bad, I mean their average production I was told is nine to ten maunds of wheat per acre. It is rather low. I must have visited, I don't know about fifteen to twenty villages gathered together, we discussed this matter, and in every place that I visited a number of people were brought up to me—local peasants, agriculturists, not I mean big farmers with tractors and the like, just ordinary folks, who were given prizes and who had produced by their relatively the common methods only slightly better applied, may be better seeds, may be little better manure, some such thing but nothing very special and people who had produced from forty to fifty maunds per acre. And the gap as it should be from nine to ten acres of average of Allahabad district, in every village, I found four-five-six-seven-eight persons, whether for wheat or for paddy, who had produced four to five times the average.

And I was very pleased and it was acknowledged by all others.⁵ Yes they have produced. There is no doubt about it. It showed how much we can do really without too much of expenditure which we think of very large scale expenditure and sometimes we have to indulge in it. But it is really the method of doing it, that is, almost more important than the large-scale facilities which are given and which may often not be utilised properly.

Well of course, agriculture is a very spread out business. We have to deal with the people who, though very good, have been rooted in past practices. They have to be pulled out. Personally, I think, the best way to pull them out is to have as wide as service of education for everybody, primary education at least that pulls them out, and that makes them better workers. And we can introduce much more to their advantage. I suppose that will inevitably follow but it always rises what we should do first what we should do second, shall we encourage or spread education tremendously fast pace or do many other things which help them immediately. Of course, we have to do both.

Now coming to industry, here the rate of progress should be really faster, we have to deal with modern techniques with fairly relatively more competent worker, more educated worker, used to machines, and it is easy for him to improve, provided, you have the background of this, background of goodwill and cooperation. That of course is essential. Also that keen desire, which you mentioned the desire to do better than the present, that has to be there. Now, again that particular urge is certainly present in India. But not so much as one would like. One is apt to take things for granted, things as they are, sometimes grumble but we take things as they are. And that comes in the way of the constant attempt to better things. I do not want this constant attempt to better one's lot to go so far as perhaps in some other places as to ruin the art of living. A person forgets that life is meant for other purposes too, except that for night and day production. I would rather the production was little lower and there was little more of life, the human quality of life was there. But there is really no conflict between the two of course. And there can be no human quality of life if people, if people were on the verge of subsistence, you must remember that.

So, on the one side, we have to create this atmosphere and on the other this concentrated attack for which your Council is meant, scientific, statistical approach to these problems, which do not come in the way of any particular section, do good to all sections concerned with industry. Certain problems arise especially in India, about improved techniques, about mechanisation and the like, automation hardly arise in India, but has arisen elsewhere.

5. See items 1-6, pp. 1-86.

Now, we have in the past decades built up a tradition in favour of cottage industries, in favour of a decentralised economy and some people even argue that better techniques should not be encouraged lest, they lead to more unemployment and other evils. Now, we should do nothing which leads to more unemployment because that has a boomerang effect on all the work that we do, apart from this special adhering to out-of-date methods of production, really leads one to the conclusion that you must remain where we are or rather go back because one thing does not remain where it is and that is the population. That goes on. Therefore, one has to be clear about this that we must take advantage of modern techniques, the latest techniques, in so far as they are applicable, in the special context of the country, in that particular moment. A little later, something more may be applicable. It is no good trying to imitate or copy what has been done in highly industrialised countries of the world at this stage. Where we can, we may adopt those methods but generally we should judge everything in that better techniques have always to be employed wherever feasible. There are then, there are exceptions to that rule but those exceptions are really relatively, temporary exceptions, they do not attack the basic concept that is to say, exceptions are if you adopt a change-over to something quickly and produce an upset in employment, well you have to deal with more difficult problems, you have to go more slowly, you may have to provide other means of employment before you do that, that is all right and justified, but basically one has inevitably to have the latest techniques.

Then of course another and a wider question arises, not with us at the present moment, and that is that of centralisation versus decentralisation. That is an old argument. The tendency in the world today in everything, in governmental organisation, in industry, in everything is towards larger units greater centralisation towards sometimes monopolies and the like. Now, while that has a certain advantage, perhaps in the purely, from the point of view of production of theoretical advantages I didn't think they are always actual it has many disadvantages from other points of view. It creates problems and the concentration of power, authority and monopolies and the like, which is not good. Now decentralisation on the other hand may mean primitive or lower techniques. What are we to do about it? It is the problem to balance the two. You may of course with the help of modern methods of energy transmission, electricity, etc., decentralise and yet have more or less efficient methods. All these problems are to be faced but anyhow for us these are not academic or philosophical problems to be considered by professors only.

But taking into consideration the conditions as they exist in India today, in my mind there is absolutely no conflict between our desire to have to industrialise the country with the latest machines, latest techniques, use them and at the

same time to encourage in every way, cottage industry. I see no, no conflict in my mind and at this stage and the foreseeable future. Of course the cottage industry should always attempt to have the latest techniques in so far as it can. It is true, and gradually, as the change-over comes, it should be, well, not quite painless and but relatively painless, the change over and as we take step by step in introducing modern techniques even in our cottage or small industries that should be done without that any major upset, which in theory some people may advance for the sake of more productivity, although productivity is important. Anyhow I see no conflict in that and certainly this does not apply to all kinds of new industries that one may start. It only applies in an established industry, which if it is changed over too rapidly, may produce certain unfortunate social results which we have to take care of. But new industries for which we are hankering and which we will have to start in India in an ever increasing scale, should be of the latest, most improved type, the latest techniques employed.

Well, I wish you success, in this Council and again lay stress because, I do feel that two facts should always be borne in mind, one is the popular approach, the other is the scientific or technical approach. It is the combination of the two which brings results and without the popular approach I mean something that you do should be popular and should appeal to the average man concerned—the worker at all degrees in the factory, or in the plant, or wherever it is and he needs to understand it, an attempt should be made to explain to get his co-operation and in that way to create that atmosphere.

I lay stress on this because there is a certain tendency in India, of our working at high levels forgetting the man who has got to carry out that work. We meet in Councils and pass resolutions and all that, but our engineers construct huge projects, magnificent projects, and as I put it to our engineers repeatedly. Have you explained to that man who is carrying a basket full of earth what this project is? He said, "No." I said, "Then you have not done your job properly." A man who is carrying a basket full of earth is a part of this great undertaking and should be made to feel that he is a part of the big undertaking. And not merely a daily wage labourer. So in that sense you have to have popular approach, you must always think of that.

On the other side, you must have a scientific and technical approach, an approach of producing quality, producing better quality. You must have quality, we cannot be dubbed nor can we prosper if we are a nation producing goods of a third rate quality, second rate or third rate. We cannot compete, and I don't like the word 'competition' in this respect, too much. But still in the measure we have to compete for our exports, and we can only do so, if we produce goods of quality. There is apart from the question of competition and all that, there is a certain mental atmosphere produced in a country which aims at quality,

which we want to produce in this country. If you don't, if you merely slacken and produce anything, well, then it is not good enough and you slacken all over and all your work suffers from it, which is a bad thing.

Therefore, this your National Productivity Council might advance in all these fronts and keep these various matters in view and in particular, of course, this to encourage this scientific examination of this and the application of the results of that scientific application to your industrial methods. Thank you!

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

74. In the Lok Sabha: Demands for Grants⁶

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I beg to put forward before this House the Demands for the Ministries of Community Development and Cooperation. I do so because the Minister in charge of these Ministries is unfortunately disabled from doing so because of illness—an illness which, I believe, has been brought on him by his excessive enthusiasm and hard work in these Ministries. I am glad that he is getting well now and I hope that he will be back soon to shoulder this tremendous burden.

I should, like to say something in these opening remarks about the cooperative movement and not so much about the general community development movement, because much has been said about community development and much will no doubt be said in the course of this debate. The co-operative movement is not a new movement in India, or the world. It is a very old movement even in India—I do not know for how long a time—with greater or lesser success. We have a fair amount of experience about cooperatives and all that. Nevertheless, the broad approach that is now being made in the country has something of a novelty about it, at any rate, for us. This approach has not come out suddenly but has been the result of a great deal of earnest thought and consideration. After a good deal of such thought at various stages in the Planning Commission, a reference was made in the reports of the five year plans which unfortunately people seem to forget and they imagine that something new has come up. There is a great deal of evidence of the thinking given to this in these reports.

6. Speech, 11 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIX, cols 11117-11127.

Then, many months ago, there was the meeting of the National Development Council,⁷ and they laid down unanimously that we should go ahead with a programme of having village cooperatives in every village in India and others too. That particular thing came, perhaps as a surprise to people who had not been thinking about this subject. Nevertheless, nothing much happened. Then, a little later, the National Congress meeting at Nagpur not only approved of this because, indeed, it was a part of its original programme, but laid a great stress upon it and special stress on the ultimate objective, the ultimate objective being joint or collective farming.⁸ But, for the moment and for the next three years it has said that we must concentrate on service cooperatives.

Now, after that, you will remember, Sir, there was a measure of excitement about this decision as if some disastrous step had been taken. Even in this House speeches were delivered which showed that measure of excitement and opposition in so far as the makers of those speeches were concerned.⁹

Adopted



The Lok Sabha passed a resolution approving of co-operative farming.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 5 APRIL 1959)

7. Held in Delhi on 8 and 9 November 1958.

8. See SWJN/SS/46/pp. 173-174.

9. See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 351-365.

Well, some weeks have elapsed since then, more than a month I think, and almost everyone in this House and, perhaps, outside, but barring the few incorrigible persons who will not see the light even if it is a bright light in the country has very largely and very firmly accepted this basic approach. There may be differences about details as there must be in such a tremendous programme, but the basic approach has been accepted and has been welcomed. I think it has been welcomed more especially by the particular population of the rural areas to whom it applies. Now, I do not say, again, that every single person has welcomed it, every single detail has been welcomed or agreed to, but broadly speaking, its broad approach has been welcomed.

Now, I should like, to begin with, to place a certain aspect of this before the House. We talk about the cooperative movement, we talk about village cooperatives or larger cooperatives and all that. But I should like this matter to be considered from an even broader and deeper point of view. It is the point of view of reorganising our vast rural areas, a new structure, a new social structure being built up there, of which the cooperative movement is an important and essential part—there are other parts too. We talk about the panchayats, and panchayats too being limited, normally speaking, to a village and having greater powers, greater autonomy in its sphere. We talk about the cooperative being limited to a village and exhibiting certain features. How do we define this? I think you will find the definition is the essential characteristic of a cooperative: close contact, social cohesion and mutual obligation.

This should be seen from this point of view of building up gradually a new structure for our rural society and our rural villages. That is an enormous undertaking. Of course, when we started with the community development movement that was our objective, although that objective was not stated in institutional terms. The institutional terms come now through the cooperatives. Previously, of course, community development movement was to make the people living in the rural areas self-reliant, working together, cooperating, building up their villages and generally advancing on every front, more especially the agricultural front because the agricultural front and more food production is of the highest importance. Now the cooperatives come and give it an institutional character—plus also the Panchayats.

In other words, this is an attempt on a magnificent scale,—I use the word 'magnificent' because the size of India is magnificent—on an enormous scale, to apply the basic approach, the basic social approach to the land problem. Having not approved of the other approach of too much individualism in small tiny holdings which prevents progress, having not approved of the collectivist approach on the other side, we put forward this co-operative approach which fits in with the basic ideals we have. No doubt, as we go ahead we shall consider

this matter again and again, vary it, change it, adapt it to changing conditions—that is a different matter—because in a thing like this it is quite essential to be flexible. No strict doctrinaire approach, academic approach is desirable for two reasons; firstly, that in a country like India with this great variety it is never wise to be very doctrinaire and rigid, and secondly, because in the nature of things a vast movement like this affecting 300 million people in India coming out of a certain relatively undeveloped state into other stages, rising to higher stages of social and economic development, you cannot be rigid, you have to see from time to time what is necessary. Therefore, I should like this House to consider this from this wide and basic point of view.

Now, while we should be flexible we should also not allow flexibility to go so far as to become, just, nothing definite, just a vague generalisation. That is not good enough. Therefore, one should have fairly clear notions as to the nature of this co-operative movement as we envisage it in our rural areas.

About this, there has been discussion for a long time, two or three years. I believe, in one of the cut motions a reference is made to the Rural Credit Survey. That survey was a very good survey and made many very good suggestions and proposals.¹⁰ But its recommendation in regard to co-operatives of villages was based, I think, on an unfortunate presumption, the unfortunate presumption being that our people in our villages are too backward to be given much responsibility. I do not personally believe in that approach in any case. The people are backward. I do not say our people are very forward in that matter, very advanced and so on. But I do not accept that approach because it is only by giving responsibility that you train people better. One has to take risks, if risks are necessary. You can have safeguards and all that, because of that they laid stress on large cooperatives, the larger the better, because they thought they would have greater resources and the few trained personnel that we have could very easily go round.

Another viewpoint was that the essence of the cooperative movement is a non-official character, a self-dependent and self-reliant character, a character which gives it cohesion, mutual obligation and close contact. If you have a cooperative covering 20, 30 or 40 villages, it ceases to have that close contact and ceases to have that cohesion so that the Rural Credit Survey's recommendation in regard to this one matter—I am not referring to various others—was criticised. May I say that we as Government broadly adopted the Rural Credit Survey's report without really arguing very much about this

10. The Rural Credit Survey Committee, appointed by the Reserve Bank in 1951, submitted its report in 1954. See also SWJN/SS/42/p. 15.

particular matter, but this matter came up again and again before us in various forms, and people criticised and said that that approach, though good in itself, was certainly not a real cooperative approach and that it was not likely to produce real cooperatives, that what it would produce may be functioning societies, rather pulled and pushed about by officials with money coming from various banks and others, that is to say, it was dependent a good deal on outside agencies. So this argument proceeded for two or three years. Because of the Rural Credit Survey's proposal and because money was forthcoming from our banks, especially the Reserve Bank, the tendency became one of putting up large-scale societies, really big societies—I do not say that those large-scale societies have not succeeded; they have succeeded—but then opinion gradually veered round to really small village societies, the village cooperatives, because of the various reasons I have indicated. That was true cooperative, in which you can make the people grow and where people make contacts and where there is mutual obligation and social cohesion. If you want our people to grow and if you want to lay the base of a real cooperative structure, it should be that, and not something very big.

A variation was made or suggested perhaps to bridge the gap. That was, let us have village societies but let us have unions of 10, 12 or 15 village societies so that they could supervise generally and for certain purposes; maybe credit and other, could be dealt with by the banks and others for assistance. That has been the position.

The National Development Council decided in favour of village societies. The National Congress definitely decided in favour of them. The National Development Council which met again recently again went into this matter, the whole matter of cooperatives and appointed a sub-committee which reported. The position now is that these broad principles are accepted completely. The principle, as I described, was about social cohesion, etc., which leads to the village society; also, the broad principle that these societies should not be official ridden—official help certainly—and also that, as far as possible they should not be financed in the shape of share capital, etc., by the State.

Having said that, there are exceptions to this. One broad exception and an inevitable exception is with regard to the tribal areas. We do not wish to introduce rigidly something which may suit the rest of India and not the tribal areas, in the tribal areas. Therefore, in the tribal areas we shall have the cooperatives there but in conformity with conditions there, because, they have strong communal feelings and organisations, and so our cooperatives must fit in there.

Another question arose. Just as tribal areas there are other backward areas in India and the question was whether we should relax the conditions there? Well, opinion varied somewhat and do vary. The emphasis varies as to what is

a backward area? In a sense, 90 per cent of India is backward area, or more than that. So, it is difficult. So, ultimately, it is not a question really to be argued theoretically. Somebody has to decide, having laid down and fixed the principles that we should try our utmost to have these small societies and the bigger unions. Inevitably, the State Government itself has to be the judge where that principle has to be relaxed. It is right. Theirs is the responsibility and they would be the judges. But in regard to other matters, about State participation, etc., we shall go on considering that, participation, share capital, etc., and as problems arise, we shall be trying to solve them always with a little measure of flexibility left there and which, in the final analysis, the State authorities will have to consider.

There was another matter in connection with this. I need not say—it has been said many times before—that the cooperative law has to be simplified, and it is being simplified. We have found that while the law has to be simplified what really requires simplification is the working of the law, even more so than the law itself, that is, the person who works it. We are quite convinced that the official character of cooperatives should cease, that is, the cooperatives should be free to make mistakes if they want to but that help should always be available.

Now, a very serious difficulty arises. The working of cooperatives requires training and skill; some training and some skill. Of course, the man, the big organiser, requires a great deal of training and a great deal of skill. Even the man in the village, the secretary of the village cooperative, requires some training, some way of keeping some simple accounts. That problem is a difficult problem. Sometimes, a village has not got a single person who can do it. We hope to train them in large numbers in various stages. The right thing I imagine should be to have two persons who should be used for this purpose. One is the Gram Sevak and the other is the village teacher. The Gram Sevak, at the present moment, serves ten villages, and it will be a bit too much for him to be asked to look after 10 or 15 or even six or more societies.

Shri P.R. Patel:¹¹ The village talati, who is a Government servant.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Names would not matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not exhausted my point.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The point is perhaps that the Gram Sevak might be called talati or clerk.

11. MJP, Lok Sabha MP from Mehsana, Gujarat.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: He is not a revenue officer.

Shri P.R. Patel: He is so in Bombay State.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not able to argue this point with the hon. Member. Perhaps he knows better about the Bombay State. But anyhow the conception of the Gram Sevak has grown out of the community development movement. He is part of the movement and he has been trained. I think about 30,000 to 40,000 have been trained and he is in charge of them. Perhaps his charge is a big one and maybe we might reduce the charge. But finally I imagine that the teacher in the village school should be responsible for this clerical work of the cooperative. But all these things will have to be built up and we would have to explore all possibilities of doing it.

A problem does arise that in a village like this there is nobody to look after it, nobody with the requisite training or literary capacity, and where there is absolutely no fund at all. How do we get going to begin with, because, on the one hand, we do not want them to start with the wrong foot with all Government help flowing in; they never get self-reliant in that way. On the other hand, there is this difficulty of getting going to begin with. That is not a major point but it does arise and has to be decided. But in regard to help generally, one viewpoint is that help should be given, but the help should be given for productive schemes, projects, and not really to the cooperative for it then to decide how to spend it, because that again becomes dependent for its normal routine work on the help, while if it is given for productive schemes, then, it is something definite and precise, and the cooperative gets going with that productive scheme.

This is the broad approach to cooperatives. In addition to these village cooperatives, of course, we have to have functional cooperatives for various functions or professions and there has to be this close connection between the panchayats and village cooperatives. It is in this context that I should like this House to consider this problem. I venture to say that in spite of the heated arguments that have taken place sometimes, there is no person really who gives dispassionate thought to this matter, who can disagree with this basic approach, because there is no other approach. As I put it recently to this House, what is the alternative to your dealing with large numbers of small holdings? What do you do with them? If you leave them like that, they can never come out of their shell. They may improve a little, but they can never get out of their shell.

As soon as you make this basic, fundamental change in the approach to this land problem, I think, though it will be done voluntarily, this change does lead inevitably to progressive joint cultivation, with their separate shares in land being retained. Theoretically, that is obvious. The difficulties may be not

theoretical, but sentimental or just the desire of persons to sit separately on a patch of land. That may be so, but theoretically and from any point of view, joint cultivation, with their shares guaranteed to them, is the right development whenever it comes. For the moment, one has to concentrate on this.

If one looks at this from this larger point of view that I have ventured to place before this House, then one sees this not only as some thing appertaining to cultivation and agriculture, but something leading to greater aims, greater production, something that gradually changes the whole context of village life. So many things should happen in the village which would never take place if people live separately and without that cooperation; so that, the village enters a higher social phase of existence, as it should. Once you get this dynamism working in our rural society, then progress is fairly rapid. The present difficulty is the static character of that society, the inertia that we have to meet. I think that this inertia has been shaken somewhat by the community development movement and with the coming of the cooperatives, it will be shaken up more and more and we shall see hundreds of millions of our people living in our villages on the march, which will become faster as they develop along these lines. Development along these lines means, large numbers will be trained. Every state should train them in various stages and the real training will come in their work in the cooperatives, which will make them work in a different way, think in a different way and act in a different way; and, this revolutionary change will come over rural India.

I have ventured to place these broad aspects before this House. I do not wish to go into details. Hon. Members who may criticise our approach will, no doubt, put forward point which, I hope, will be dealt with adequately by those who follow me.

75. To B. Rama Rau: Local Government¹²

April 22, 1959

My dear Rama Rau,

I am sorry for the great delay in acknowledging your letter of March 16.¹³ I have been terribly busy. I shall certainly give a full consideration to what you have written. But the subject is a big one and I can hardly reply to your letter briefly, which is all I can do at present.

You may have seen that while we are laying stress on certain basic principles in regard to cooperation, our approach is not at all rigid, and we want to make it as flexible as possible. We are not thinking of mechanising at all in so far as these small cooperatives are concerned. Nor is there any question of the local authorities not being subject to control or audit by a Central authority.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Letter to B. Rama Rau, Governor, Reserve Bank of India, 1949-1057. File No. 17(263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
13. Commenting on the Congress policies on rural panchayats and other rural authorities, cooperative farming, state participation in cooperative organisations and larger societies, Rama Rau wrote that he was, in his earlier years, connected with study of evolution of local self government in other countries. He pointed out (i) non-availability of professionals and educated people in rural areas for complete lack of amenities, unlike western countries, to guide the village administration; (ii) dilemma of combining local autonomy with rapid development of nation-building services such as education, police, etc.; (iii) emphasis on very effective control by the Central Government over the local authorities, as evident in the British system; (iv) need for local talent and well developed sense of responsibility to demonstrate the possibility of achieving development by democratic methods at a pace comparable to totalitarian countries; (v) deep-rooted and sentimental attachment to land and need for greater social integration and harmony in the fragmented village life as pre-conditions for cooperatives; (vi) financial assistance involving control to ensure proper utilization of grants.

76. Community Development Institute: Education and Administration¹⁴

Having come here, I was eager to visit this establishment, even for a little while, because I have talked a great deal about this with Mr. S.K. Dey.¹⁵ He was anxious too that I should come here. And he himself appeared to me to attach great importance to this Research Institute, and was rather pleased with the work that is being done here.¹⁶

Obviously, during a ten-minute visit it is not possible for me to say very much about what you are doing. You know more about it. Nevertheless, it does help me to form some idea of the manner of your working, how you are working, and that in itself is useful and helpful for me.

I think the form of discussion that you have adopted—that is, your “syndicates”, as they are called, sitting together and discussing each aspect separately and then jointly—is far better than just listening to lectures, etc., which is normally done.

In a sense, what we are trying to do in this community development movement is nothing frightfully new. Other countries have tried to do it too. In a much more vital sense, however, it is a voyage of exploration on territory which has broad features—of which you are aware, but only of the broad features—and, therefore, it becomes, in a sense, more difficult and more exciting.

It may be said that, of all our various activities in India, probably the most important activity—and potentially the one which will bring the greatest results is the community development movement, because here you are working with the basic material in the country—that is, human beings—and getting them out of various ruts in which they have been, and developing certain mental and bodily attitudes—a certain dynamism—in addition to particular crafts and training that you might give them, whether in agriculture or in other matters. That is basic, because, in the ultimate analysis, a country’s development or position is due to, and can be measured by, the quality of its people. Everything else is secondary, money and this and that is completely secondary. Primarily it

14. Address to the participants to the fifth orientation course at the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development, Mussoorie, 24 April 1959. File No.17(28)/59-62-PMS. Also available in JN Papers, NMML.

15. Union Minister of Community Development.

16. Set up in 1958 by the Government of India to organise research and mid-career training programmes, the Central Institute of Study and Research in Community Development was shifted to Hyderabad in mid-seventies under the new name of National Institute of Rural Development.

is the quality of the people. And the quality of the people may be divided broadly into a number of really top-ranking persons that a country has in every department. Whether it is science, whether it is engineering, whether it is medicine, whether it is administration, etc.—it is the top-ranking people, absolutely the A-I people, who give a certain status to a country. But it is not enough to have just top-ranking people. You have to have a relatively higher grade of the common man, i.e. of the mass of people—not very high, obviously, but some grading. In fact, if you don't have that relatively high grade, you won't get too many top-ranking people, because it's out of this reservoir—given the opportunity—that they come.

You are not working to produce geniuses, i.e. the top-ranking people, but you are working to produce that huge reservoir of humanity in India, out of which come the higher grades; and we want that reservoir to have the opportunity. It is of the most vital importance.

You are not dealing directly with, let us say, industrial or technical training. Other people do that. But technical and industrial training depends, to a tremendous deal, on the innate ability of the Indian craftsmen. During the last few years, specially during the Second World War, circumstances forced the British Government to develop certain Indian industries. The people had vague doubts as to how far the Indian worker could be trained in these very fine processes in industry. Surprisingly, to some, they found that he was extraordinarily apt at them, that is his hands were apt, our craftsman's. It is a question of the feel of hands, not a question of listening to lectures. Mind's scheme is in the hands; and our craftsmen became expert mechanics. The other day, a high-powered Russian team came to India.¹⁷ They were surprised at the expertness of some of our technical workers. The feel of their hands told them much, which even very accurate machines could not easily judge. I have mentioned that only as an instance of the quality of a people in any direction. The basic quality in human beings is, of course, a certain character, a certain strength of character, a certain, if I may use the word, nobility of character—rather a big word but still it tries to approach to it—and then certain capacities, mental, intellectual, manual, hands, etc., to do things, plus the capacity to work; because idle people will not produce much, to that you are striking, that is the community development movement is striking, at the root cause of rural India's static condition, that is the root cause of our decay in many ways; and the more that is removed, the whole vast population of India gets on the move.

17. The reference is to the Soviet goodwill mission which arrived in India on a three-week visit on 24 February 1959 under the leadership of A. A. Andreev, member, Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

III. DEVELOPMENT

It is of vital importance, and it has to be looked at very much with a mind that is not firmly fixed, I mean to say, your minds and our minds i.e. some kind of patent remedies to be applied. The patent remedy approach is all wrong. And the patent remedy approach comes in often while copying something that you have read; that this has been done or this ought to be done. Professors are very good, but professors are apt to apply patent remedies and an academic way of thinking. We cannot do without an academic way of thinking; I am not decrying it. But there is that tendency, for the academician, to think in an intellectual way—sometimes divorced from the main currents of life—which is not good enough. You have to have that thinking power which is essential; and you have to apply it to actuality, reality—both ways—and keep your mind open and receptive, so that you can learn, from events happening, what is the result. And the test of success always is not a bridge built or a road made. That's nothing, anybody can do it. But the human material that has come up to make it, and how it has made it, the self-reliance produced and self-confidence produced—that is a thing which you cannot easily measure but which you can see.

So, I am not interested very much in reports of physical achievements of what has been done somewhere—although these are important. The real thing one can judge of an individual or a group, is how self-reliant that person is, or that group is, or how progressive—it is not a good word, because it is a hackneyed word, but still....

So, it is that approach, and I am very glad that here you are trying to discuss these matters, firstly, between the official group and the non-official—M.L.A.s—and, secondly, with men who have had personal contacts with this movement and know something about it—because it is only in this way, that is the frank way, that you can uncover your own difficulties or failings, because of this business of the official and non-official—we go on using these phrases which are really peculiar and derived from British times; the real definition should be a serviceman and non-serviceman; that is a clear distinction—business of the official and non-official is ridiculous; it is the serviceman and the non-serviceman, actually, it was in the old days—when the serviceman, although an official, was the governing power, and the others were different—that these phrases could be used.

In the process of this working, the official becomes more and more competent the more non-official he becomes; and the non-official becomes more and more competent the more he gets the discipline of the official in him. He must remain a non-official of course or a non-serviceman but he must get some discipline. There is a difference between what I call the agitational approach—which is useful, because, it is good for public relations too—and a

systematic approach, which normally an official might be able to give. He is not moved by—shall I say—“haven’t to please so and so” for the moment, or somebody else, or this group, for political reasons. So, in effect, this working together should bring the two nearer to each other—the serviceman and the non-serviceman—each learning from the other.

77. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Bureaucratic Delays¹⁸

26th April 1959

My dear VT,

Mrs Tara Ali Baig¹⁹ came to see me this morning. As you probably know, she is connected with a large number of social welfare activities. In particular, she has been intimately connected with the welfare of children. She is a very efficient and effective worker.

She told me that she was much worried about the delays in the working of the Government machinery in regard to these welfare projects. The formation of the Central Social Welfare Board with semi-autonomous powers had helped to some extent in getting over these difficulties. But so far as child welfare was concerned, it was not the business of any one Ministry and the result was that no one was responsible for it. Grants were made, but did not materialise and at every step there was delay. This led to acute frustration among the many voluntary workers who were trying to give of their time and leisure. Also it led to projects not materialising, costs going up and generally a feeling of frustration.

She was not complaining of any particular person or Ministry but felt that the system was not helpful. In dealing with voluntary workers, the rigid governmental approach was not always the right one and a new line of approach should be evolved.

She asked me if it would be possible to have this question considered from a scientific point of view so as to evolve better procedures and perhaps to include a measure of autonomy. She suggested that Lokanathan²⁰ of the Indian Council for Applied Research might be asked to have this matter carefully considered and to make recommendations.

18. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

19. (1916-1989); writer and social reformer; President ICCW, 1973-76; President of SOS Children’s Villages of India, 1967-89.

20. P.S. Lokanathan; Director-General, National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi, 1956-67.

III. DEVELOPMENT

The idea was that now that the Third Plan was coming, better and more effective procedures should be laid down, taking advantage of the experience gained during the First and Second Plans. Apparently, she has already had some talk with Lokanathan who was prepared to undertake an informal enquiry by a small group. The procedure would be to take up one or two specific cases and follow them up and see how they were delayed.

I enquired how long such an enquiry would take. I was told that it would be fairly rapid and might take two months. Tara Ali Baig wanted to see you and discuss this matter with you. I told her that she should certainly do so. Probably she will get in touch with you or you can send for her.

She had prepared a note on the functions and future of voluntary organisations in the Third Five Year Plan. This was prepared for one of their own internal meetings. She gave me this note. I am enclosing it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(c) Industry

78. To the National Shipping Board: Inauguration²¹

Shri Patil²² and friends,

I am glad to be here, in the words you have just heard, to launch this undertaking, as occasionally I have been asked to launch ships. (Laughter) Once at Vishakhapatnam or Vishwakapatnam I was called upon to do so, few years ago.²³ And on an earlier occasion, I think, 32 years ago early in 1927, I think, I accompanied my father to Glasgow where he launched the ship and I looked on.²⁴ (Laughter) But apart from expressing my sense of importance of shipping,

21. Speech, New Delhi, 10 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

Set up under the Merchant Shipping Act, 1958, with G. L. Mehta as Chairman.

22. S. K. Patil, Union Minister of Shipping.

23. Nehru launched S.S. *Jala Usha*, the first sternship built in India, at Vishakhapatnam on 14 March 1948. See SWJN/SS/5/pp. 378-383.

24. This refers to Motilal Nehru launching the third ship of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company Ltd., S.S. *Jaladuta* on 26 November 1927 at Glasgow. See Ravinder Kumar and Hari Dev Sharma (ed.), *Selected Works of Motilal Nehru* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, Issued Under the Auspices of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, 1993), Volume Five (1926-1928), p. 424.

the high importance of our developing shipping in various ways, and giving you my good wishes, I do quite know what else, an amateur like me can say on this occasion. I see some people sitting round about here are my colleagues in Parliament who have devoted their attention a great deal to this question of shipping, and see to it that we do not forget it at any time (laughter), which is, as it should be because even very important things are sometimes allowed to take perhaps second place because of various other urgencies. It is right, therefore, that it should be remembered. How? From almost every point of view, shipping is important for any country but more especially for a country like India. Shri Patil has told you about our old story, India's old story about maritime commerce and shipping. And everybody who has heard or who knows anything about the subject knows that right up to the Napoleon's day, some of the finest and biggest ships were built in India or European countries, as not so long ago, and it seems very odd that after all that background and experience, we should suddenly have dropped out and have to regain all this lost ground. Whenever, I have seen the amount of money we have spent on freight, more especially on the carriage of foodgrains in the past years, I have been not merely alarmed but horrified, that these vast sums of money have gone just in freight if a part of them had been utilised for building our own shipping or acquiring them, obviously even from the very point of view of saving money which would have been considerable and from other points of view, even more desirable. But, when I think of shipping, not myself being, what is called a businessman, not being a person whose mental aptitude turns easily to the ways of business and when I think of shipping, I think of high adventure, I think risks and perils of the sea, I think of nations going up and down, I think of maritime power which has made nations, I think of the commerce of nations, which has led to growth of international traffic and all kinds of things because the sea has been not only the gulf that separates but also the bridge that brings together, throughout the ages, it has had both those qualities.

And by and large, I think, it is said that even in the past and remote ages, it were the seafaring nations that prospered, prospered both from the point of view of power and from the point of view of wealth, because of trade and commerce. I do not mean to say that landlocked nations have not been very powerful because they have been certainly powerful for periods at a time, but on the whole the importance of sea power has been a dominant feature of history. What will happen in the future, I cannot say, because of air power coming in, but I imagine that however air power develops, the importance of sea will never grow much less more especially to a country which is either an island or a kind of peninsula like India with enormously long coastlines. But of course, it is not proper for me to talk to you about sea power because you are men of peace here

and thinking of the mercantile marines and the like. Mercantile marines represent power of a different type, not the power of armed might but the power of the country's growing wealth and prosperity, and of course, it is not very much, there is no hard and fast line to be drawn between the two, the aptitude that goes towards building up a mercantile marine, is much the same as goes towards the building up a navy, the human material, the type of training and all that.

Living in the present age or the last half century let us say, which is more or less the span of years I am conscious of, we have got rather into the habit of thinking of that the major part of the history of the world began say 100 or 200 years ago, with the development of the European nations after industrialisation. Now, that is a highly important age in the world's history. There can be no doubt about it. Nevertheless, we are apt to forget that it is only two or three hundred years of history out of thousands of years. And it is always a good thing to try to understand these matters, in perspective. First of all, it gives a better idea. Secondly, we lose the sense of imminent disaster which sometimes comes to us when we think of the major problems of the day.

So going back a little, even in the pre-industrial age, one finds India playing a very important part both in ship building and shipping. In fact, our older stories wherever you go, whether they are old Indian stories, and I imagine some of our old stories in India are about as old as any in the world, whether you go to the Puranas—they deal with all kinds of stories about shipping, about people going from one place to another—or you read the Arabian Nights, the Alif Laila which is about shipping, people going and meeting with high adventures when they go from one place to another, to unknown lands because they did not know.

If you read the history of South East Asian countries, to which brief reference was made by my colleague, and he has been there recently, you will find how two highly developed for a time seafaring nations, sea powers often came into conflict with each other, because of the desire to dominate the sea for the sake of ensuring their trade and commerce. For the long time, the empire of Shri Vijaya in Sumatra was at war with such smaller but a very highly organised community of Majapahit in East Java; both were sea powers of considerable magnitude, both were seafaring nations and commercial nations. It is almost fascinating to see how the type of conflicts that we have seen in the last 100 years or so for sea power and for trade and commerce took place, taking place in the earlier days and more especially in South East Asia between two countries, both of whom in some way or other derive from India, both Shri Vijaya and Majapahit. And if you read such histories as we have of them you will find their organisation—it is difficult to translate these works although mostly derived from Sanskrit, the titles there, but the admiralty was a very important part of

the State apparatus in these countries, dealing with the sea, dealing with shipping, dealing with trade and commerce and so on, so that the tradition of India in this respect is a very old one. You will see in the caves of Ajanta, people going by ship, on the frescoes there.

Now, unfortunately like other things in which we fell back, we fell back in shipping and almost you might say, that that itself was a final indication of our decadence and I am not for the moment laying stress on what foreign conquests that came to India, of course, they did but I said we had fallen back before the foreign conquests came and that is why foreign conquests came, as it inevitably does if a country becomes static and becomes weak and loses its creative energy.

So, we have passed through all these phases and now we are passing through a new phase, which is rejuvenating our country, and our people and where we are trying to advance on a large number of fronts at the same time, because there is no such thing really as advancing on a single front in regard to national regeneration. If you try to advance in one front, well you are pulled back by somewhere else where you have not advanced; like that. And that is why it becomes essential to plan the advance, simultaneous advance on a number of fronts. And we are trying to do it with greater or less success. That is a matter of our ability to deal with the question. But one has to think of it in terms of this planned advance and planned coordinated thinking. And in this coordinated thinking, it is clear that the sea must play an important part for us. Both from the point of view of the essential protection required by the country even though we are a peaceful people and intend to indulge in no wars, even so things are, we have to observe peace but not the peace of the weak and the frightened.

Apart from this, the question of the developing economy of a country makes it quite inevitable to develop shipping and indeed as I must add ship building, but I do not whatever it may be, when you talk of any industrial activity, you talk about industrialisation of the country. For me industrialisation does not mean buying a machine from outside and setting up here. I do not consider that industrialisation. I consider that the machine that you want, that the ship that you want, is produced or can be produced in India. Only then you gain a measure of self-reliance. Of course, in between you have to get things, that is a different matter, but for a short while you get things from abroad.

And if you look at the way the great country of Japan functioned fifty-sixty-seventy years ago, you will see how it hardly ever purchased things twice from abroad sometimes no doubt it did, major things; they got it, and they tried to make it. Even though they did not make them as well but they made it, the second or third time they made it very well, the fourth time better possibly. That is they concentrate on making the article here. That is, the realisation of that is only slowly dawning on many of our friends, whether in industry or

elsewhere, to some extent, even in Government. We seem to think that the easiest way to industrialise is to send an order to somebody in America or Germany or Japan or wherever it may be, to get a big machine, hire some competent men from abroad here and then reap in the dividends. That is not industrialisation at all according to my thinking and that is not the way Japan developed her industry. She concentrated on making the machines, small or big, and she concentrated on building ships. Today I believe that Japan builds more ships than any country. It shows, in spite of all that is happening in between, there it is.

So, it is that capacity to build that really governs your progress in any direction, not the capacity to buy something that is built by others. Of course, trade means buying goods from abroad and selling your goods, I am not against that. I do not wish India to sort of isolate herself, she cannot do it, no country can. But every important thing, whether it is shipping, whether it is iron and steel, whether it is a chemical industry or anything else, must basically be produced in India or we should be capable of producing every part of it. And that means again finally that the real thing that has to be produced in the final analysis, are human beings, who can do the job, train human beings, because ultimately it is the trained human being that produces the machine or everything else. And as I have often stressed, even the biggest of plants may be put up five-six-seven years, but to train a human being to run those plants takes much longer than that. That becomes the vital things. Of course, what I am saying is of little relevance to the Shipping Board, but then you see I did not quite know what you want me to say about the Shipping Board except to say, (laughter) except to welcome it and give it my good wishes and as I thought, having taken the trouble, you and I, to come here, I might have engaged your thoughts in diverse subjects which may be even remotely connected with the Shipping Board.

We live on this solid earth and sometimes it is exciting enough but, generally speaking, if you want excitement you go to the high mountains or you go to the deep sea and lately you go to the blue skies. It is good not to be too much earth-bound in body and even more especially in mind. The earth-bound mind is limited and strained, inhibited and does not grow easily. It is the minds of people, who have ceased to be earth-bound too much, that have given the great things in art as well as in adventure. Think of those people who underwent long sea voyages in the old days. We may as we do, react in a, well, in an unfriendly way, if I may use the word, to persons like Vasco da Gama and others who came here and made mischief in our country. But the fact remains that Vasco da Gama or others of that kind whether it is Columbus, were men of amazing degree of adventure in their minds, risk taking, playing with their lives and not

knowing where it would lead them to. They were not the type of people who were all the time talking about security, security in the present, security in the future, always security. It is amazing how security-conscious, most people become. Of course, in the services that develops most. (Laughter) Unfortunately, even outside the services this idea of security becomes more and more.

And so, I am fascinated by these people undertaking journeys to unknown lands, to unknown seas and you hear of the success of the few who have made their mark in history. Nobody hears of the others who have failed. They may have been many. You hear of the great land journeys, say, Marco Polo starting off from Venice on a little jaunt across Asia to the then capital of China. It took him two and half years to walk across the West Asia. Meanwhile, picking up the various languages of the countries he passed through adapting himself to the new life with these changing conditions and arriving there at his destination fully equipped with knowledge, not like a modern tourist but fully equipped knowledge of the language to the large extent of the customs and everything. And there are so many other amazing travellers, and in those days and till recently the sea played the most important part although land journeys were great like as I said, Marco Polo's, largely a land journey although he returned by sea, visited India on his way back.

So, in the final analysis, while Shipping Board count and should be encouraged and patted on the back, it is the spirit of the man that counts more than all the Shipping Boards put together. And if the Shipping Board encourages the spirit of man on the seas it will have encouraged the idea of shipping even more than the cold calculations that it is bound to indulge in, and should indulge in, no doubt.

And so in the hope that more and more our people will take to the sea and more and more, even though they have to live on this solid earth, they will not consider themselves too much bound by the Earth, I inaugurate this Shipping Board. (Applause)

79. At Madurai Industrial Estate: Inauguration²⁵

Chief Minister,²⁶ Minister for Industries²⁷ and friends,

So far as I can remember this is the Fourth Industrial Estate or Colony that I have been asked to open, I performed this function at Guindy in Madras, at Naini near Allahabad and near Delhi.²⁸ Now I am glad to find that Mathura is going to have its own Industrial Estate. I must say I did not know much about these till I was asked to open one. My friend and colleague Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari²⁹ had spoken to me about them at that time. But I had not quite grasped what the industrial estate was meant to do. But since I have seen these I have been greatly impressed by this approach to the problem of small industries.

Now it is obvious that small industries should occupy and already, to some extent, have occupied a very large and important sector of our industrial productive work. We hear a great deal about the major undertakings, big plants, steel plants, machine building plants and all that and they are very important of course and not only important but they are the very base for our industrialisation. But we do not hear so much about the large number of small industries that are cropping up all over India. It is here they form the backbone of our industrial establishments.

Now, it is important that these small industries should grow up in proper healthy suitable surroundings where they can grow and work not in dingy places in the middle of cities etc. This idea of industrial estate just fits in with this new conception. Of course, it is not a new idea; in other countries in England and elsewhere, something of this kind has been long in force. Ultimately, I hope that it will not merely be a question of a few dozen or few score industrial estates as spread out in various parts of India, but practically all our small industries will be established in this way all over the country. Not only because they do much better work in healthier surroundings with light, air and power and the rest, given to them but also because being established close to each other, they feed each other, they help each other. Altogether this is a more efficient way of approaching this problem.

25. Speech, 15 April 1959, Madurai, Tamil Nadu. AIR tapes, NMML.

26. K. Kamaraj.

27. R. Venkataraman, Minister of Industries in the Madras Government.

28. Nehru inaugurated the industrial estate at Naini near Allahabad; at Guindy on 7 January 1958, see SWJN/SS/41/pp. 125-126; Okhla Industrial Estate at Delhi on 12 April 1958, see SWJN/SS/42/pp. 130-134.

29. Union Minister of Finance, 1956-58.

So I am very happy to be associated here today with this Industrial Colony, Madurai and I am sure it will succeed. There is no question of any doubt about that and I hope, I agree with Mr. Venkataraman, I hope that Madras State will have many more such colonies. I have already performed the opening ceremony and you have seen this somewhat theatrical piece behind me but this is something more than a trick. It is a solid piece of work which you are doing here and I should like to congratulate all those who were connected with it and also Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari who originated the idea of these industrial estates all over India.

Thank you.

80. To Manu Subedar: Village Industries³⁰

April 21, 1959

Dear Manu Subedar,

I have received your letter of the 18th April.

I have a vague recollection of the scheme for village industries which you sent long ago. It was considered then. Since then scores of other proposals and schemes have also been considered and many decisions taken. There is at present a Khadi and Village Industries Commission³¹ which has a great deal of autonomy in the work it does.

The question of village industries is important, but it has no direct relation to the farmer's principal occupation, that is, cultivation. Service Cooperatives are suggested principally for the cultivating farmer. That cooperative may also consider and include in its scope some village industries, but it is also possible to have separate functional cooperatives for village industries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Letter to Manu Subedar, Professor of Economics, Calcutta and Bombay Universities, 1913-18, and managed the Lotus Trust, 1943-72.

31. Set up in 1956.

81. To N.M. Lingam: Top Heavy Handicraft Centres³²

April 21, 1959

Dear Shri Lingam,³³

Thank you for your letter of the 20th April.³⁴ I agree with you that in our centres for training we should not spend so much on overheads. I am referring your letter to Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Handicrafts Board.³⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(d) Labour

82. To Gulzarilal Nanda: Embezzlement at Model Mills³⁶

April 19, 1959

My dear Gulzarilal,

Yesterday at Wardha I received a number of deputations of workers about the closure or lock-outs of some mills at Nagpur and Hinganghat.³⁷ The story told to me about the Nagpur Model Mills seemed to me rather extraordinary. If the

32. Letter. File No. 17(352)/59-64-PMS.

33. (1912-1972); participated in freedom struggle, also in panchayat and cooperative movements; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1958-64.

34. N.M. Lingam had written that he had visited the centres of the Handicrafts Board for embroidery and wood carving at Toda and Kotagiri in the Nilgiris in Madras State. The centres were overstaffed and enormously expensive, paying tribals to do the work they normally did at home.

35. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya replied on the 24 April 1959 that the Handicraft Centres in the Nilgiris were started on the request of the Servants of India Society. Unlike the Handloom and Khadi Boards, the Handicraft Board had no administrative machinery of its own, so it had to be run from Delhi. Two years had passed; she expected another two would be needed.

36. Letter.

37. Four cotton mills in the Vidarbha Division of the Bombay State, Model Mills of Nagpur, Vidarbha Mills of Achalpur, Bansilal Abirchand Mills of Hinganghat, and Badnera Cotton Mills had been closed from April 1959, leaving more than 10,000 workers jobless.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

facts stated in their memoranda are correct, then some strong and fairly quick action should be taken against the proprietors.³⁸

Some of the Bombay Ministers were with me and they agreed that some enquiry they had had led them to the conclusion that the proprietors of the Model Mills had embezzled money,

Surely our Ministry should do something about it, at least a full enquiry is demanded.

I am sending you three memoranda.

Your Ministry sent me a note about these mills. The question is, however, what should be done. Merely to wait for the developments does not seem good enough.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

83. To Y.B. Chavan³⁹

April 28, 1959

My dear Chavan,

When I was in Nagpur, I received two deputations from the workers of the Model Mills, also from some other workers.⁴⁰ At that time Jivraj Mehta⁴¹ was with me, as also another of your Ministers who I think deals with industries.

38. *The Hindustan Times* of 7 April reported that the Model Mills, Nagpur, a textile mill employing nearly 5,000 workers closed down on 6 April provisionally for six months, for "financial reasons". The workers had not been paid a month's wages. The local Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh decided to picket the mill head office and the managing director's residence in Bombay if dues were not paid by 10 April. The Nagpur Textile Union also announced picketing from 15 April of all Delhi bound railway trains and government foodgrain godowns. See also the next item.

39. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bombay.

40. On 19 April. Nehru informed the LS on 22 April: "When I was in Nagpur, or rather in Wardha, I received two deputations in regard to the closure of these mills, and they gave me memoranda. All I could tell them was that I felt that the situation demanded as early action as possible, because, of course, large number of people were involved, and because very grave charges were made against the owners who had closed down the mills. And from that point of view, from the point of view of the workers as well as effective investigation of those charges, early action should be taken. I said that I would communicate immediately with the Labour Minister which I did on my return. Immediately I sent those memoranda and wrote to the Labour Minister."

41. Minister of Finance in the Bombay Government.

The story of the Model Mills, as I got it not only from the workers' representatives but also from your Ministers, was a deplorable one. I was told that a Bombay Government enquiry had established that the owner of the Mills had embezzled or misused large sums of money and now he has closed the mills and has not paid the workers for two or three months. Even their Provident Fund is not available to them.

When I came back to Delhi, I spoke to Gulzarilal Nanda. He also agreed that this case was a bad one and something must be done as rapidly as possible. Personally, I feel very angry at this type of behaviour in which the owner of the Model Mills has indulged and it seems to me most frustrating that we should look on helplessly when a man misbehaves in this way and causes suffering for thousands of persons.

I gather that your Government is looking into this matter and trying to find out some ways and means for carrying on the Model Mills. Also perhaps to give some help to the workers meanwhile. But all these processes are slow. Meanwhile thousands of people suffer. The only person apparently who does well is the owner who embezzled the money.

Surely this should not be so. Cannot something be done about it immediately? I cannot give you a legal opinion but all my sense of justice and fair play rebels against slow action in this matter, and more particularly, in allowing the owner of the Mills to escape or to avoid punishment. I would have no hesitation in arresting him and putting him in prison or in detaining him, even though he might be let off a few days later. We should at least make it clear that our Government will not tolerate this kind of mischief. I would beg of you to give this matter earnest and immediate consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

84. To K. Ram⁴²

I have previously had a long account from the Atomic Energy Department about this matter. That account convinced me that the steps taken by the Atomic Energy Department to close down this factory⁴³ were justified, and the attitude of the labour was wholly wrong. In view of this, I do not quite see why any further step should be taken in the nature of conciliation. However, if the Minister of Labour has taken some steps, they should stand.

(e) Food and Agriculture

85. Suratgarh: Public Meeting⁴⁴

NO WHOLESALE MECHANISATION—NEHRU

SURATGARH (Rajasthan) April 2—Prime Minister Nehru told a large gathering here yesterday that hard work, learning and scientific research were the means for the development of a country.

Pandit Nehru was addressing a public meeting near Suratgarh station, a mile from which is situated the Central Government owned Suratgarh Farm, the largest mechanised farm in Asia.

The meeting which was organised by the Ganganagar District Congress Committee was attended among others by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Congress President, Mr. A.P. Jain, Union Food and Agriculture Minister, and Mr. Mohanlal Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

Reiterating the importance of hard work for the economic development of the country, Pandit Nehru said that countries like China, Japan, Russia, Germany and America had progressed because of the strenuous effort put in by their people and their interest in education and scientific research.

42. Note to the PPS. 29 April 1959.

43. This refers to the Indian Rare Earths Limited, set up on 18 August 1950 as a private limited company jointly owned by the Government of India and Government of Travancore-Cochin, for commercial processing of monazite sand at Alwaye, Kerala to extract thorium.

44. PTI report of speech at a public meeting, Suratgarh, Rajasthan. 1 April 1959. *National Herald*, 3 April 1959.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Speaking about the achievements of the five year plans, he said projects like Bhakra-Nangal, Hirakud, Damodar Valley, Chittaranjan, Sindri, Rajasthan Canal and Bhilai and other steel plants were intended to bring prosperity to the country. These projects were "new temples" for the people he said. The economic development would come to India not by improvement of cities only but by the uplift of conditions of the inhabitants of over 5,00,000 villages.

Pandit Nehru referred to his visit in the evening to the Suratgarh Farm⁴⁵ and said that mechanised farms like the one at Suratgarh were only experiments from which the country wanted to learn and benefit. There was no idea, he said, of adopting wholesale mechanisation because such a drastic change would throw many peasants and small land-holders out of employment.

CO-OP. FARMING

Speaking on the Nagpur resolution of the Congress regarding cooperative farming, Pandit Nehru said that cooperative farming would enable the cultivators to produce more than would be the case if they did farming individually. The resources of small farmers, when pooled together, would increase their capacity to produce. It would be wrong idea to think that by adopting cooperative farming the cultivators would lose their ownership rights over their lands. It was the intention, Pandit Nehru said, to introduce cooperative farming only with the consent of the people.

The Prime Minister said: "I want you to consider the issue of cooperatives because the condition of peasants and their farms cannot be improved without cooperatives, cooperatives will help the farmer to take advantages of modern

45. *The Hindu* reported on 3 April 1959 that accompanied by Indira Gandhi, A.P. Jain, Mohanlal Sukhadia, and General Mahadev Singh, General Manager of the eighteen-mile long (30,000 acres) biggest mechanised farm in Asia, Nehru drove around seated on the bonnet of a Russian-built jeep driven by a Soviet agricultural engineer, Salivanov, who was training Indians there to use the machinery. Nehru asked about the working of the implements and results achieved. At the harvesting site, Nehru "climbed on to the machine and examined the grain piling up in the thresher." He saw the reclamation operations; pumping station, fed by the Rajasthan Government-owned "Gang" canal; discussed the irrigation problems. He was informed that the grain harvested was earmarked as improved seed for distribution to State Agricultural Departments. Besides the foodgrains and oilseeds, the farm was growing nearly 200, 000 plants of Sisam, Margosa, Acacia and other hardy trees to give a green look to the farm, check wind erosion and protect the crop.

implements to raise his production. Besides formation of cooperatives in the agricultural field I will also like cooperative methods to be adopted in the industrial field.”

He added that he, however, would not like the cooperatives to be packed with officials.⁴⁶

86. To A.P. Jain: Lucknow Botanical Gardens⁴⁷

April 20, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Kailas Nath Kaul of the National Botanical Gardens, Lucknow, told me that some kind of a weed, which is very common in some parts of India and especially round about here, makes excellent manure. This is particularly good for Usar land.⁴⁸ He gave me the card I am sending you which has a sketch of this weed which is called *Argemone hexicana*. With this is attached a bag containing powder made out of this weed.

If this weed is a common one, and I am told it is, then it should be very useful for us. Will you please have this matter enquired into? You can have further particulars from Kailas Nath Kaul directly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

46. See also PTI report on address to women on veil, item 96, pp. 409-410.

47. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

48. Kaul had been involved in research for reclamation of alkaline (usar) land. See also SWJN/SS/42/p. 160.

(f) Education

87. At Bikaner: Public Meeting⁴⁹

Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of Bikaner Medical College
ERADICATION OF POVERTY
NEHRU'S APPEAL
STRESS LAID ON HARD WORK

BIKANER

April 1, 1959

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said here today that the battle against poverty launched in this country had to be fought on all fronts and had to be won at any cost. He was addressing a mammoth gathering after laying the foundation stone of the Bikaner Medical College here.

The Prime Minister declared that for raising the national wealth, the people would have to work hard and undergo sacrifices before putting forward their demands. Similarly, when national wealth was created by an increase in production, it would have to be seen that "it was not pocketed by a few."

Mr. Nehru said that he had a tremendous faith in the people of India and he expected the Indian people to work hard for the achievement of national prosperity.

The Prime Minister advised the people to live peacefully and sink their differences, whatever they might be.

He said India was the only stable country in Asia. The world was passing through critical times. What was happening in Tibet, he asked and added that the people "should keep their eyes open and learn from all these developments", "If you look round in Asia there is no other country which is making such a steady progress as India," Mr. Nehru said.

NAGPUR DECISION ON LAND REFORMS

The Prime Minister referred to the Nagpur Congress resolution on agrarian reforms and said that he would like everyone to understand its implications and work to make it a success, "I want you to consider the issue of cooperatives, because the condition of peasants and their farms cannot be improved without cooperatives. Cooperatives will help the farmer to take advantage of modern implements to raise his production. Besides formation of cooperatives in the

49. Report of speech, Bikaner, 1 April 1959. *The Hindu*, 2 April 1959

agricultural field, I would also like the cooperatives to be adopted in the industrial field," he said.

Mr. Nehru added that he, however, would not like the cooperatives to be packed with officials.

88. To K.L. Shrimali: BHU Teachers' Agitation⁵⁰

April 2, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

This evening I had a visit from a number of representatives of the Banaras Hindu University Teachers' Association. They were more or less the same as had come to me in August last.⁵¹ They gave me a memorandum which I enclose. There were also some other papers which are enclosed.

I listened to them and said that I had been distressed at all the happenings in the Hindu University which had brought so much trouble, but the matter was in the hands of University authorities now as constituted, and it was not proper for me to interfere in any way.

There was one thing they mentioned which rather disturbed me. They said that when they came to see me in August they had said that the mere fact of their coming to see me, would get them into trouble. I had said that this could not be so. But, actually, they told me, this had happened and in fact, it had been said that some persons were being punished for having seen me.

There was a case about which I wrote to you once. This is about Dr. Jagdish Sharma, Librarian. I do not know all the facts about the trouble he has got into, but I came in contact with him when he was preparing certain bibliographies. He seemed to me a competent scholar and a quiet worker, and he did that work rather well. It surprises me to learn that a man of that calibre should go in for petty pilfering.⁵²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

50. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Education.

51. On 3 August 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp.189-190.

52. For Jagdish Sharma's case, see SWJN/SS/45/p. 579.

89. To K.L. Shrimali: UP School Teachers⁵³

Anand Bhavan
Allahabad,
April 7, 1959

My dear Shrimali,

A deputation of the Uttar Pradesh Madhyamik Shikshak Sangh came to see me here in Allahabad this evening and gave me the attached paper, which I am forwarding for your consideration.⁵⁴

There is one point which appears to me deserving of consideration. We have various boards and organisations for Secondary Education. Why should not the teachers' organisation be represented in these bodies?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

90. To K. Ram: Stadium Planning in Delhi⁵⁵

Please inform Shri Anthony de Mello⁵⁶ that

1. I am quite clear in my mind that my name should not be associated with this or any other venture.

2. It is no good his planning for a big stadium in Delhi unless he has got this passed by our planning authorities. Otherwise, all his labour will be wasted.

3. There is a good deal of difference in some organisation or endowment giving money for a scheme in India and an open appeal being issued for people to subscribe to it in foreign countries.⁵⁷

53. Letter.

54. *National Herald* reported on 12 April that the Uttar Pradesh Madhyamik Shikshak Sangh—secondary school teachers association—demanded that education in the state be nationalised. They complained that most of the secondary education institutions were controlled by undemocratic, private, caste, and communal bodies. They also demanded (i) teachers' salaries be fixed by pay commissions; (ii) education cess; (iii) a grants commission for secondary education on the pattern of the university grants commission; (iv) attempts to curtail four year secondary education course be encouraged (v) free travel and rest houses for teachers and students at important centres.

55. Note to PPS, 11 April 1959.

56. Sports administrator.

57. See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 397-398.

91. To Sampurnanand: UP Ministers Cause Trouble at BHU⁵⁸

April 11, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

A person resident in Banaras and respected generally told a friend of mine recently that the basic difficulty in finding a solution of the present problem in the Banaras Hindu University is the conflicting attitudes of the State and the Central Governments.⁵⁹ As long as this is not resolved, its solution will be difficult. He said further that it is an open secret in Lucknow that the State Chief Minister is morally supporting and encouraging the group which has created all this trouble. The State Minister for Education, Kamalapati Tripathi, is even more specifically a supporter of the so called U.P. group in the University. When certain students absconded and were being searched for, they were given shelter in the house of Kamalapati Tripathi. So long as this kind of thing continues, there will be no peace in the University.

This surprised me, in view of what you had said and written to us about the Hindu University. Is there any truth in this statement?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. Gurukul Kangri University, Hardwar: Convocation Address⁶⁰

दिनांक 13-4-1959

कुलपति नरदेव शास्त्रीजी,⁶¹ आचार्यो, अध्यापको और विद्यार्थियो, अभी आपने सुना कि चालीस बरस हुए मैं अपने पिताजी के, और बुजुर्गों के साथ इधर आया था। उसके बाद भी इधर यहाँ महाविद्यालय में दो बार आने का अवसर मिला। मुझे ठीक-ठीक तारीख याद नहीं है, लेकिन शायद पिछली बार कोई पच्चीस बरस हुए आया था। तो बहुत

58. Letter. File No .A/135, Sampurnanand Collection, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

59. Following student unrest in August-September 1958, the University was closed from 8 October 1958. See SWJN/SS/43/pp. 189-190, 198-205 and SWJN/SS/44/140-142, 460-466.

60. Hardwar, 13 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

61. Chancellor, Gurukul Kangri University, Hardwar.

समय हो गया और जो यहाँ आज ब्रह्मचारी बैठे हैं शायद, शायद क्या अवश्य, कोई उस वक्त उनका जन्म भी नहीं हुआ हो शायद। तो अब फिर से यहाँ आने का मुझे जो अवसर, मौका मिलता है उससे मुझे बहुत आनन्द है। और मैं आपसे कहूँ, यों तो महाविद्यालय आ सकता तो मैं खुशी से आता। लेकिन विशेषकर जो मुझे खेंच कर लाया है यहाँ, जो अपने पुराने मित्र और साथी जो आपके कुलपति हैं नरदेव शास्त्रीजी, क्योंकि इनका साथ बहुत पुराना है, काम में और जेल में भी। तो मेरी इच्छा हुई जब उन्होंने मुझे लिखा, मेरी प्रबल इच्छा हुई कि उनसे आ कर मिलूँ और इस विद्यालय, महाविद्यालय को भी देखूँ आ कर कि इसकी कितनी उन्नति हुई है।

अब इस मौके पर, इस समय पर, मैं किस विषय पर आपसे कुछ बातचीत करूँ। बहुत बातें होती हैं करने की और अक्सर कुछ सिद्धान्त होते हैं, मूल बातें होती हैं जो हमेशा दोहरायी जाती हैं। आप प्रतिज्ञाएँ लेते हैं और फिर अपने काम में लगते हैं। लेकिन उस प्रतिज्ञा को भी या तो भूल जायँ या न भी भूलें तब भी उस पर कैसे अमल किया जाय, यह प्रश्न उठते हैं। आपने अभी प्रतिज्ञा ली, सत्यम् वद, धर्मम् चर, इत्यादि। ठीक हैं। लेकिन धर्म क्या, कर्तव्य क्या? धर्म के माने मैं इस समय वो नहीं ले रहा हूँ, जो कि, जिसको आप एक सिद्धान्त रूप से समझें कि जो हमेशा रहता है। लेकिन और ज़्यादा फैले हुए माने में, एक आदमी का क्या धर्म है जीवन में? प्रतिदिन क्या धर्म है? क्या कर्तव्य है? क्योंकि अगर यह समझें कि हरेक का धर्म हमेशा एक-सा है तो वो बात तो मुझे ठीक नहीं मालूम होती। जब संसार बदलता है तो संसार के प्रश्नों के जवाब में, प्रश्न बदलते हैं और उनके जवाब बदलते हैं। मूल बातें रहें, मूल सिद्धान्त की बातें रहें, वो ठीक है। यह तो कोई नहीं कहेगा कि किसी समय सत्य बोलना बुरा है, झूठ बोलना अच्छा है। यह तो बात नहीं होगी, मूल बातें तो आप रखें, लेकिन जो प्रश्न उठते हैं, वो मूल बातों के नहीं उठते हैं, वो तो ठीक है कभी उठें तो खैर, उसका उत्तर आपको मालूम है।

तो धर्म उस फैले हुए माने में क्या है? क्या देश का कर्तव्य है? क्या हर पुरुष-स्त्री का कर्तव्य है—रोज़ के कामों में, हर काम में—सब धर्म में आ जाता है। खाली थोड़ा-सा पूजन करना तो धर्म नहीं है। मान लिया उसको कर लिया आपने और क्या है? और जो कर्तव्य है उसका जब तक उस समय के संसार से, दुनिया से, युग से, कुछ सम्बन्ध न हो तो अलग हो जाता है, बेमानी हो जाता है, उसके कोई खास माने नहीं होते। आप एक रटा हुआ सबक पढ़ते जाइए, लेकिन उससे आपके जीवन का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रहा। यानी मेरा मतलब यह है कि आखिर में एक चीज़ है युगधर्म, हर युग का धर्म होता है, मूल धर्म के अलावा, सिद्धान्तों के अलावा, हर युग का धर्म होता है और अगर आप उस युग के धर्म को नहीं समझते और उसका पालन नहीं करते तो आप अलग हो जाते हैं, युग अलग हो जाता है और फिर आप भी निर्बल हो जाते हैं या जो जाति और देश अलग हो जाय युग से, वो भी निर्बल हो जाता है।

तो आप इतिहास को देखें, भारत के इतिहास को देखें तो आप पायेंगे उसमें बहुत सारे इतिहास के पन्ने बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, चमकते हैं और हमेशा तक चमकेंगे और आप ऐसे पन्ने

भी पायेंगे, जब भारत की ज्योति कुछ धीमी पड़ गयी या वो जो थी, वो ढँक गयी और कुछ देश गिर गया, दुर्बल हो गया उसकी स्वतन्त्रता निकल गयी। बहुत बातें ऊँच-नीच की हुई। धनी देश था, गरीब हो गया। सब बातें ऊँच-नीच, हज़ारों वर्ष के इतिहास में होते ही हुआ। तो इससे हम क्या सबक सीखते हैं? कुछ तो यह कि ज़रा कोई देश अपना युगधर्म भूल जाता है, चाहे धर्म का नाम कितना ही ले, वो अलग हो गया। उस समय की दुनिया से अलग हो गया और उसकी समझ में नहीं आता, किस रास्ते पर वो चले?

जब हम कोई अपनी बात का सोचते हैं, व्यक्तिगत रूप से या अपने देश का, अपनी जाति का तो अपनी निर्बलता या अपना दोष आसानी से दिखता नहीं है। दूसरे का दिखता है। अपने आदी हो जाते हैं रोज़ देखते-देखते, उसको पहचानें कैसे हम कि दोष है वो तो, है। दूसरे का बड़ा जल्दी हमें दिख जाता है, क्योंकि उसके हम आदी नहीं हैं, इसलिए विशेषकर इस बात का हमें यत्न करना चाहिए कि हम हमेशा अपनी जाँच करें कि क्या हम एक गढ़ में तो नहीं पड़ गये विचारों के, और युग आगे बढ़ गया, दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी, क्योंकि अगर आप पिछले दो-तीन सौ वर्ष के इतिहास को देखें और देखें आप यूरोप के देश, अमरीका, इत्यादि बहुत आगे बढ़ गये और भारत जिसके पास एक अमूल्य कोश और खज़ाना था विद्या का और सब का, वो पिछड़ गया। क्या बात क्या है? कुछ-न-कुछ तो हुआ न? यह हमारा कहना औरों को बुरा कहना कि अंग्रेज़ ने हमारे साथ अत्याचार किया, यह कोई माने नहीं रखता। कोई जाति अपने बल से रहती है, अपनी निर्बलता से गिरती है और जब वो कमज़ोर हो जाती है तो वही एक समझिए आप, दावत देना होता है औरों को कि आइए, हमारे ऊपर राज्य कीजिए, हुकूमत कीजिए। तो फिर वो ढूँढ़ने की बात हो जाती है कि किस तरह से ये जातियाँ, देश कमज़ोर हो जाते हैं। और मैं आपसे कहता हूँ उसका एक कारण यह है कि युगधर्म से वो अलग हो जाते हैं, हालाँकि और तरह के धर्म में वो रहें, लेकिन उस युग की जो माँग है, उसको पूरा नहीं कर सकते और जो पूरा नहीं करते, उस समय का जवाब उनके पास नहीं है तो पिछड़ जाते हैं, चाहे कितने ही उनमें और गुण हों। तो हमारा देश पिछड़ गया। यूरोप, अमरीका, और और देश आगे बढ़े और धनी हुए। विद्या में बढ़े और विज्ञान में बढ़े और विज्ञान की जो बहुत कुछ औलाद है, उसमें बढ़े और एक नयी दुनिया उन्होंने बना दी। उसमें लड़ाई-झगड़े-फ़साद भी उन्होंने बहुत किया, बहुत लड़ने वाले हैं। और सारा इतिहास [देखिए], यूरोप की जितनी लड़ाइयाँ हैं, उतनी शायद एशिया में नहीं हों, हालाँकि यहाँ भी बहुत हुई हैं, यह हुआ।

अब मैं आपको एक और मिसाल देता हूँ जो बिलकुल आजकल की है। कभी आप समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ते हैं कि तिब्बत में कुछ झगड़े-फ़साद हुए हैं, तिब्बत में चीनी फ़ौजों में और तिब्बत के रहने वालों में लड़ाई हुई है, हो रही है। आप पढ़ते हैं कि दलाई लामा जी तिब्बत से निकल के अपने परिवार-सहित भारत आये हैं। और हमने उनको खुशी से आने दिया और अधिकतर हमारी जो, हमारे देश के लोगों की सहानुभूति तिब्बत की तरफ़ जाती है, दलाई लामा जी की तरफ़ जाती है। ऊँचे पुरुष हैं वो और हम उनका आदर करते हैं, यह बात ठीक है, क्योंकि एक तो वो बहुत प्राचीन सम्बन्ध है, तिब्बत का और भारत का। तिब्बत का जो धर्म

है, वो भारत से गया। उस पर माना कि वहाँ जा कर कुछ अन्दर उसमें हुआ, तिब्बत वालों ने उसको अपने ढंग से उसको बनाया, लेकिन मूल धर्म तो भारत से गया था बौद्ध धर्म। और बातों में भी वो सम्बन्ध भारत का और तिब्बत का जो कि पड़ोसी देश हैं, एक हज़ारों वर्ष का है। करीब दो हज़ार वर्ष का है, शायद अधिक हो। हिमालय है बीच में ऊँचे पहाड़, लेकिन हर साल कितने यात्री बौद्ध और हिन्दू आते हैं कैलाश और मानसरोवर। कितने हमारे व्यापारी जाते हैं, क्योंकि तिब्बत का सामान अधिकतर कुछ दिनों तक भारत से आता था। हालाँकि वो चीन देश का एक हिस्सा माना जाता था, फिर भी अभी थोड़े दिन हुए तक, अगर कोई पीकिंग से कोई ल्हासा जाना चाहे, कोई व्यक्ति, अब नहीं, मैं आपसे कोई एक पन्द्रह वर्ष की बात कहता हूँ या उससे भी कम, दस वर्ष की, पीकिंग से ल्हासा जाना चाहे तो उसको भारत आ कर जाना पड़ता था। यह रास्ता ज्यादा आसान था। इधर भारत आ के, इधर से सिक्किम के गंगटोक से हिमालय के ऊपर से जाना। इसमें कम समय लगता था बजाय इसके कि वो पीकिंग से सीधा ल्हासा जाये। अब वो बात नहीं रही, क्योंकि अब कुछ सड़कें बन गयी हैं। चीनी सरकार ने बनायीं और हवाई जहाज़ अब हर जगह पहुँच जाते हैं।

तो इससे आप देखें कि हमारा एक करीब का सम्बन्ध तिब्बत से रहा, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक व्यापारिक। कुछ अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में उन्होंने भारत के द्वारा तिब्बत पर हमला भी किया था इसको कोई एक चौवन बरस हुए।⁶² तिब्बत पर हमला किया। तिब्बत वाले एक सारे दुनिया से अलग थे। वो कैसे मुकाबला करें आजकल की फ़ौजों का? वो समझते ही नहीं थे बात क्या है, फ़ौजें आयीं, वो तीर-कमान निकालें, तीर-कमान का मुकाबला तो आजकल होता नहीं, बन्दूक का, और और बातों का। ख़ैर, अंग्रेज़ी हमला हुआ, और वो ल्हासा तक, अंग्रेज़ी फ़ौज क्या हिन्दुस्तान की फ़ौज थी, अंग्रेज़ ले गये उन्हें, पहुँची और अपने दबाव से उन्होंने एक सुलहनामा उनसे तिब्बत के अधिकारियों से करवाया, जिसमें कुछ अधिकार लिये उन्होंने।⁶³ पचपन बरस हुए और कुछ अंग्रेज़ी सरकार की छाया ज़रा वहाँ अधिक रही। उस समय चीन दुर्बल था और शायद अंग्रेज़ों को इस बात की फ़िकर हो कि रूस कहीं तिब्बत पर आ कर हावी न हो जाय, क्योंकि पुराना रूस यह क्रान्तिकारी रूस नहीं, पुराने रूस का चर्चा है, ज़ार का रूस, इसलिए उन्होंने कहा, पहले ही हम क़दम बढ़ा लें, यह हुआ।

अब स्वराज्य यहाँ आया और उसका एक नतीजा यह था हमारी नीति का कि हम दूसरे देशों में कोई दबाव न डालें, छाया न डालें, मित्रता से रहें तो जो अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने की कुछ एक बातें थी तिब्बत के सम्बन्ध में, वो हमारी नयी नीति से मिलती नहीं थीं। हमारी कुछ थोड़ी-सी फ़ौजें तिब्बत में पड़ी थीं यांसे में, यातुंग में और और जगह कुछ और हमारे अधिकार थे जो कि स्वतन्त्र मुल्क में दूसरा मुल्क नहीं रख सकता। तो हमने उनसे कह दिया कि हम नहीं

62. This refers to the British invasion of Tibet in 1903-1904.

63. This refers to the Anglo-Tibetan Treaty of September 1904 securing Britain trade concessions.

इसको रखेंगे। उसी समय चीन में क्रान्ति हुई और उनकी फ़ौजें तिब्बत की तरफ़ आयीं, क्योंकि चीन की सरकार हमेशा कहती थी कि तिब्बत उनके देश का एक हिस्सा है।

बिल्कुल इसके पीछे मैं चाहता हूँ आप देखें। मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारी सहानुभूति तिब्बत के लोगों की तरफ़ है। और यह निश्चय हुआ था, जो समझौता हुआ तिब्बत के अधिकारियों में और चीन की सरकार में⁶⁴ और दूसरा समझौता जो हमारे साथ चीन की सरकार का हुआ,⁶⁵ उसमें यह बात निश्चय हुई थी कि हालाँकि एक चीन महान देश का एक भाग गिना जाय तिब्बत, तिब्बत के लोग...चीनी लोग कहलाते हैं हान लोग, अपनी भाषा में वो हान कहलाते हैं तो तिब्बती हान तो नहीं हैं, वो तिब्बती हैं। हमारे देश में काफ़ी तिब्बती रहते हैं, यानी हमारे नागरिक भारत के, तिब्बती रहते हैं ऊपर के भाग में, सिक्किम में, भूटान में, अधिकतर तिब्बती लोग रहते हैं। यह तो और है, चीन में भी अलग भी रहते हैं।...तो यह निश्चय हुआ कि हालाँकि तिब्बत एक चीन महान देश का भाग है, लेकिन वो उसका कोई प्रदेश नहीं है, वो उसका कोई प्रान्त नहीं है, वो एक अलग है। उसको अपने इलाक़े में पूर्ण अधिकार होना चाहिए, पूर्ण स्वराज्य होना चाहिए, यानी चीन देश के अन्दर रहे वो, लेकिन जो कुछ उसको अपना प्रबन्ध करना है, करे और यह उचित बात मालूम होती थी, क्योंकि ज़बरदस्ती दखल देना औरों का, वो फिर एक सिद्धान्त के खिलाफ़ हो जाती है और झगड़े की बात होती है। दुख की बात यह है, यह बात चली नहीं, बहुत दिन तक। और अब लड़ाई हो गयी, हो रही है। तो उस लड़ाई में तो मैं आता नहीं। लेकिन यह कहानी मैंने आपसे इसलिये कही कि आप वहाँ देखते हैं तिब्बत में कि वो दुनिया में जो हो रहा था, उससे बिल्कुल वो देश अलग हो गया, पहाड़ों से घिरा हुआ, लोगों का आना-जाना कठिन था। दुनिया में सारी दुनिया में, अमरीका, अफ़्रीका, एशिया, जहाँ भी जाओ, वहाँ अन्तर हुआ, ऊँच-नीच हुई, तिब्बत क़रीब-क़रीब दुनिया से अलग रहा।

अब, और वहाँ के जो अन्दर समाज वगैरह का संगठन था, वो वही था जो हज़ार वर्ष हुए, दो हज़ार वर्ष हुए था, उसमें कोई अन्तर नहीं हुआ। तो अब जो एकदम से एक नयी हवा आयी, हवा अच्छी भी थी, हवा बुरी भी थी, लेकिन नयी थी तो उसने उलट-पलट करना शुरू किया, कुछ पुराने समाज के संगठन को, धर्म को, धर्म पर उसका असर हुआ, वो तो हुआ ही, लेकिन धर्म पर पीछे हुआ। पहले उसने धर्म के ऊपरी रूप पर किया। ऊपरी रूप पर मैंने कहा, इस माने में कि वहाँ के जो बड़े-बड़े बौद्ध विहार थे, उनकी बड़ी ज़मींदारियाँ। अब ज़मींदारी बदलने लगी तो बौद्ध विहार पर असर हो गया और इस तरह से झगड़े बहुत फैले। तो जो उसका राजनैतिक रूप है तो अलग है, मैं उसमें नहीं जा रहा हूँ, लेकिन यह रूप कि एक देश

64. This refers to the 1951 Agreement.

65. This refers to the 1954 Agreement between India and China in regard to Trade in Tibet Region.

कितना ही धर्म के नाम पर रहे, अगर उसका धर्म ऐसा हो जाता है कि युग धर्म से अलग हो जाता है कुछ, तब वो पिछड़ जाता है। तब वो अपने तीर-कमान से कुछ कर नहीं सकता। तीर-कमान तो एक निशानी है और उसको बढ़ के आना होता है।

हम अपने देश में...हमारे सामने स्वराज आने के बाद एक पहला काम हमने उठाया, जिसका चर्चा हम पहले से करते थे कि ज़मींदारी प्रथा को बदलना चाहिए। इसलिए नहीं कि ज़मींदार कोई बुरे लोग होते हैं, भले भी हैं, जैसे भी हों, भले-बुरे जैसे सब होते हैं। अच्छे भी, बुरे भी। लेकिन वो प्रथा युगधर्म में नहीं आती थी, आजकल के युगधर्म में, और देश बढ़ नहीं सकता, समाज बढ़ नहीं सकती थी तब तक समाज का संगठन ऐसी प्रथाओं से हो। हमने उसको हटाया, अभी तक ज़मीन के बारे में क्रायदे-क्रानून हम और बदलते जाते हैं। हम कहते हैं कि इस काम को सहकारिता से करना चाहिए, कोऑपरेटिव से। क्यों? क्योंकि आजकल का युगधर्म वो हो गया है।

एक और तरफ़ आप ध्यान दें, क्योंकि प्रश्न, नये प्रश्न होते हैं। फ़र्ज़ कीजिए कि भारत में एक समय भारत की आबादी देश भर की, फ़र्ज़ करो पचास लाख हो सारे देश की। अगर पचास लाख आबादी हो तो यहाँ का संगठन एक तरह से हो सकता है। ज़मीन बहुत है, लोग, जनता कम हो, ज़मीन बहुत है तो कोई कठिन नहीं है। वो ही आबादी पचास करोड़ या चालीस करोड़ हो जाती है, सौ गुनी अधिक तो रूप बदल जाता है प्रश्न का। [...]। जैसे आजकल है चालीस करोड़ आबादी हमारी हो गयी है क़रीब-क़रीब और बढ़ती जाती है। अब जो देश का संगठन था जब कि यहाँ की आबादी इससे बहुत कम थी, वो नहीं ठीक पड़ता, कोई नयी बात करनी पड़ती है, नये रास्ते निकालने पड़ते हैं। तो इसलिए हमेशा हर युग के सवाल, नये प्रश्न होते हैं, और नये प्रश्नों के नये उत्तर ढूँढ़ने होते हैं। हम पुराने प्रश्नों को उठायेँ नये युग में तो इससे वो, उस समय वो प्रश्न उठते नहीं पूरे तौर से, किसी बारे में उठें, किसी शास्त्रार्थ में उठें, वो और बात है। लेकिन जो रोज़मर्रा की ज़िन्दगी में, जीवन में जनता के, चाहे राजनीति हो चाहे आर्थिक प्रश्न हों, सामाजिक हों, वो बदलते जाते हैं, क्योंकि दुनिया बदलती है, हर चीज़ बदलती है, कोई स्थिर तो रहती नहीं आप जानते हैं सारे संसार में, न पुरुष रहता है। हर चीज़ हमेशा बदलती है। तो फिर अगर हमारे मन स्थिर हो जायें और हमारी मानसिक शक्ति सोचने की स्थिर हो जाय तो हम पीछे हो गये। कितनी ही हमारी ऊँची शक्ति हो, जहाँ स्थिर हो गयी, वो पिछड़ने लगी। जैसे कितनी ही शुद्ध नदी हो, उसको आप रोक दीजिए तो पानी की ताज़गी जाने लगती है। वो बहते ही बहते जाता रहता है। एक नदी है यों तो आप जानते हैं, इसकी मिसाल, उपमा अक्सर दी जाती है हमारे शास्त्रों में भी और किताबों में, एक नदी है, नदी का पानी कभी एक-सा नहीं रहता है, वो तो हमेशा बहता है, बदलता है, लेकिन नदी वहीं-की-वहीं रहती है हमेशा, नदी है भी और नहीं भी है, बदलती हुई। एक दिये की एक लौ है। लौ जलती जाती है हर समय, बदलती जाती है हर समय, बदलती जाती है, लेकिन आपको एक-सी दिखती है। और इस तरह से संसार बदलता है, हर चीज़ बदलती है, देश बदलता है और जहाँ उसी के साथ उसकी मानसिक शक्ति नहीं बदले और ताज़ा न रहे, यानी एक तरह से रही वैसे

ही रही और उसी के साथ बदलती नहीं तो वो देश पिछड़ जाता है। यह बात हमारे देश में हुई। जब-जब हम गिरे और फिर उठे तो कुछ ताज़गी आयी।

अब जो हमारा देश एक फिर से उठा है और फिर से नये-नये विचार आते हैं। पुराने विचार हमारे इतने ऊँचे दर्जे के हैं, उनको हम याद करें, स्मरण करें, ताज़ा करें, उन पर अमल करें, लेकिन उसी के साथ याद रखें कि नयी दुनिया को समझने के लिए नये विचार भी समझने हैं और बड़ा प्रश्न जो हो जाता है किसी जाति के लिए, वो यह है कि कैसे एक यह जो पुराने बुनियादी विचार हैं, कैसे उनका समन्वय हो नयी दुनिया के साथ और नये विचारों के साथ, तब ठीक चले गाड़ी। अगर नहीं होता, अगर एक ही तरफ़ झुकाव ज़्यादा होता है तब गाड़ी का एक ही पहिया रह जाता है, गाड़ी आगे चलती नहीं ज़्यादा दिन। यह प्रश्न दुनिया के हर देश के लिए है, लेकिन विशेषकर ऐसे देश, जैसे हमारे देश हैं, जहाँ कि एक भण्डार है हमारे पास विद्या का, ज्ञान का है। लेकिन वो भण्डार विद्या का और ज्ञान का उससे हम लाभ नहीं उठा सकते, अगर उसको जोतें नहीं आजकल के युग में और आजकल के युग के प्रश्नों में। नहीं तो फिर हाँ, एक सन्यासी हो कर जा के रह सकते हैं बहुत अच्छी तरह से और विचारों। लेकिन हम अधिकतर समाज की सेवा नहीं कर सकते।

तो इसलिए इन दोनों बातों को हमें समझना है, क्योंकि अगर हम आजकल की समाज के समझने में, आजकल की कठिनाइयों को समझने में हम मूल बातें बुनियादी ज्ञान जो हैं, उनको भूल जाते हैं, तब हम गहरे लोग नहीं रहते। न हमारी जाति, न हमारे देश की जो गहराई है और प्रसिद्ध बातें हैं कि हमारा देश एक गहरा देश था, उसके सैकड़ों-हज़ारों वर्ष से बहुत दूर तक खोज की थी हमारे बुजुर्गों ने। तो गहराई नहीं रहती, और हम नक़ली लोग हो जाते हैं औरों की नक़ल करके। और अगर हम गहराई में रहते हैं, ऊपर नहीं आते तो फिर भी हम इस युग से अलग रहते हैं, खोये हुए रहते हैं और उससे लाभ, उस गहराई से, ज्ञान से, नहीं उठा सकते।

तो दोनों बातों को कैसे जोड़ें। एक बात भी निकल जाती है तो गाड़ी का पहिया एक निकल जाता है, बड़ना कठिन हो जाता है। एक तरफ़ से बुनियादी बातें सिद्धान्त रूप बातें जो हैं, जिनका भण्डार हमारे पास है, उनको याद रखना है, उनको स्मरण रखना, सीखना, और आजकल की दुनिया को समझ कर उन सिद्धान्तों पर चलने की कोशिश करना है, न कि यह समझें कि हम पुरानी दुनिया, हज़ारों वर्ष, दो हज़ार वर्ष पुरानी दुनिया को ले आयेंगे। यह बात तो होती नहीं है। आप इतिहास के पीछे नहीं जाते हैं। इतिहास तो आगे बढ़ता है। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि हमारे यहाँ दोनों तरह के लोग हैं हमारे देश में, एक तो ऐसे लोग जो कि समझते हैं, या कहते हैं कि हज़ारों, कि कुछ भारत को जैसे कि वो दो-तीन हज़ार वर्ष हुए था, वैसा बना देंगे, दूसरे ऐसे हैं सब पुरानी इतिहास को पुरानी बातों को भूल जाओ, आजकल विज्ञान है, साइन्स है, उस रास्ते पर चलो। तो मेरी राय में दोनों ग़लती करते हैं। भारत दो हज़ार वर्ष पुराने ज़माने में नहीं जा सकता, कोई देश नहीं जा सकता। वो समय गुज़र गया, युग गुज़र गया, जाने क्या-क्या बातें हुई, हमें आजकल के युग में रहना है। रहना क्या है, उसमें कोई चुनना थोड़े

ही है, हम हैं, हटें कैसे उससे, पलटें कैसे, सारे संसार को नहीं कर सकते। छोटी बातों में आप पलटने को नहीं तैयार हैं। आप नहीं सोचते हैं कि चलो भाई, रेल पर सफ़र करना यह नयी चीज़ है, हम निकाल दें, हम बैलगाड़ी पर जायेंगे हरिद्वार से दिल्ली या काशी। कोई नहीं जायेगा, वो बात निकाल दे। लेकिन उसी के साथ अगर आप समझते हैं कि उस समय में पहुँच जाय जबकि बैलगाड़ी एक चीज़ थी जिस पर लोग यात्रा करें तो उस समय पर भी आप नहीं जा सकते, समय बदल गया। तो जो यह समझते हैं कि बिल्कुल पीछे चले जायें वो ग़लत समझते हैं, कर नहीं सकते, कितनी शक्ति लगायें, इतिहास पलट नहीं सकते। गुज़रा हुआ ज़माना फिर नहीं आ सकता। हाँ, मूल सिद्धान्त उससे ले के, विद्या ले के उसको समझ के वो असल चीज़ है और चीज़ें तो ऊपर की हैं। दूसरे साहब जो कहते हैं आजकल विज्ञान का और मशीन का और यन्त्र का समय है, और हमें धर्म की बातों में पड़ना अपना समय नष्ट करना है, वो भी मेरी राय में बड़ी ग़लती करते हैं, क्योंकि यह बात सही है, यह समय है विज्ञान का, ज़माना है, युग है और विज्ञान ने बड़ी भारी शक्ति आदमियों को दी है, मनुष्य जाति को दी है और जो उनकी शक्ति है आजकल उसको आप देखें कहाँ से आयी शक्ति, जिससे हवाई जहाज़ चले, रेल चले या बड़ी-बड़ी मशीन चले, या कहते हैं कि हम चन्द्रमा तक जायेंगे; कहाँ से आयी? यह तो प्रकृति की शक्ति है यानी प्रकृति में जो छिपी हुई शक्तियाँ हैं, उसको पहचानना। पहचान कर निकालना।

विज्ञान क्या है? विज्ञान कोई जादू नहीं है। विज्ञान तो है प्रकृति की सेवा करके उसकी शक्तियों को पहचानना, उसके असली रूप को जानना। और ज्यों-ज्यों जानते हैं उसको, उतनी उसकी शक्ति से आप लाभ उठा सकते हैं। और वो भी एक ज्ञान की सेवा है। और चूँकि यूरोप और और देश वालों ने इस पिछले दो सौ, ढाई सौ, तीन सौ बरस से बहुत सेवा की उसकी, और सेवा की और एक विवेक बुद्धि से, यह नहीं कि किसी चीज़ को बाँध दिया कि यही है, अगर नहीं निकली उसको छोड़ दिया, नया लिया। इससे उन्होंने प्रकृति की शक्तियों को पहचाना और रोज़ पहचानते हैं। उसमें तो अनेक शक्तियाँ हैं। मालूम नहीं कितनी हैं और जितनी पहचाना उससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ी और उनके देश बिल्कुल बदल गये, धनी हो गये। उनकी फ़ौजी शक्ति बढ़ गयी और और बहुत बातें हुई। और ज़मीन से धन पैदा करने की, निकालने की, शक्ति आ गयी। चाहे वो खेती हो या कारख़ाना हो, यन्त्र बड़े-बड़े बने। यन्त्रों के ज़रिये से क्या-क्या करते हैं। और जैसे अब है कि उन यन्त्रों की शक्तियों के ज़रिये से इस बात का चर्चा है कि चन्द्रमा तक कैसे पहुँचें। जैसे कि प्राचीन समय की कहानियों में पढ़िए, वो बातें, उससे अधिक अजनबी बातें आजकल आप समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ते हैं जो हमारे विज्ञान के ज़रिये से आती हैं। तो वो तो ठीक है, उसको हमें समझना है। नहीं तो पिछड़ जाते हैं। (तालियाँ) लेकिन उनमें कितनी बुद्धि है कि उसका प्रयोग ठीक तरह से करें, या ग़लत तरह करें, अगर अणुशक्ति का प्रयोग ठीक तरह से हो तो दुनिया का बहुत भला हो। उस शक्ति को मनुष्य जाति को बढ़ाने में लगा दिया जाय। उलटा हो तो उसका अन्त हो जाता है। मनुष्य जाति का। तो उसकी बुद्धि पर रह जाता है एक आदमी के।

तो बुद्धि और ज्ञान कैसे हैं? बुद्धि शब्द शायद काफी ठीक न हो कि उनमें कितना जिन लोगों के पास यह है वो बुद्धि भी हो, लेकिन क्रोध बहुत हो, क्रोध में बुद्धि अलग हो जाय वो चला दें उसको और दुनिया भस्म हो जाय। तो इसलिए मनुष्य को ज़रूरत है, आवश्यक है कि उनको कुछ, उनमें धर्म के मूल सिद्धान्त हों जो उनकी रोक-थाम करें, सही रास्ते पर चलाये, और जो शक्ति उनमें आये, उसका प्रयोग ठीक हो।

आजकल हमारे सामने, हमारे देश में बहुत सारे प्रश्न हैं जैसे कि होने चाहिएँ, क्योंकि हमारा देश एक बहुत दिन से किसी क़दर जमा हुआ था, आगे नहीं बढ़ता था। कुछ तो बढ़ता ही था, क्योंकि कोई पूरे तौर से कोई चीज़ जमती नहीं है, कुछ-न-कुछ होता ही है जब तक कि उसका बिलकुल अन्त न हो जाये, कोई चीज़ जमती नहीं है, लेकिन फिर कभी-कभी समाज जम जाती है, हल्के चलती है। वो कई सौ बरस से, दो सौ बरस से भी कुछ अधिक से, समाज, हमारी समाज का ऐसा हाल था जो कि जब विदेशी राज होता है तो आम तौर से होता है।

अब स्वराज आया तो बन्धन हटे, ऊपर के बन्धन राजनैतिक तो हटे, लेकिन उसी के साथ मानसिक बन्धन भी कुछ हटने लगे और हम खोजने लगे अपनी प्राचीन संस्कृति और परम्परा। बहुत ठीक था, उसकी खोज और उससे हमें बहुत लाभ हुआ। नयी बातें, नयी विद्याओं को हम ढूँढ़ने लगे। उससे भी हमें लाभ मिल रहा है...विज्ञान, इत्यादि...तो इससे हमारे समाज देश बढ़ने लगा आगे। और जब कोई देश बढ़ता है या कोई जाति, तब नये-नये प्रश्न उठते हैं। हर जीवित चीज़ के बारे में नये प्रश्न उठते हैं। प्रश्न उठना बन्द जब हो जाता है किसी चीज़ के बारे में तो वो मृत्यु है। जीवित चीज़ में प्रश्न होते हैं, निशानी होती है। अगर कोई समाज में नये प्रश्न न उठें तो आप समझ लो कि समाज सुकड़ी हुई है, बेजान होती जाती है। तो यह कि भारत के बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न उठ रहे हैं, कठिन प्रश्न, यह एक चिह्न है हमारे बढ़ने का आगे। हमारे...[हम] मानसिक तौर से सामाजिक तौर से बढ़ रहे हैं और नयी-नयी ज़मीन जो हमारे सामने आती है तो नये खाई खन्दक, गढ़े, कभी-कभी ठोकर खा कर गिर जाते हैं, फिर उठते हैं यह चलने की निशानी है। उससे हमें घबराना नहीं है। लेकिन उसी के साथ यह भी बात हमें समझ लेनी है कि हमारा रास्ता हमारा कठिन है, और यह ख़ाली बड़े परिश्रम से हल हो सकता है, मानसिक और शारीरिक, दोनों परिश्रम से। यह कोई नारे उठा के या गुल मचा के जुलूस निकाल के नहीं हल हो जाता। इसमें कोई भी नीति हो।

आजकल समझ आता है दुनिया में दो बड़ी नीतियाँ हैं। एक-दूसरे के विरोध में हैं। एक साम्यवादी जैसे रूस इत्यादि देश हैं। दूसरे उसके विरोध में समझा जाता है, पूँजीवादी कहलाती है, कैपिटलिस्ट। अमरीका, इत्यादि देश उसके बड़े नेता हैं। बहुत ज़्यादा विरोध नहीं है दोनों में। आप मान लीजिए। लेकिन ख़ैर, ये दो नीतियाँ समझी जाती हैं। लेकिन दोनों के पीछे परिश्रम है, खेल-कूद नहीं है। आप रूस में जाओ, आप अमरीका में जाओ, परिश्रमी लोग मिलते हैं, दिन-रात काम करते हैं। आप जर्मनी में जाओ, आप इंग्लैण्ड जाओ, आप जापान में जाओ, आप चीन में जाओ, नीति अलग-अलग है, लेकिन एक पीछे बात है—सहयोग से काम करना, और बड़ा परिश्रम करना, क्योंकि उसके बग़ैर तो होता नहीं। तो यह बात है तो अब

जो हम बढ़ रहे हैं तो यह है तो ठीक, हम जो बढ़ रहे हैं तो हमें पहले तो अपनी नीति को समझना है, अपने रास्ते को निकालना और जैसा कि मैं आशा करता हूँ जिसमें, वो रास्ता ऐसा हो कि उसमें एक समन्वय हो हमारी प्राचीन संस्कृति में और आजकल के प्रश्नों में, जिसका एक नमूना, आजकल विज्ञान है, और विज्ञान से जो बातें निकली हैं। तो यह हमें करना है, लेकिन यह करना माना, लेकिन उसके पीछे भी चन्द बातें हैं। और वो यह, सबसे पहली बात कि हम लोगों में मिल कर काम करने की शक्ति है कि नहीं, या आपस में लड़ने की शक्ति है।

भारत का इतिहास, इतिहास में कभी महापुरुषों की कमी नहीं हुई है। लेकिन आम तौर से आप देखेंगे कि आपस में लड़ने का बहुत माद्दा रहा है, फूट का, लड़ने का। और इससे हमारी शक्ति और वीरता और ज्ञान नष्ट हो जाता था आपस की लड़ाई से। हम दुर्बल हो जाते थे, गिर जाते थे, दास हो गये। तो पहला प्रश्न यही होता है इस महान देश में हिमालय से लेकर कन्याकुमारी तक, कहाँ तक हम इसको पक्के तौर से एक बना सकते हैं। यों तो एक है नरेश में एक है, कानून से एक है, विज्ञान से एक है, और और बातों में भी एक है। यह ठीक है। लेकिन असली एकता जो होती है, वो दिल की होती है और वो उसमें कमी हो तो ऊपर की एकता डाँवाडोल हो जाती है। दिल की एकता भी बहुत है भारत में। मुझे कोई सन्देह नहीं है, लेकिन इस बात को भी हमें याद रखना है कि बहुत तो है, लेकिन पक्की नहीं है, कभी फूट, गुस्सा आता है तो भूल जाते हैं। कभी धर्म के नाम से लड़ाई होती है, कभी प्रान्त के प्रदेश के नाम से, कभी भाषा के नाम से, कभी जाति के नाम से, हर चीज़ दीवारें हैं हमें अलग करने की।

धर्म का नाम लीजिए, अब भारत में प्राचीन धर्म हैं हमारे, और उससे जो शाखाएँ फूल-पत्तियाँ निकली हैं जिसको हिन्दू धर्म कहिए, उसकी पाँच शाखाएँ; एक और बड़ा प्रचीन धर्म है भारत का, बौद्ध धर्म है, जो अधिकतर नहीं फैला, हिन्दू धर्म में मिल-सा गया, कुछ अलग भी है। इस्लाम है, ईसाई धर्म है। और हैं, जैन है, पारसी है, यहूदी है, सब भारत में हैं और बहुत समय से हैं, सैकड़ों वर्ष से हैं, हजारों वर्ष से हैं। तो और जो भारत में हैं, भारत के हैं, उनको पूरा अधिकार है भारत में इज़्जत से रहने का और उनका आदर और लोग करें, वो औरों का आदर करें, क्योंकि अगर अनादर का उसमें ज़रा भी आ गया तो फिर एक तो वो हमारी राष्ट्रीयता को तोड़ता है। हमारा राष्ट्र क्या है? जो भारत में रहते हैं, उन सभी का राष्ट्र है। सभी को बराबर का अधिकार है, चाहे उनकी कोई जाति, धर्म, प्रान्त, प्रदेश कुछ हो। जहाँ आपने कहा कि एक का अधिकार ज्यादा है, दूसरे का कम है तो राष्ट्रीयता आपकी नहीं रही, वो कुछ और चीज़ निकल आयी। और आपको शायद याद हो कि [...] भारत के महापुरुष सम्राट अशोक क्या पत्थरों पर यहाँ लिख कर छोड़ गये हैं और अब तक आप उसको पढ़ सकते हैं। लिखा है, अपने धर्म का आदर करो, लेकिन दूसरे का धर्म का भी आदर करो। अगर तुम दूसरे के धर्म का आदर करोगे तो तुम्हारे धर्म का और लोग आदर करेंगे और इस तरह से। यह आज की बात नहीं, तेईस सौ वर्ष हुए लिखी बात है और यह प्राचीन भारत की संस्कृति

है, जिसने भारत को इतना मजबूत किया।

तो पहली बात यह हो जाती है, हम नीति ढूँढते हैं। पहली यह कि हम में मादूदा हो आपस में मिल कर रहने का, एक-दूसरे में जो धर्म की और और बातों का फ़र्क़ हो बरदाश्त करने का, लड़ाई-झगड़ा नहीं करने का और इसमें फिर आ जाता है, जातिभेद। जातिभेद ने बहुत हानि इस देश को पहुँचायी है, दुर्बल किया, कमज़ोर किया, दीवारें खड़ी कर दीं। कैसे आप राष्ट्रीयता करें, अगर ऊँच जाति और नीच जाति एक-दूसरे की छाती पर बैठे और दबाये उसको। इन सब बातों को हमें निकालना है। अगर समाज को अपने बढ़ने दें, तब समाज पूरी बढ़ती है। यह बुनियाद करके फिर हम अपनी नीति ढूँढ़ें और अपने इन सिद्धान्तों को याद रखें।

अब आप देखें अक्सर आजकल की दुनिया में शान्ति, इत्यादि का चर्चा होता है और शान्ति के बग़ैर दुनिया तबाह हो जायगी और मेरा खयाल है कि असल में दुनिया की शान्ति ज़भी क़ायम होगी जब यह मूल सिद्धान्त कुछ दुनिया के लोग स्वीकार करते हैं, ख़ाली ऊपर के शतरंज का खेल नहीं है कि उससे हो जाय, पक्का नहीं होता। तो वो तो हुआ, लेकिन हम, हमने अपनी नीति बनायी हमारे देश में कि हम जो [...] उचित समझते हैं, उस रास्ते पर चलेंगे। लेकिन हम किसी दूसरे देश के साथ द्वेष नहीं करेंगे, न हम उसकी निन्दा करेंगे। हाँ, कभी-कभी अपनी राय देनी होती है तो राय दे दें, यह उचित हो या ग़लत हो, लेकिन एक-दूसरे देशों की निन्दा करना, इससे क्या होता है ख़ाली एक द्वेष बढ़ता है। आपकी बात को समझते नहीं और गुस्से में हो जाते हैं। आप इधर गुस्से में, वो उधर गुस्से में। उनके मन में आप नहीं घुस सकते, आप धमकी दे सकते हैं और धमकी वो समझता नहीं, गुस्से में होता है। इसीलिए आजकल क्या है, बड़े-बड़े देश हैं एक-दूसरे को धमकी दिया करते हैं, एक-दूसरे की निन्दा किया करते हैं। नतीजा यह है कि और दूर होते जाते हैं, एक-दूसरे को समझने में और एक हवा क्रोध की, लड़ाई की, फैलती जाती है।

अब हम तो नहीं पसन्द करते, बहुत सारी बातें, जो और देशों में होती हैं। सब तो नहीं पसन्द करते, चाहे वो देश अमरीका हो या रूस हो या चीन हो या जापान हो या अंग्रेज़ों का हो। लेकिन इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम उनकी निन्दा करें या उनसे हम लड़ाई लड़ने को तैयार हों। हम अपने रास्ते पर चलें। हम उनसे जो कुछ सीख सकते हैं, सीखें; जो नहीं हम पसन्द करते, उसको न सीखें, कोई ज़बरदस्ती तो नहीं है। लेकिन यह कि हम निन्दा करें और ज़बरदस्ती अपनी बात को उन पे ला दें, यह ग़लत बात हो जाती है और सारा यह साम्राज्यवाद है क्या, अपनी बात को लादना, दूसरे के ऊपर। ग़लत बात है। समझा के जो स्वीकार कर लें, वो ठीक बात है।

तो इसीलिए हमारी कुछ वैदेशिक नीति [...] कुछ सफल-सी हुई। बहुत बड़ी सफल तो मैं क्या कहूँ, लेकिन सफल इस माने में कि हल्के-हल्के लोगों को यह विश्वास हुआ। एक तो यही, एक तो हमारे कुछ करने में हवा ज़्यादा बिगड़ती नहीं है, क्योंकि हम निन्दा-विन्दा नहीं करते। हाँ, अपनी राय देते हैं, वो विरोध में भी हो चाहे और कुछ उससे लाभ भी होता है। हम चुने

जाते थे; लड़ाई हो इण्डो-चाइना में, हिन्द-चीन में लड़ाई हुई तो कोई देश बढ़ता गया जिसके ऊपर दोनों को भरोसा हो, दोनों फ़्रीकॉन् का, एक चुने गये।⁶⁶ कोरिया में हम चुने गये,⁶⁷ अभी वहाँ पश्चिमी एशिया में उधर मिन्न और इज़रायल की सीमा पर फ़ौजें आयी हैं, कई देशों से आयी हैं उसमें भारत की भी है। तो कुछ-न-कुछ हम सेवा कर सके। लेकिन बाहर की सेवा करना तो दूर है, कोई कुछ करना चाहे, पहले उसको अपनी सेवा करनी चाहिए। मेरा मतलब यह है कि पहले अपनी दुर्बलता हटानी चाहिए, अपने दिल को देखना चाहिए कि हममें क्या कमज़ोरियाँ हैं, ख़राबियाँ हैं, उनको हटायें। उसका असर होता है बाहर के देशों पर। और जा के बाहर सभी को समझाने आप चलिए, तुम क्या? तो उसका जवाब होता है पहले तो आप अपने घर को सँभालिए, हमारे क्या आये हैं आप करने। हमारे घर में तो बहुत काफ़ी सँभालना है। और घरों से ज़्यादा। तो इस तरह से कोई अभिमान करके नहीं, शेखी करके [कि] हम ऊँचे हैं, हमारी संस्कृति यह है, हमारी शान यह, उससे असर नहीं होता, बल्कि जो आप अपने जीवन में, अपने देश में खुद करें, उसको लोग देखते हैं, उसका असर होता है।

तो अब जो आपके नवयुवक हैं, आपके स्नातक हुए हैं, निकलेंगे और जीवन के कारोबार में पड़ेंगे तो उनको इन सब बातों पर ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। जो मूल बातें उन्होंने सीखी, उनका चरित्र कैसा रहे, आचार कैसे रहें; ठीक, वो तो है ही बुनियादी और आजकल की दुनिया को समझना और समझ कर के ऐसे रास्ते से चलना, जिससे झगड़े बढ़ते नहीं बल्कि कम होते हैं। औरों की निन्दा नहीं, औरों की बरदाश्त, और फिर भी यह नहीं [कि] बरदाश्त इस तरह से कि आप चुपचाप बैठ गये एक पर्दानशीन हो कर, क्योंकि काम करना है, ज़ोरों से आ कर उसको भी करना और फिर भी बरदाश्त करना। इस ढंग से उनको चलना होगा। कठिन है रास्ता, आजकल की दुनिया में हर एक के लिए। लेकिन उसी के साथ जो लोग आजकल नवयुवक हैं, जवान हैं, उनके लिए यह एक अजीब समय है और उनको बहुत खुशी होनी चाहिए कि ऐसे ज़माने में, ऐसे युग में वो पैदा हुए हैं, कितने बड़े-बड़े काम हैं, कितनी बड़ी-बड़ी यात्राएँ हैं, बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हल करने हैं अपने देश में, दुनिया में, यह खुशी की बात है। जिस आदमी में कुछ शक्ति है, मादूदा है, हिम्मत है, उसके लिए मैदान खुले हैं, तख़्त खुले हैं, सारा ज़माना खुला है आगे बढ़ने का। जो दुर्बल है, कमज़ोर है, हाय-हाय करता है, उसके लिए कभी कुछ नहीं खुलता।

तो ऐसा ज़माना है, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हमारे देश में एक और बात मैं देखता हूँ और आप भी देखते हैं, एक तरफ़ से मैं देखता हूँ बहुत अच्छे हमारे नौजवान हैं, लड़क-लड़कियाँ, बहुत अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं। बहुत कामों से मेरा सम्बन्ध है, हमारी विज्ञान शालाओं में, प्रयोगशाला हैं, हज़ारों, आठ-दस हज़ार हमारे आजकल नौजवान साइण्टिस्ट काम कर रहे हैं,

66. This refers to the International Commissions of Supervision and Control for Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, of which India was the Chairman.

67. This refers to India's role in the Korean War.

उसमें लड़कियाँ भी हैं, अधिकतर लड़के हैं, बहुत अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं। चुने हुए लोग हैं। हमारे और कामों में कितने कामों में, मैं आपको बताऊँ हमारी फ़ौज वगैरह में, हवाई जहाज़ वगैरह में बहुत अच्छा काम है। एक तरफ़ से यह है, दूसरी तरफ़ से बहुत सारे हमारे.....

[Tape breaks off at this point.]

[Translation begins:

Chancellor Nardev Shastriji,⁶⁸ Professors, Teachers and Students,
As you heard just now, I had come here forty years ago with my father and other elders. After that, I had the opportunity of coming here twice. I do not remember the exact dates, but I think I came here last about 25 years ago and so, a long time has passed since then and the young men who are sitting here may not have even been born then. I am happy to have been able to come here once again. I would have been happy to have come to the University anyhow, but what drew me here specially was my old friend and colleague, Nardev Shastriji, who is your Chancellor. My association with him has been a long standing one, in jail as well as outside. So when he wrote to me, I felt a very keen desire to come and meet him and to see how much progress this University has made.

Now, what should I talk to you about on this occasion? There are many things to talk about and very often, there are certain principles, basic things, which are repeated. You take a pledge and then go about your own tasks. The question is how far those pledges are put into practice. Just now you have taken a pledge '*Satyam Vada*' (Speak the Truth), '*Dharmam Chara*' (Follow the right path), etc. But what is dharma? What is duty? When I say dharma I am not referring to religious truths which are eternal, but to the wider aspect of it. What is the duty of man in life, in his day-to-day activities? It does not seem right to me to think that the duties will always remain the same. When the world changes, its problems change and so do the answers to these problems. It is proper that the basic principles should remain the same. Nobody is ever likely to say that speaking the truth is a bad thing or that telling lies is good. But the problems arise not out of the fundamental principles, except very occasionally. You know the answer to that.

So what is duty in the wider sense? What is the duty of a nation or a man or woman in their daily lives and day-to-day activities? All this is part of dharma. Merely doing puja is not dharma. Unless your dharma has some relevance to

68. See fn 61 in this section.

the world, to a particular age, it tends to become meaningless and divorced from reality. You may continue to repeat lessons learnt by rote but they will have no relevance in your life. What I mean to say is that, after all, every age has its own dharma, code of conduct, apart from the fundamental principles and unless you understand and practice it, you become divorced from the age that you live in and, as a consequence, you as well as your race or nation will become weak.

If you look at history, the history of India, you will find that there are glorious chapters in it which will always shine brilliantly forever, and there are others when the glory of India became tarnished and the country lost her freedom. There have been great ups and downs and a country which had been once rich became poor. All these ups and downs occurred during thousands of years of our history. So what lesson do we learn from it? Firstly, if a country is divorced from the demands of its age, no matter how much it professes its belief in religion, it will flounder and get isolated from the world.

It is not easy to be objective for an individual or a race or nation about one's own weaknesses and faults. It is easier to detect the faults of others. Therefore, it is essential to make a constant effort at introspection to prevent oneself from falling into a rut while the world progresses. If you take the history of Europe or the United States during the last two to three centuries, you will find that they advanced a great deal while India which possessed an invaluable storehouse of learning and wisdom was left behind. Why? There must have been some reason. It is meaningless to lay the blame elsewhere or say that the British had perpetuated atrocities on us. A race or a nation stands or falls by its own strength and when it becomes weak, it is a standing invitation to others to come and conquer it. So we must search for reasons when a country becomes weak. I say that one reason is that it becomes divorced from its age and is unable to fulfill the demands of its age. Those who do not have the answer to the problems which each age throws up, become weak, no matter how many excellent qualities they may possess otherwise. So our country became backward while the United States and Europe advanced in science and learning and created a new world for themselves with the offshoots of science. It led to a great many wars, too, and perhaps there may not have been as many wars in Asia as there have been in Europe though, we have had some.

Now, let me give you another example. You read in newspapers about the skirmishes that are taking place between Tibetans and the Chinese forces in Tibet. You must have read about the Dalai Lama coming to India with his family for asylum which we gave willingly. Our sympathies are entirely with the people of Tibet and the Dalai Lama. He is a great man and we hold him in respect. Moreover, the ties between India and Tibet are very ancient. The religion of

Tibet is indigenous to India, Buddhism, and although it has undergone various changes after going there, the basic tenets of Buddhism travelled from India to Tibet. Even in other spheres relations between India and Tibet, as neighbouring countries, dates back thousands of years. They are almost two thousand years old or perhaps more. In spite of the Himalayas which come in between, high mountain, every year thousands of Buddhist and Hindu pilgrims cross over to the Kailash mountains and Mansarovar, Indian traders go with goods because most of the goods that Tibet needs have gone from India till very recently, though it was considered to be a part of China. In fact, till very recently, I am talking of about fifteen years ago, if anybody wished to go from Peking to Lhasa, he had to come first to India because the road is better and it was easier to go there from India via Sikkim, Gangtok and over the Himalayas. It took less time than to go from Peking to Lhasa directly. Now that is no longer so because the Chinese Government have built roads and there are airplanes.

Anyhow, you will see that we have had close relations with Tibet — cultural, religious and trade relations. During the British rule, in fact, there was an attack on Tibet about fifty-four years ago.⁶⁹ Tibet was an isolated nation, and they were unable to face the military attack. Living as they were in the days of bows and arrows, they could not face the guns of the British. Well, the British marched with Indian troops right up to Lhasa and forced the Tibetan officials to come to a peace agreement in which certain rights were ceded to the British.⁷⁰ For fifty-five years, Tibet was under the overlordship of the British. China was very weak then. Perhaps the British had a sneaking fear that the Soviet Union would capture Tibet. Russia was under the Tsars then. So the British wished to forestall any such attempt by the Russians.

As soon as India became free, we found that the British policy towards Tibet did not match up with our principle of not putting pressure on other countries, and living with them in amity and friendship. So, we decided to recall the troops that were stationed in Tibet, on the Gyantse and Yatung and elsewhere. The Chinese Revolution took place at the same time and they sent in their forces to Tibet and have been claiming ever since that it is a part of Chinese territory.

As I told you, our sympathies lie entirely with the people of Tibet. There was an agreement between the Government of China and the Tibetan officials.⁷¹ There was another agreement between India and the Chinese Government⁷² in

69. See fn 62 in this section.

70. See fn 63 in this section.

71. See fn 64 in this section

72. See fn 65 in this section

which it was decided that though Tibet may be regarded as a part of greater China, it will be a separate State and not a province of China. After all, the people of Tibet are not Han, that is, Chinese, they are Tibetan. Innumerable Tibetans live in India, in the North and in Sikkim, Bhutan, etc., as well as in China. Tibet must have complete freedom and though it would be within China, it will be free, internally, to make whatever arrangements it likes. This seemed proper because to interfere in the internal affairs of others is against our principles and leads to disputes. Unfortunately, this arrangement did not last very long. Now, a war has broken out and is continuing. I will not go into that now. However, I told you this story, because Tibet has become completely isolated from the rest of the world by virtue of its geographical position, surrounded as it is, by mountains and its complete inaccessibility. While tremendous upheavals and changes were taking place all over the world, in the United States, Africa, Asia and elsewhere, Tibet remained virtually isolated.

The social organisation in Tibet continued to be the same as it was a thousand or two thousand years ago without any change whatsoever. So now the new wave which spread in Tibet which was good as well as bad in certain respects has brought about changes which have had an impact on their social organization, religion, etc. The superficial aspect of religion was affected first. I mean it in the sense that the ownership of large zamindaris by the Buddhist monasteries began to be challenged and led to great disputes. The political question is separate. I will not go into it. But when a country's religion becomes divorced from the demands of its times, no matter how much it professes its faith, it is bound to become backward. Bows and arrows will get the country nowhere. Those things are merely symbols. A country has to progress.

In India, immediately after we got freedom, the first task that we took up was the abolition of the zamindari system which we had discussed even earlier. It was not because the zamindars were all bad. There were good men as well as bad among them. But the system itself had become anomalous and was an obstacle to the growth of society and the nation. So we abolished it and are bringing in new laws of land tenure. We are trying to introduce cooperation and establish cooperative societies, because that is the demand of the times.

There is one more thing. New problems arise all the time. Suppose, for instance, that the population of the whole of India was fifty lakhs. In this case where the population is fifty lakhs, the social structure would be of a certain kind, which means that there was plenty of land available for everyone and there was no pressure on the land. But if the population increases hundred times and becomes forty or fifty crores as it is in India today, the old social organisation can no longer continue. A new one has to be adopted. Every new age always throws up new problems for which new solutions have to be found.

If we continue to raise the old issues in the new age, they become meaningless, except in a debate. The problems of day-to-day life of the people keep changing whether they are political, economic or social because the world changes and everything else with it. Nothing remains the same forever, including human beings. Everything is constantly changing. So if our minds become stagnant and our ability to think atrophies, we will become backward no matter how great we may have been. It is like the clear flowing water which becomes stale if its flow is stopped. As you know, a river is often quoted in our ancient texts as an example of something which is ever-changing and yet constant. Similarly, you have the flame of a lamp which changes constantly in the process of burning and yet appears the same. So the world too changes and so does everything in it. Countries change and if they do not or their thinking becomes stale, they become backward. This is what happened in India and we declined. Now, that we are progressing again, there is some freshness in our thinking.

India is once again alive and vibrant and full of new ideas and thoughts. We must cherish our ancient thought and wisdom and values and try to act upon them. But at the same time we must also remember that the new stream of ideas has to be grasped if we wish to understand the new world. The big question before any nation today is how to strike a balance between the old and the new and blend ancient thought with the new stream of ideas. If we fail, we will not be able to go very far because the tilt will be too much to one side. These problems are before every country in the world today but particularly so for countries like India which have an abundance of wisdom and knowledge. Unless we link them to the modern age and its problems, we cannot profit by them. We may be able to think great thoughts by leading the life of an ascetic far away from human beings. But we will not serve any useful social purpose.

Therefore, we must pay equal attention to both these things. If we forget the old values and the wisdom of the ancient days in our present day problems and difficulties, we will have no depth of character. India has always been famous in history as a reservoir of deep wisdom and knowledge. We will lose that reputation if we merely copy others. But on the other hand, if we remain immersed in the deep mysticism of an ancient past, we will cut ourselves off from the mainstream of modern life and will also fail to benefit from the heritage of ancient thought and knowledge.

So the question is how to link the two. You cannot do without the one or the other. On the one hand, we must remember and cherish the fundamental principles and values of the past, and on the other try to practice them in the context of the modern age. There is no point in trying to take the country back thousands of years. That will never be possible. You cannot put the clock back. History always moves forward. I am saying this because we have both types of

people in India, one wanting to put the clock back thousands of years and the other being in favour of cutting ourselves off completely from the past and adopting the path of modern science. I think both are wrong. You can never put the clock back. Times have changed and we must fit into the modern world for we cannot isolate ourselves. You are not prepared to change even in small things. Today nobody would dream of travelling from Hardwar to Delhi or Kashi by a bullock-cart. It is unthinkable. People travel by train. But at the same time, if you want to go back to the age of the bullock-cart, it is not possible. Times have changed. It is wrong if anyone wishes to go back or live in the past. You cannot put the clock of history back and the past can never come back, no matter how hard you try. What we can and must do is to understand the fundamental principles and learning of the past which are of the essence. In my opinion, those who say that in this day and age of science and machines, we must not waste our time in thinking of religion, etc., also make a big mistake. It is true that this is the age of machines and science, which has given mankind enormous powers, and man is now trying to reach the moon. Science has enabled man to recognize and harness the hidden source of energy in nature.

Science is no magic. It is merely a question of harnessing the natural sources of energy to our needs. The more we learn to do this, the more advantage we can derive from them. It is a form of worship of knowledge and it is by doing this that Europe and other countries have advanced tremendously over the last couple of centuries or more. They have served the cause of science patiently and intelligently and persevered in the face of failures. These forces of nature have increased their capacity for production enormously and those countries have become extremely wealthy and militarily powerful. They can now produce a great deal from land and from industries by using heavy machines and power and what not. Now they are thinking of going to the moon. The strange things that we read about in ancient mythology are coming true through the medium of science. So we must understand these things for we will become backward. Now everything depends on how much wisdom they can bring to bear upon using these forces of science. Used wisely, atomic energy can do great good to the world and if not, the entire mankind can be destroyed.

So it depends on man's capacity to use it wisely. It is not so much a question of intelligence for that can be overcome by anger and the world can go up in smoke. Therefore, man needs some strong moorings in religion and spirituality which will restrain him and enable him to go on the straight path and to use the forces at his command wisely.

Today there are innumerable problems before India which is natural. She has been stagnant for too long and any change that had come about was too slow and little. No country can stand absolutely still, but a society can slow

down. This is what had happened to us under British rule for the last couple of hundred years.

Now that the political fetters have been removed, the mind which had been shackled for so long is gradually finding a release. We are now on the search for new things. Our ancient culture and traditions are very good. But now we need to learn science and adopt the modern techniques which are available in the world. Problems are bound to arise when a nation or a people are on the move. Anything which is alive has to face problems. It is only when life is completely extinct that problems also cease. Problems are a sign of life. If a society faces no problems, you can take it that it is lifeless and stagnant. So, the gigantic problems that India is facing today are a sign of progress, of our mental and social progress. The new ground that we are covering or even the occasional stumbling and falling down, the innumerable pitfalls that we face, are all signs of progress. We must not be afraid of them. But at the same time we must realise that the path before us is a difficult one and it can be traversed only by working hard, both mentally and physically. Our problems cannot be solved by shouting slogans or taking out processions.

There are two ideologies which are dominant in the world today. One is communism which the Soviet Union and some others follow. The other is capitalism of which the United States is the leading advocate. These two isms are supposed to be diametrically opposed to one another. But both are backed by tremendous hard work. Whether you go to the United States or the Soviet Union you find that the people are extremely hard-working. The ideologies may be different in Germany, Japan, England, or China. But you will find cooperation, unity and hard work among the people everywhere because nothing is possible without that. It is true that we are trying to advance. But we must first understand the principles that we are trying to follow and evolve a path for ourselves which, I hope, will be a proper synthesis of our ancient culture and modern science. I agree that this is essential. But there are other factors even behind this. The first thing is, whether we have the strength to work together or not.

There has never been a dearth of brave heroes in the history of India. But generally speaking, there has been a tendency to fight among ourselves which nullifies our strength and knowledge and courage. So we often fall prey to foreign invaders. So the foremost task before us is to unite the whole country from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari. It is already one politically, on the map and by law. But real unity is of the hearts and minds without which political unity can be jeopardised. I have no doubt that there is unity of hearts and minds in India. But it is not stable and tends to break up at the first hint of anger or disunity. There are often feuds in the name of religion, province, language,

caste and what not. Each one of them is a barrier to our unity.

In India, there are ancient religions which have existed for thousands of years. Hinduism itself has many off-shoots. Buddhism is another great religion. Then there is Islam, Jainism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, etc., and all of them belong to India. They have flourished here for thousands of years. People following all these religions have every right to live in India with full rights as citizens. If the slightest disrespect is shown to any of them, it strikes at the root of our nationalism. Every single individual who lives in India belongs to this country and has equal rights as citizens irrespective of their caste, religion, province, language, etc. The moment you make a distinction, there can be no nationalism. You would perhaps know that Emperor Asoka, one of the greatest souls India has ever produced, has left an indelible message of religious toleration in his rock edicts which can be read even today. It is written that only by giving respect to other religions can you earn the respect of others for your religion. He said all this 2300 years ago and it is this ancient culture which has strengthened India.

Before we decide which policy to follow, we must first develop the habit of working in unity, of religious tolerance and of living in peace and amity with one another. Then there is casteism which has done great harm to the country in the past and weakened it by creating barriers among the people. We must get rid of it. A society must grow in all directions. It is only after we have established this fundamental principle that we can look for ideology.

Nowadays, there is a great deal of talk about peace in the world. Without peace, the world will go towards destruction. I feel, however, that there can be real peace when the world statesmen and leaders accept this basic principle; it is not just a game of chess. We have decided in our country to follow whatever policy we think proper but not to show hatred or bitterness towards other countries or to criticise them. We will express our views clearly. But futile criticisms create enmity and there is no room for mutual misunderstanding. It arouses anger and passion on both sides and instead of being able to communicate with one another, everyone is reduced to resorting to threats. This is what is happening in the world today. Consequently, the distance between the nations is growing and generally an atmosphere of tension and anger is created. We may not like many of the things that the other countries do, whether it is the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan or England. But that does not mean that we should criticise them or go to war with them. We shall go our own way and learn whatever we can from others. There is nothing to compel us. But it would be wrong to try to resort to criticisms and force our viewpoint upon others. We can try to make others understand our viewpoint.

So our foreign policy has been successful to some extent, in the sense that

the people have gradually become convinced that India does not believe in futile criticisms but in expressing her opinions objectively and honestly, even if it displeases some people. This is why India was chosen to act as a mediator in the war in Indo-China,⁷³ Korea,⁷⁴ in West Asia, etc. So we have been able to be of some service to the world. But a country has to look after itself first of all. What I mean to say is that we must get rid of our weaknesses. We must look inwards to discover our weaknesses and remove them before we try to do something on the international stage. The first priority is to put our own house in order. We cannot hope to make an impact by boasting about our great culture and what-not, but by showing the world what we are ourselves capable of doing.

The young men and women who are passing out today and will take their place in society must remember all this. They must pay special attention to the moulding of their character, habits and behaviour and also try to understand the modern world. This is very important in order to establish peace in the world. We must learn to be tolerant and yet that does not mean that you should sit idle. We will have to work hard and at the same time learn to be tolerant. It is a difficult path. But at the same time it is an extraordinarily stimulating age to be living in, especially for the youth of today, who must be happy that they have been born in an era when all kinds of new avenues and opportunities are opening up and huge, big problems are waiting to be solved in the world. They will have to embark on new journeys and tasks and those who have the ability and strength and courage to go ahead, the whole world is open to progress. No doors will ever open for those who are weak and indulge in self-pity.

On the one hand, our young boys and girls are doing good work in our science laboratories and elsewhere. There are nearly ten thousand boys and girls, scientists, who are doing very good work. Similarly, there are very able people manning our army, navy and air force, etc. On the other hand many of our...

[Tape breaks off at this point]

Translation ends.]

73. See fn 66 in this section.

74. See fn 67 in this section.

93. At Rajapalayam: Public Meeting⁷⁵

Dear friends,

You have done me an honour to invite me on this occasion to unveil the portrait of an old friend and colleague whose memory we all cherish.⁷⁶ I remember Shri Kumaraswami Raja⁷⁷ writing to me more than once when he was Governor of Orissa telling me of his desire to create a trust of his family house and also of his thinking of retiring from the Governorship. He wanted me very much to come here when he made this trust, but I forget what prevented me from coming then. Naturally, I was very happy at his resolve to make this trust and I congratulated him upon it. We have in our larger cities more and more institutions of education, culture etc., what is necessary I think is that this should be, these should be spread out in the smaller towns and even in the villages. So you can never have too concentrated institutions of this kind, Rajapalayam of course is a good sized town. But even in the smaller places one should have these homes of where various forms of culture can be cherished. Anyhow I am very glad that you have been able to establish this house of Kumaraswami Raja as a cultural institute and I wish you success in that.

I cannot tell you what the Government of India is going to do in this matter. I don't know anything about it. I learnt only today some kind of application has been sent presumably to the Education Ministry. If they can help you I shall be happy. Nevertheless, I would like to suggest to you that these institutions should normally depend upon their own efforts. Abnormally they can be helped and should be helped. But normally if they are serving a useful purpose they should get help from the citizens of the place. Then they have a stable foundation. Otherwise they depend on some distant officers of Government which are rather impersonal. One of the many things that has struck me very greatly on this occasion of my visit to Madras State⁷⁸ has been the revolution brought about in the educational system here, by two things. One is the Mid-day Meal Scheme, the other is the School Improvement Scheme, whereby the parents, the teachers, the boys and girls students and all others in the village or town take a particular intimate interest in the school and help it in every way. And I have been

75. Speech at the unveiling of P. S. Kumaraswami Raja's portrait, Rajapalayam, 17 April 1959. AIR tapes, NMML.

76. The portrait was unveiled at the Gandhi Kalai Mandram, a cultural organisation based in the family house of P.S. Kumaraswami Raja. The house was gifted to the town.

77. Former Chief Minister of Madras and Governor of Orissa.

78. Nehru was in Madras State from 14 to 18 April 1959. See items 7-13, pp. 87-136.

astonished to see at this School Improvement Conferences the amount of enthusiasm that has been there and number of things they have collected for their schools from others; it has been quite astonishing. It shows how a movement which has got proper roots can develop. If the School Improvement Movement had developed on Government aid from above, Government would give it some money but money is not everything. It is human beings' enthusiasm that creates things out of nothing almost and that School Improvement Movement plus Mid-Day Meal has been a very happy idea indeed of the Madras Government and which has borne extraordinary good results in many ways; results of course in better schooling, more equipment, results in better health. The mid-day meal for many of our village children gives them better health, therefore better health, therefore better study. But another very important factor is, that this becomes a very powerful remover of caste distinctions, that is, the boys who go to school, boys and girls eat together. They don't sit in separate caste and groups so that gradually quite peacefully and quietly we get rid of these caste barriers which have separated us and build up a homogenous society. I am full of admiration for the School Improvement Scheme.⁷⁹ I mention this to you here; why do I mention here because of the two factors that we can only do good work, really good work by spreading it out among the people and not concentrate it in centralised institutions and you can only do that good work by help and interested enthusiasm coming from the people not from the Government. Government may give money. It can't give human enthusiasm or devotion or interest. Therefore, it has to come from below more particularly institutes of cultural activities, whatever those activities must be, should draw upon the enthusiasm and help of the citizens of the place, where they are situated. Government naturally should help these institutes but reliance upon it or dependence upon it is not a good thing. I am sure this institute not only because of its being connected with Shri Kumaraswami Raja but also because there are so many of his friends and colleagues and others in the city who are interested in it. Because all of this I am sure it will prosper.

Thank you.

79. Nehru wrote to B. K. Linga Gowder, a Member of the Madras Assembly and Chairman of the School Improvement Scheme, commending the good work being done under the scheme.

94. To Subimal Dutt: Vienna Youth Festival⁸⁰

Broadly I agree with the suggestions made above. We should certainly not encourage the elaborate and rather artificial procedure of having preparatory and selection committees all over the place.

2. The age suggested for the Youth Festival seems to me on the high side. I think we should insist on people not being older than 35.⁸¹

95. To Prithvi Singh Azad: Self Culture Institute at Chail⁸²

I am glad to know that the Chief Minister of Punjab is inaugurating the Self Culture Institute at Chail. I am sure that this Institute, under the direction and guidance of Sardar Prithvi Singh, will produce good results and may well become a model of its kind. Self-reliance and self-culture should be the basis of the individual as of a nation. It is because of this that I particularly welcome this Institute and wish it success.⁸³

(g) Culture**96. Bikaner: Women's Veil⁸⁴****Nehru asks Women to Discard Veil**

Bikaner, April 2—Prime Minister Nehru yesterday twitted the womenfolk of Rajasthan for observing the traditional veil.

Seeing a large gathering of women in veil at an exclusively women's meeting which he was to address, Pandit Nehru said that he did not understand the purpose of the veil. The veil was only the sign of backwardness and should be

80. Note to the FS, 27 April 1959. File No.1(3)-Eur (W) /59, p. 8/note, MEA.

81. This concerned the Seventh World Youth Festival that was to be held in Vienna, 26 July-8 August 1959. S. Sen, Joint Secretary (West) in the MEA, suggested on 23 April 1959 sending about 50 participants, 18-45 years old, from twelve organisations, which had participated in the Moscow Youth Festival in 1958.

82. On the inauguration of the Self Culture Institute at Chail, 27 April 1959. Prithvi Singh Azad Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

83. See also SWJN/SS/47/pp. 394-395.

84. PTI report of speech, Bikaner and Suratgarh, 1 April 1959. *National Herald*, 3 April 1959.

discarded as soon as possible. Pandit Nehru said that reconstruction of the country was a joint venture and the women should contribute their mite in building up the nation.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Congress President, also addressed the gathering.

Addressing a public meeting at Suratgarh in the evening, Pandit Nehru made a special reference to the women, who formed a considerable part of the gathering and said that he did not like them to see them in the veil.

"This veil is very disgusting to me and it should be discarded soon," he said.

97. To S.R. Das: Building Rabindra Sadan⁸⁵

April 3, 1959

My dear Chief Justice,

Thank you for your letter of April 3 about Rabindra Sadan. I shall speak to Dr. Roy about this, and the Vice-Chancellor of Visva-Bharati is also meeting me tomorrow.

I entirely agree with you that we must start the building and not wait for further funds.

Subbulakshmi⁸⁶ has already agreed to give three concerts—one each in Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi, in aid of this Fund.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

98. To MEA: Permanent Representative at UNESCO⁸⁷

Shrimati Hansa Mehta⁸⁸ came to see me today and spoke to me about the UNESCO which she had attended as one of our delegates. She said that as we had no permanent representative at the UNESCO, it was difficult for us to keep pace with developments there. When the delegation goes at the time of the

85. Letter.

86. M.S. Subbulakshmi, a Carnatic vocalist.

87. Note to SG, FS, CS, 11 April 1959.

88. Wife of Jivraj Mehta; Vice Chancellor, Baroda University, 1949-58; Member, Executive Board, UNESCO, 1958-60.

annual conference, it is out of touch with much that has happened. Unfortunately, our Embassy in Paris does not take much interest in UNESCO activities.

2. She suggested that there might be a Cultural Attache in our Paris Embassy and he should be especially charged with keeping in touch with UNESCO activities. In the alternative, she said an existing officer in our Embassy there should be asked to do this work.

3. She complained also of the choice of delegates sent to the UNESCO. This choice presumably is made by the Education Ministry (or perhaps the Ministry of S.R. & C.A.). She said that the Council for the UNESCO here might be consulted or some members of it should be chosen as delegates.

99. At Saptarishi Ashram: Public Meeting⁸⁹

नेहरू जी का ऐतिहासिक भाषण

गोस्वामी जी,⁹⁰ भाइयो तथा बहिनो!

मैं गोस्वामी जी के निमंत्रण पर यहाँ आया हूँ। पहले भी इस आश्रम में आया था और यहाँ से जाते हुए कुछ देर के लिये यहाँ रुका, लेकिन वायदा पूरा नहीं कर पाया। बहुत सी कथाएँ इस आश्रम के साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं। जिन कथाओं पर लोगों का विश्वास हो वह सही हो जाती हैं। विश्वास ही फल पैदा करता है। गोस्वामी जी के भाषण को सुनकर मैं बड़े पेच में पड़ गया हूँ। मुझे सनातन धर्म सभाओं के जत्सों में बहुत बोलने की आदत नहीं। कई लोगों का कहना है कि मैं धार्मिक व्यक्ति नहीं हूँ। धर्म किसको कहते हैं और किसको नहीं इसमें दा राय हो सकती है मेरा काम करने का तरीका अलग है। पुराना ढंग बदलकर मुझे नए तरीके में चलना होता है। इसे मैं युग धर्म कहता हूँ।

मैं इस मायने में धार्मिक नहीं कि धर्म के काम और झण्डे को लेकर काम करूँ। दुनिया में बहुत से काम करने पड़ते हैं। हर युग में कुछ नये पुराने काम करने पड़ते हैं। युग धर्म वह है जो एक युग में खास कर्तव्य हो। दूसरे किसी युग में उसकी जरूरत हो या न हो। एक आदमी खनगी तौर से युग के खिलाफ चले, लेकिन समाज युग धर्म से भाग नहीं सकता, यदि भागेगा तो दुनिया से पिछड़ जायेगा। जिस तरह वही आदमी तन्दुरुस्त है जो शारीरिक, धार्मिक और आत्मिक रूप में अच्छा हो समाज भी उसी तरह अच्छा हो तो वह ठीक रहता है। समाज का संगठन भी समय-समय पर बदलता है। जो संगठन एक युग में दुरुस्त ही जरूरी नहीं वही

89. Speech at Saptarishi Ashram, Sapta Sarovar, Hardwar, 13 April 1959. Hindi version and translation reproduced from Bhagwati Prasad "Madhav" (ed.) *Goswami Ganesh Dutt Memorial Volume* (Delhi, 1969).

90. Social and religious worker.

संगठन दूसरे युग में ठीक हो। नये युग में जाति भेद का नया रवैय्या नुकसानदेह हो गया। हमारा देश भी बदला है, लेकिन इसमें इतनी तबदीली नहीं आई जितना कि दूसरे देश में। अगर हम यह कहें कि हम बाहर से बदल गये हैं और अन्दर से नहीं बदले तो यह गलत है। बाहर की तबदीली का असर हमारे विचारों पर जरूर पड़ता है। हवाई जहाज में सुर करके हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि हम बैलगाड़ी के युग में रहते हैं। नये और पुराने युग के बीच समझौता नहीं कराया जाय यानी पिछले जमाने को बिलकुल छोड़ दिया जाय तब भी नुकसान होता है। इसी वजह से दुनिया में दिमागी परेशानी फैली हुई है। हर एक व्यक्ति को यह सोचना होगा कि वह काल्हू के बैल की तरह आगे बढ़े वगैर एक चक्कर में ही तो नहीं घूम रहा।

न दबो न दबाओ। हर देश की अपनी-अपनी रीति रिवाज है। हर देश अपने को महत्वपूर्ण समझता है। अपने सम्बंध में सही राय कायम करना मुश्किल हो जाता है। समाज ने अन्धाय करके कई जातियों को दबाया। यह दबने वाले और दबाने वाले दोनों के लिए अन्याय है। अंग्रेज या कोई दूसरा गुलाम रखे तो शासक और शासित दोनों को नुकसान पहुंचता है। नतीजा यह होता है कि आम लोग अपने को नीच समझने लगते हैं और इस तरह नीच बन जाते हैं। कई लोग हमारे पास यह कहने के लिये आते हैं कि हमारा नाम पिछड़ी जातियों की सूची में लिख लीजिए। अपने माथे पर पिछड़ा लिखा लेना अच्छा नहीं लगता। मैं तो बे-सहारा बच्चों के लिए आश्रम का नाम अनाथालय रखने के भी खिलाफ हूँ क्योंकि बच्चे इस तरह अपने को अनाथ समझने लगते हैं। उसका नाम तो बाल भवन जैसा होना चाहिए।

युग बदलता रहता है अगर हम विवेक बुद्धि से काम न लें तो युग निकल जायेगा। गंगा जी को देखिये वह आपके लिये रूकती नहीं, वह आगे निकलती जाती है। देखने में वही नदी बहती है, जो कल भी थी लेकिन जो पानी निकल गया वह फिर कल नहीं होगा। देश वही है मगर जमाना बदलता रहता है। विचारों को जमाने के साथ-साथ बदलना आसान नहीं है। अगर हम अपने दिमाग को एक कोठरी में बन्द रखते तो हमें खुद भी यह दुःख होता कि जमाने ने हमें छोड़ दिया। लेकिन कई सिद्धांत ऐसे हैं जो बाहर से बदलने पर भी अन्दर से नहीं बदलते। पहले मुझे यह फिक्र था कि देश आजाद हो। अब यह धुन सवाल है कि किस तरह गरीबी दूर हो। अगर मैं भी चार, पाँच सौ साल पहले पैदा होता तो कुछ और भी सलाह देता। हालात के साथ-साथ विचार भी बदलते हैं। काम के आर्थिक व्यवस्था के तरीके संगठन के ढाँचे और विचार भी बदलते हैं। लोग कहते हैं कि जवाहरलाल धार्मिक नहीं। मैं अपनी शक्ति के मुताबिक चलने की कोशिश करता हूँ। काम के कई मैदान हैं, काम करने की शक्ति किसी में हो तो मैं उसे काम करने से रोकता नहीं, लेकिन मन को अंधेरी कोठरी में बन्द नहीं करना चाहिए। ऋषियों का मन राजा से भी नहीं डरता था उनमें मानसिक वीरता थी। वह सिर्फ मंत्र ही नहीं रटते थे बल्कि प्रकृति के परदे को फाड़कर सच्चाई को सामने रखते थे। उपनिषद् शब्द का अर्थ भी है पास बैठना और प्रश्न करना। इस प्रकार के प्रश्नोत्तर करने से निष्कर्ष निकलता है वही ज्ञान है। कुछ न करने से गलत काम करना अच्छा है बशर्ते कि शुद्ध भावना से किया जाए। जिसमें यह हिम्मत है उसे मैं धार्मिक मानता हूँ। जिसका न मन चलता है न शरीर उनको

मैं धार्मिक नहीं मानता। धर्म के पर्दे के पीछे बेकार और निकम्मे लोग जमा हो जाएं यह मुझे पसन्द नहीं है। इससे तो उल्टे धर्म की हानि होती है और धर्म बदनाम होता है इसे रोकिये अगर आप रोक सकते हैं। आदमी का काम ही मेरे नजदीक उसके धर्म को नापने का गज है। हमारा चरित्र अच्छा होना चाहिए, यदि ऐसा नहीं होगा तो सारा काम खराब हो जायेगा। मैं तो यह मानता हूँ कि विज्ञान और धर्म एक-दूसरे के साथ समझौता करके ही चल सकते हैं।

अभी कुछ देर पहले संस्कृत विद्यालय का उद्घाटन किया है। संस्कृत अध्ययन की भी विशेष महता है। संस्कृत की सहायता हमारी उन्नति में बड़ी जरूरी चीज है। उसके जरिये संस्कृति ने हजारों वर्षों तक तरक्की की है। सभी भाषाएँ संस्कृत की ही औलाद हैं। अपने देश में संस्कृत का विशेष प्रचार होना चाहिये। हमारे बुजुर्ग संस्कृत को ऊँचा स्थान देते थे। लेकिन बाद में वह जमाना भी आया जबकि संस्कृत की उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिये हमें जर्मनी जाना पड़ा। हमारे यहाँ संस्कृत के विद्वान मौजूद थे लेकिन वह बच्चों को सिद्धांत कौमुदी और लघु-कौमुदी ही रटाते थे। अगर संस्कृत की शिक्षा दुरुस्त तरीके से नहीं दी गई तो इस भाषा की तरक्की की कोई आशा नहीं। ईरान की पुरानी पहलवी भाषा और वैदिक जमाने की संस्कृत में बहुत थोड़ा फर्क है उससे कहीं अधिक तो कालिदास के समय की संस्कृत से अन्तर है।

यह मुश्किल है कि हर शख्त पढ़े। दरअसल बात यह है कि अगर संस्कृत का सम्बन्ध दूसरे शास्त्रों से अलग रहा, तो तरक्की का दौड़ में संस्कृत पिछड़ जायेगी। जरूरत इस बात की है कि लोग इंजीनियरिंग और संस्कृत साथ-साथ पढ़ें। हमारे देश में श्री स्वामी रामतीर्थ बड़े ऊँचे दर्जे के व्यक्ति थे। वैसे ही श्री विवेकानन्द और श्री रामकृष्ण परमहंस थे। उन्होंने लोगों को जगाया और उन्हें वे बातें बताईं जो लोग भूल चुके थे। उस जमाने में अंग्रेजी राज्य का असर इतना ज्यादा था कि लोग हर बात के लिए देश के बाहर की तरफ देखते थे। पहला ऐटम बम 14 वर्ष पहले जापान में फूटा था। उसके जन्मदाता अमेरिका के जर्मन साइंसबेत्ता श्री ऑपेन्हाइमर हैं। अब से 10 साल पहले जब मैं अमेरिका में उनके घर मिलने गया तो उनके घर में संस्कृत भाषा और कहां एटम? उन्होंने बताया कि अमरीका सरकार को उनकी वफादारी पर शक हो गया था। उस वक्त जो बयान उन्होंने अपनी सफाई में दिया। उसमें दिलचस्प बातें मिलती हैं। उसमें लिखा है कि ऐटम बम के फटने के पश्चात् उन्हें गीता के 11वें अध्याय का वह श्लोक याद आया जिसमें भगवान कृष्ण के विराट स्वरूप का वर्णन है। शायद “सहस्र शेषः” वाला श्लोक है। (नेहरू जी इतना कह कर हैंसे) और गीता के शब्दों में उन्हें ऐटम बम के तेज में ऐसा महसूस हुआ जैसे बेशुमार सहस्रों सूर्य एक साथ निकल आये हैं।” विज्ञान और संस्कृत की लड़ाई नहीं एक-दूसरे से सम्बन्ध है। इसे समझने की आवश्यकता है।

आज तिब्बत पर संकट आया है। तिब्बत के लोग युग से पिछड़े हुए हैं। वहाँ से हमारे धार्मिक और सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध गहरे हैं। भारत के हजारों यात्री कैलाश और मानसरोवर की यात्रा करने जाते हैं। तिब्बत के लोग भले हैं लेकिन वह पिछले युग के हैं। समाज का युग से

91. Nehru had referred to this expression earlier at the Indian Science Congress on 21 January 1959. See SWJN/SS/46/p.531.

अलग होना नुकसानदेह है। उनके धर्म गुरु श्री दलाईलामा जी वहाँ से भागकर आये हैं आजकल हमारे अतिथि है। जहाँ तक होगा हम उनकी शान के अनुकूल सत्कार करेंगे। वह बौद्ध धर्म के नेता है जिसका हमारे देश से घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध है। चूँकि वह युग धर्म के अनुकूल अपने को नहीं बना सके, उन्हें अपने देश से भाग कर आना पड़ा। दरअसल परिस्थिति जनता को ढकेल कर नये युग में ला रही है और जब तक धर्म और विज्ञान कदम मिलाकर न चले इस किस्म की घटना होनी स्वाभाविक है। जयहिन्द।

सप्तऋषि आश्रम, सप्तसरोवर

[Translation begins:

A historic speech

13-4-1959

Goswamiji,⁹² Bhaiyon aur Bahon,

I have come here at the invitation of Goswamiji. I have come to this ashram before this and wanted to stop for a while on the way back but could not fulfil my promise. Many legends are attached to this ashram. The legends which inspire faith in the people became reality. It is faith which produces results. Goswamiji's speech has put me in a dilemma. I am not in the habit of speaking at religious gatherings. People say that I am not a religious person. There can be two opinions about what religion is. My method of working is different. I have to adapt to the modern world. I call it yuga dharma.

I am not religious in the sense that I do not carry a religious flag around or propagate some religion. There are many tasks waiting to be done. There are certain old and new tasks to be performed in every age. But each age has its own special demands which is known as yuga dharma. They may not necessarily be relevant in other ages. An individual can set his face against the demands of the times he lives in but a society as a whole cannot escape its demands because if it does, it becomes backward. Just as in the case of an individual, to be healthy, a society too has to have certain physical, religious and spiritual values. The social organisation too has to change from time to time. A structure which is relevant in one age does not necessarily remain so in another. In the modern age, the caste system has become pernicious. India too has changed a little but not as much as other countries have. To say that we have changed outwardly but not from within is wrong. Outward changes do have an impact on our thinking and outlook. When we travel by aeroplane, we cannot stubbornly cling to the bullock-cart age. It would be harmful not to create a synthesis between

92. See fn 90 in this section.

the past and the present or to give up everything from our past. This is the reason for the intellectual dilemma of our past. This is the reason for the intellectual dilemma of our times. Every individual has to examine his conscience to see if he continues to be in a rut without progressing an inch.

We must neither suppress others nor allow ourselves to be suppressed. Every nation has its own customs and traditions. Every nation has a sense of its own importance. It is always difficult to be objective about oneself. Our society has oppressed many sections of people unjustly. It was unjust to both the oppressed and the oppressor. When the British or some other nation enslaved other nations it was harmful both to the ruler and the ruled. The result is that the masses develop an inferiority complex and gradually become downtrodden. People often come to us asking that their names be included in the list of backward classes. It is not a good thing for anyone to stick a label of backwardness on oneself. I am even against naming children's homes as orphanages because the children think of themselves as orphans. They must be named Bal Bhawan or something that.

Times change and unless we are wise, we will lag behind. Take the Ganges, for instance. It does not stop for anyone but keeps flowing ever onwards. It seems the same as ever but the waters that flow are never the same. India is the same but times keep changing. It is not easy to change one's outlook with the times. If we imprison our minds in a cage, the times will pass us by. But there are many principles and ideals which do not change intrinsically inspite of outward changes.

In the past, I wanted that India should get freedom. Now I am obsessed with the thought of eradicating India's poverty. If I had been born some centuries ago, my counsel would have been different. Ideas change with circumstances. So also do the ideas on the structure of economic organisation. People say that Jawaharlal is not religious. I try to do what I can. Work can be done in many fields and I am not stopping anyone who has the capacity to do something. But one's thinking must not be shrouded in darkness. In the olden days the sagas were not afraid even of the King because they had mental courage. They did not believe in chanting mantras by rote but had the courage to search for truth in the hidden mysteries of nature.

Upanishad means to sit near someone, to question. The conclusions drawn from such question-answer session were the essence of wisdom. It is better to make mistakes than to sit idle provided the intention is good. I consider those who have the courage to do this as religious. I do not consider the physically and mentally indolent ones to be religious. I do not like the idea of useless, good-for nothing people taking shelter behind the cloak of religion. That does harm to religion and earns a bad name for it. You must prevent that from

happening if you can. The only yardstick I have of judging a man's religion is his work. One's character should be without blemish for otherwise everything is spoilt. I believe that science and religion have to come to an understanding with one another to coexist.

A little while ago, the Sanskrit school was inaugurated. The study of Sanskrit has a special significance. Sanskrit can help a great deal in our progress. It is through the medium of Sanskrit that Indian culture has evolved over thousands of years. All Indian languages are off-shoots of Sanskrit. Therefore the study of Sanskrit must be given a filip. Our ancestors gave Sanskrit a place of pride. But then came a time when we had to go to Germany for higher studies in Sanskrit. There were Sanskrit scholars in India but they stopped with making children learn the *Siddhanta Kaumudi* and *Laghu Kaumudi* by rote. If Sanskrit education is not imparted properly, there is no hope of its progress. The differences between the ancient Pahlavi language of Iran and Vedic Sanskrit are far less than the latter and the Sanskrit of the times of Kalidasa.

It is difficult for everyone to know Sanskrit. The fact of the matter is that if Sanskrit is divorced from other languages, it will lag behind in the march of progress. What is required is that people should learn engineering and Sanskrit side by side. There have been great souls like Shri Ram Tirtha, Swami Vivekananda and Ramakrishna Paramahansa in India. They created an awareness among the people of long-forgotten values. That was at a time when under the influence of British rule we looked to the west for everything. The first atom bomb was dropped over Japan just 14 years ago. It was the brain-child of America's German scientist, Oppenheimer. Ten years ago when I went to his house in the United States, I found that he had an excellent collection of books in Pali and Sanskrit. Just imagine, Pali, Sanskrit language and the atom. He said that he was beginning to have doubts about the sincerity of the American Government. There are certain interesting bits of information in the statement he issued in his own defence. He has said that when the atom bomb exploded, he was reminded of the stanza in the 11th chapter of the Gita in which there is a description of Lord Krishna's cosmic form. I think it is the stanza about Sahastra Shesh. The detonation of the bomb was, in the words of the Gita, like the appearance of millions of suns together.⁹³ It must be understood clearly that there is no conflict but a close link between science and Sanskrit.

Today trouble has descended upon Tibet. The people of Tibet have been backward for centuries. We have deep religious and cultural affinity with Tibet. Indian pilgrims go in thousands to Kailash and Mansarovar. The people of

93. See fn 91 in this section.

Tibet are good but live in the past. It is harmful for a society to divorce itself from the times. The Tibetan religious head, Shri Dalai Lama has fled from Tibet and is our guest at the moment. We will give him all hospitality befitting an honoured guest. He is the religious head of Buddhism which has close links with India. Since he could not mould himself to suit the times, he has had to flee his country. As a matter of fact, today circumstances are propelling the masses into a new age and until religion and science march in step, it is natural that such events should occur. Jai Hind!

100. To Humayun Kabir: Protected Monuments⁹⁴

April 20, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of April 20.⁹⁵ I am equally anxious that every care should be taken of protected monuments. At the same time, I feel that such monuments should not become purely museum pieces. They should be easily accessible to the people, and the people should feel that they are theirs and not merely belonging to some Government office. There is always a tendency in India for Government and officials to function as a class apart and superior to the public. I dislike this tendency.

As for your suggestions, I agree generally to them. More specifically,

(a) I agree.

(b) I agree, with the proviso that there may be occasions when some kind of a public function, properly sponsored, may be allowed to be held there. This will, of course, be with the permission of the Department of Archaeology. Food should generally not be allowed to be served there, though perhaps cool drinks might be permitted.

(c) I agree, but I can conceive of some other functions under responsible sponsorship being permitted there.

(d) I agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

94. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

95. See Appendix 13, pp. 592-594.

101. To Humayun Kabir: Archaeological Excavation at Balkh⁹⁶

April 21, 1959

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 21st April about exploration work on the site of Balkh. I remember the talk I had with Mortimer Wheeler.⁹⁷

I am rather reluctant, at this time of terrible pressures on us from various directions, to encourage an expedition to Balkh on our own.⁹⁸ This will cost us money, of course, which we can ill spare, and I do not know how far you have adequate personnel for it. I should imagine that there is plenty of exploring work to be done in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

102. To M.J. Desai: Documentary on Kashmir⁹⁹

I do not think we can deal with good artists in this way.¹⁰⁰ Rajbans Khanna¹⁰¹ is capable of producing first class and imaginative films. Therefore, we should not be too strict with him. If the film is good, then every other difficulty should be got over. I would be prepared, within reason, to trust Rajbans Khanna's judgment of the artistic value of the film. But perhaps it is better, as you suggest, for the rough-cut of the film to be seen, and then we can consider the matter.

96. File No. 40(92)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

97. Robert Eric Mortimer Wheeler, British archaeologist.

98. There was a proposal to send a joint Indo-British expedition for the archaeological explorations on the site of the city of Balkh in Afghanistan.

99. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 22 April 1959. File No. 63-KU/57, Vol-I, pp. 48-49/Note, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

100. In his note of 19 April 1959, M. J. Desai recounted the history of Rajbans Khanna's commission for a documentary on Kashmir. Khanna, in his eagerness to take up this contract, had miscalculated costs and wanted more funds. M.J. Desai suggested that Vishnu Sahay, with assistance from officials of MEA and Information and Broadcasting, should examine the "rough-cut" of the documentary first, given his expertise and previous knowledge of the Films Division film on Kashmir.

101. Filmmaker; directed the documentary *Gotoma the Buddha* ; produced by Bimal Roy and released by GOI, the film was well received at the Cannes film festival in 1957.

Surely, everything depends on the quality of the film and not on the time element or other elements.

(h) Science and Technology

103. At Karaikudi: Public Meeting¹⁰²

Dr. Doss¹⁰³ and friends,

It is inevitable that when I come here today I am reminded of my last visit nearly eleven years ago, when I came to lay the foundation stone of this Institute.¹⁰⁴

I remember that this place was practically without any buildings, no open space, not very inviting to look about it and a very large crowd gathered. I have still a big picture of the thousands of people that gathered on that occasion.

Then I am reminded that I said something to the effect that I hoped that this will be a centre of scientific and educational activities that would grow round it. Well. Today, I have come nearly eleven years later to find what I had hoped for largely realised—more than realised—Mr Subramaniam says. (Applause)

Well, I congratulate you and all those who helped in this realisation, and I should like to pay my tribute to Dr Alagappa Chettiar¹⁰⁵ who, with his enthusiasm and spirit of adventure started this tremendous undertaking which has grown and which will no doubt continue to grow.

So, it is really not only a pleasure but heartening experience to see these visible symbols, of fairly rapid growth in a direction which I think is of vital significance to our country—scientific research and the like. Possibly, when some kind of balance sheet is struck by the historians in later years and they try to find what has been achieved in India during these early years after Independence, there will be many things of course, but possibly, the development of science and technology will find a very high place, education generally and

102. Speech at Central Electrochemical Research Institute, Karaikudi, 16 April 1959. File No. 9/8/59-PMS.

103. Dr. K. S. G. Doss (b. 1906); Physical Chemist; Professor of Sugar Chemistry and Officiating Director, Indian Institute of Sugar Technology, Kanpur, 1943-57; Deputy Director-in-Charge, Central Electrochemical Research Institute, Karaikudi, 1957-58 and its Director from 1958.

104. On 25 July 1948. See SWJN/SS/7/pp. 472-474.

105. Alagappa Chettiar, a barrister and an industrialist, had donated 300 acres of land and Rs. 15 lakhs for establishing this Institute.

more specially the science and technology. The great Laboratories, Institutes, etc., we have built continue to grow where thousands of young scientists, men and women, I am glad to say, are working.

I can say with confidence that the calibre of these young scientists of ours is high and recognised as such whenever they have gone abroad, they have created a considerable amount of impression.

Now this kind of thing may not produce spectacular results suddenly. But this is a stone of foundation for national progress and national well-being, more than almost anything else that we might do. Therefore, I feel heartened and happy to have come here and seen this growth during these ten years or more since I came here last.

To our younger scientists, more particularly, I would say that it should be their high pride and privilege to be working in these Institutes and working not merely as a kind of profession but working in these domains where they joining together two very important aspects—one is the probing into the secrets of nature, joy of discovery, joy of finding out new things, search for truth and the other, the effect of catering that all to the services of our motherland.

Surely there can be no greater joy than these two when they join together inseparably. It is a great thing. It should bring that sense of fulfillment to a person, which is often lacking among people even though they may succeed in various ventures.

So, I congratulate you on what has been achieved and more so I look forward to bigger achievements in the future. Thank you.

104. To Humayun Kabir: No Named Donation¹⁰⁶

I do not at all like the idea of this proposal from Shri E.J. Somaiya. I am opposed to persons who give relatively small donations insisting on their names being attached to the institute. Indeed, I do not like these names to be attached anyhow even though the donation is a large one.

2. Several of the other conditions made will also be objectionable. I need not go into the details. I think that the proposal as a whole cannot be accepted by us.

3. We are anxious to start technical institutes, but it has to be done in a planned way as such institutions are to be properly distributed all over India. The mere fact that some offers some more money is no part of our planning.

106. Note, 21 April 1959.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) China and Tibet

105. In the Lok Sabha: Tibet¹

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must express my deep regret for my absence yesterday from the House as I had gone out of Delhi.² Since my return this morning, I have tried to get myself acquainted with what happened in the House by reading the official report. I have not read any newspaper yet. I do not know what the newspapers say. I think the official report would naturally be more reliable. I must say, reading them, although I got the drift of what happened, I sensed that much of what happened, yesterday was—I wish to say nothing disrespectful—an exhibition of a certain lack of restraint, if I may say so, and certain strong feelings which came in the way really, of the consideration of the matter that was placed before you or before the House.³

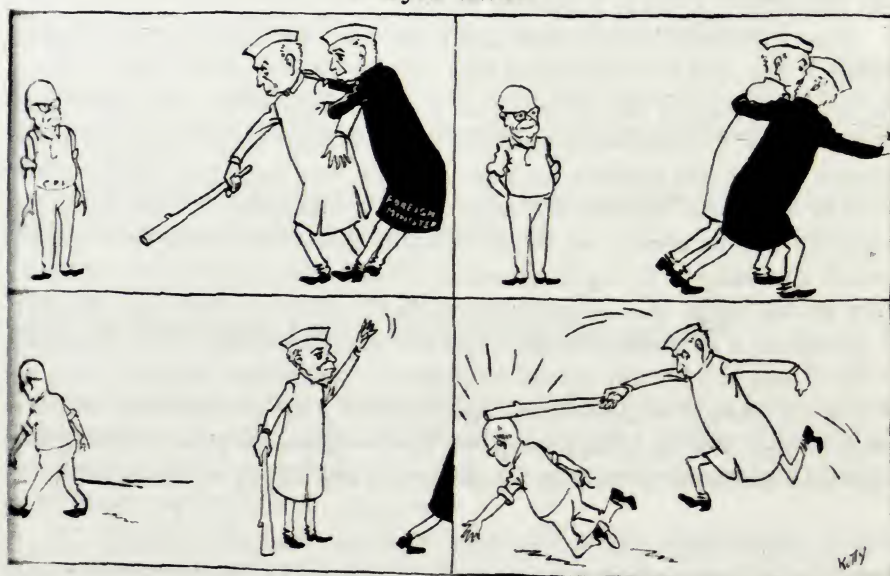
Now, the matter is important and I can very well understand the strong feelings; the matter is important not because of the one or two or more adjournment motions that were moved here but because of what lies behind those motions. It is that which has led to strong feelings in the House and in the country. The actual motions were perhaps not very important but the other thing is important. Because the other thing is important, it is all the more necessary that we should not be led away by relatively extraneous or minor matters into doing or saying things which affect the other major things at issue. They are big things at issue and in that matter I cannot say that every Member of this House is of identical opinion. But I do think that nearly all the Members of this House will broadly agree—I imagine so and anyhow whether we agree or not, we have to realise—the importance of what is happening and the consequences of what is happening. We have to shape our policy keeping full regard, naturally, the first things, for the honour and dignity and the interests of

1. Motion for adjournment on the Chinese Embassy's release of an article in the *People's Daily*, 2 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII, cols 9268-9283.
2. Nehru had gone to Bikaner and Suratgarh.
3. The adjournment motion by R. K. Khadilkar on the *People's Daily* editorial on Kalimpong as a "centre of collusion with imperialism..." on 31 March and the CPI statement of 31 March 1959 justifying Chinese allegations following the conflict in Tibet, the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa and political asylum in India.

India: secondly, the honour and dignity of the causes for which we stand. Also, we must remember that when conflicts arise which lead to a certain degree of passion on various sides, one has to be particularly careful, especially this honourable House whose word go out to the ends of the earth. We have to be particularly careful at a moment of difficulty such as this, that we function and we say whatever we have to say with dignity and, as I ventured to say last time, wisdom.⁴ That does not mean moderating any policy. We follow the policy which the House will ultimately agree to.

Now, Sir, the two matters, as far as I can gather, that were raised yesterday in two adjournment motions were a statement issued by the Communist Party of India and the circulation of an article in the *People's Daily* of Peking, circulation presumably by an agency attached to the Chinese Embassy here. Those were the two matters, if I am not mistaken.

Delayed Action



Criticising the C.P.I.'s stand on events in Tibet, the Prime Minister told his press conference that earlier in Parliament he had 'deliberately suppressed' himself to avoid adding to the heat of the cold war.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 APRIL 1959)

4. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 469-479.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, they are the two matters.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Before I deal with them, may I, Sir, mention one thing. Perhaps you have, Sir, another adjournment motion today. I have received notice of it and I do not know whether you have been pleased to consider it, but I might also deal with that adjournment motion. There is an adjournment motion—there are two in fact—asking me, first of all, as to whether there is any truth that the Chinese authorities have expressed a wish to search the premises of Indian Mission in Tibet or asked us to vacate those premises. Now, here is an instance of every rumour, which are appearing in newspapers in great abundance, affecting the people and being brought into the House by way of an adjournment motion or some other motion. There is no truth in this at all. Nobody has asked us to vacate our premises.⁵ Nobody has asked to search our Missions abroad. But everything comes in the shape of adjournment motion or asking me to make a statement. It is very difficult to keep pace with the amount of statements which are appearing in the press now, coming chiefly from Kalimpong or Hong Kong—those appear to be the two sources of information. Anyhow, there is no truth in that.

Then, again, there was another adjournment motion asking me whether it is true that the Chinese Embassy sent for a top leader of the Communist Party of India to discuss various matters with them. Now, how am I to know, Sir? I do not. I have no information on the subject. I can say nothing.

Another matter—it is not the subject of an adjournment motion, I think I was asked to make a statement on it—is the visit, as it is said, of a group of Tibetans to me a day or two ago. Now, day before yesterday a large number, about 125 people, came to visit me. Normally speaking, Sir, every morning in my house a few hundred people come. It is an open door more or less. Large numbers of peasants, students and others come because, unfortunately, I am supposed to be one of the sights of Delhi.

Anyhow, about these 125 people they said they had come to Delhi and wanted to pay their respects to me. I said, certainly come. The great majority of them were Indian nationals, chiefly from Darjeeling, Kalimpong and those northern areas. Some were from Calcutta, that is to say, Indian nationals of Tibetan origin representing some associations in Calcutta, Banaras, Kalimpong and others. There were also a few, I forget how many, people from Tibet proper who had gathered here some days ago. They came. We had no discussion. They

5. See also Appendix in SWJN/SS/47/p. 596.

did give me a paper, a kind of a memorandum which I took, and then I bade goodbye to them. That is all that happened.⁶

Coming to the two matters which were referred to yesterday, one was the statement of the Communist Party of India. Now, I have, naturally, endeavoured to get a copy of that statement and read it carefully. I presume that it is a correct copy that I have. I have no reason to doubt its correctness, but I cannot guarantee that.

Mr. Speaker: I have been given an alternative copy. If there is any difference I will point out.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I am not going to read it, Sir, but I take it that I have a correct copy. I have read it carefully and, if I may express my own opinion about it, the whole background of the statement is not one with which I would agree. I do not agree with it. There are certain slants with which I do not agree. But the question before us, I take it, is not whether we agree with the statement or the start given in that statement or not, but rather, if any great impropriety has been committed by the issue of that statement. I am not myself quite clear how, normally speaking, if a statement is issued by a political party outside that statement becomes the subject matter of an adjournment motion in this House. It is not clear to me. Of course, each case depends upon the content but, broadly speaking,—whether one agrees with the statement or disagrees is a completely different matter—political parties sometimes attack each other, criticise each other, or say something which another party may consider very objectionable. But, nevertheless, it is not clear to me how this matter can be raised by way of an adjournment motion.

6. According to *The Hindu* report of 1 April 1959, the deputation consisting of two groups met Nehru on 31 March 1959. They were persons of Tibetan origin living in India, led by T. Lawang, President of the Association of Tibetan Indians in Kalimpong; and Tibetan nationals led by Lukhangwa, the former Tibetan Prime Minister. They wanted India (i) to ensure the personal safety of the Dalai Lama; (ii) to send a medical mission to Tibet with Red Cross support; (iii) to sponsor the Tibetan cause before the United Nations and help the Tibetans themselves to represent their case; and (iv) to permit Tibetan refugees to enter India freely. Nehru replied that "India was in no position to intervene in Tibet and in fact would not like to take any step which might aggravate the situation there" and that he hoped that the "present difficulties in Tibet would end peacefully."

Now, it has been stated that it was raised because this statement challenged the bona fides of what I had said two days before about Kalimpong.⁷ I have read the statement carefully. What I would say is this, that it does not precisely and explicitly do that. But it does certainly throw a hint that what I might have said, whether through mis-information or otherwise, might not be correct, so that I do not quite know what to do about it.

I shall repeat and, perhaps, a little more fully than I did previously, what I said about Kalimpong. You will remember, Sir, that in certain statements issued by the Chinese Government Kalimpong was referred to as the Commanding Centre of the Tibetan rebellion, and I said this was not true at all, and the External Affairs Ministry had also denied this. At the same time, I had said that I have often said that Kalimpong has been a centre of trouble.

Kalimpong, Sir, has been often described as a nest of spies, spies of innumerable nationalities, not one, spies from Asia, spies from Europe, spies from America, spies of Communists, spies of anti-Communists, red spies, white spies, blue spies, pink spies and so on. Once a knowledgeable person who knew something about this matter and was in Kalimpong actually said to me, though no doubt it was a figure of speech, that there were probably more spies in Kalimpong than the rest of the inhabitants put together. That is an exaggeration. But it has become that in the last few years, especially in the last seven or eight years. As Kalimpong is more or less perched near the borders of India, and since the developments in Tibet some years ago since a change took place there, it became of great interest to all kinds of people outside India, and many people have come here in various guises, sometimes as technical people, sometimes as bird watchers, sometimes as geologists, sometimes as journalists and sometimes with some other purpose, just to admire the natural scenery, and so they all seem to find an interest; the main object of their interest, whether it is bird watching or something else, was round about Kalimpong.

Naturally we have taken interest in this. We have to. While I cannot say that we know exactly everything that took place there, broadly we do know and we have repeatedly taken objection to those persons concerned or to their Embassies we have pointed this out and we have in the past even hinted that some people had better remove themselves from there, and they have removed themselves. This has been going on for the last few years so that there is no doubt that so far as Kalimpong is concerned there has been a deal of espionage and counter-espionage and a complicated game of chess by various nationalities and various numbers of spies and counter-spies there. No doubt a person with

7. For Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha, see SWJN/SS/47/pp. 477-478.

the ability to write fiction of this kind will find Kalimpong an interesting place for some novel of that type.

Shri Nath Pai:⁸ What is the Home Ministry doing about it? It seems to be absolutely ineffective.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The Home Ministry or the External Affairs Ministry are not at all worried about the situation.

Shri Hem Barua: They allow the spies to carry on espionage?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Absolutely yes, first of all, because when we suspect a person of espionage we keep a watch over him. If he does something patently wrong we take action, but there are certain limitations in the law, as the House very well knows, and we cannot function merely because we suspect somebody; and we have taken action in the past in regard to some people.

Shri P.N. Singh:⁹ In how many cases action has been taken?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot say that—actions of various types, as I said. Now, about this particular matter, the statement by the Chinese Government, please remember the statement, “this was the commanding centre of Tibetan rebellion.” I cannot say—how can I—that nobody in Kalimpong has indulged in espionage against the Chinese Government or against any other Government. I cannot say. Somebody whispers something to somebody else’s ear. But I did repudiate and I repudiate today that to say that Kalimpong has been the commanding centre gives it a place in this matter which is, I think, completely untrue.

Now, in the past several years—and I said so on the last occasion—the Chinese Government has drawn our attention to what they said were activities in the Kalimpong area, that is, activities aimed against them. And repeatedly we have made enquiries; apart from our normal enquiries we have made special enquiries. I say this because I find that in the Communist party’s statement we are asked to have an investigation. In so far as espionage activities are concerned we have investigated them several times. One cannot investigate these activities in any other way except through intelligence methods. That is being done. We

8. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Rajapur, Bombay.

9. Socialist, Lok Sabha MP from Chandauli, UP.

have fairly full reports about it. I have got—I need not go into it—a fairly full note as to when the protest came from the Chinese Government. Three or four years ago it was mentioned to me and it was mentioned to our Ambassador some years ago, and we enquired and we took action. Sometimes we found that their protests or the facts that they stated did not have any particular basis. They would say, for instance, that an organisation in Kalimpong was doing something or other. We found there was no such organisation in Kalimpong at all. There were organisations there; there were of course people in Kalimpong. Everybody knows that. There are some emigrants from Tibet. There are old Tibetans, that is to say, who have been there for a generation or more, but whose feelings may be against the Chinese Government. That is so; there is no doubt about it, and we cannot do anything about it but we did make it perfectly clear to them in accordance with our normal policy that they must not indulge in any propagandist activities and much less, of course, in any subversive activities.

In the nature of things they could not do much even if they wanted to intimate except perhaps—I cannot guarantee that—occasionally send a message or receive a message. It is very difficult to stop that but that is on a very small scale. They could not do very much in India except again to whisper something in somebody's ears. That I cannot stop. They may have whispered something here and there. But it is obvious to me that they could not do much and they did not. Once or twice a certain leaflet was issued, certain document; somebody issued it. The moment it was issued we took action. We tried to trace it and we told them that that must not have been done. This has happened on three or four occasions. Again I repeat, we were charged with—it was said that Kalimpong was a commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion. I denied that statement and I further said that apart from the last few years when there has occasionally been a paper or a leaflet or occasionally somebody in Kalimpong has perhaps met somebody else, privately and not publicly—that can always take place—and more particularly in the last five or six months, more particularly I might say since we received the last protest from the Chinese Government—I think the last was early in August last year—we took particular care to enquire again and we had no complaints since then. So, even if some activities took place there by some people there previously they were of a relatively small nature except of course contacts, and what can we say about contacts in a place which, as I said, is so full of spies—there may be contacts, somebody meeting somebody. But in the last six months, we have taken particular care, and we have had no cause to think that any such action or activities had taken place there. I cannot conceive that Kalimpong could be—it has been described by the Chinese Government as the commanding centre—a commanding centre

with the Indian Government not knowing about it. It is quite inconceivable to me. Some odd message can go or come and that is possible, but it cannot be, and to imagine that the Tibetan rebellion was organised from Kalimpong does seem to me a statement which cannot be justified.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:¹⁰ Did the Chinese Government in August complain that somebody was organising a rebellion from there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. Not that. They did not talk about rebellion. But so far as our records go, the first mention of it was made informally to us in 1956-57 when Premier Chou En-lai came here and it was mentioned to me and I replied that our policy was that we did not wish our soil—Indian soil—to be used for any subversive activities against a friendly country.¹¹ But I also pointed out that there were obvious limitations under our law to take action on the basis of suspicion, and I requested his Government to supply us with special cases and that we would immediately enquire and take action if necessary. Then a year and a half later, the same matter was mentioned to our Ambassador in Peking. At that time a photostat copy of a pamphlet which has been circulated in Kalimpong was sent to us. This was about 15 or 16 months ago, i.e., in January 1958. There is no doubt about it, that that pamphlet was anti-Chinese. But on enquiry and examination, we found that there was no such association as had been described in that pamphlet and the pamphlet itself, as a matter of fact, was two years old and has been issued in autumn of 1956—some ancient pamphlet which they have got. That pamphlet was a bad one from our point of view too but some bogus name was given and somebody had issued it there. There were, in fact, two associations in Kalimpong—one Tibetan Association, which has been in existence for 25 years and odd and the other, the Indo-Tibetan Association brought into being in 1954. The office-bearers of either of these associations were prominent emigrants, but neither of these associations was supposed to be engaged in political activities. In July 1958, the Foreign Office in Peking presented a memorandum protesting against the use of Kalimpong area as a base for subversive and disruptive activities and five points were mentioned.¹² Some names of persons were given. We immediately enquired into the activities of all those persons and we made detailed reports.¹³ We found

10. RSP, Lok Sabha MP from Berhampore, West Bengal.

11. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 596-598, 605, 612-613, 616.

12. See Appendix 1, pp. 562-564.

13. See Appendix 2, pp. 565-568.

that no doubt those persons held views which might be said to be anti-Chinese, but we could not get any information of any activity, propagandist or subversive. The charge was made that they were in collusion with the United States and with the Kuomintang authorities of Formosa or their representatives. Some of the prominent emigrants in Kalimpong had previously been in the United States and had lived there for some time. And no doubt, they had their contacts there. We had no doubt about their views about it. But we have made it clear to them, even when they settled down in India, that we do not wish Indian soil to be used for any subversive activities. Once when some letter or something was sent, we particularly looked into it. And again all these six persons who had been named in the Chinese Government's note were given specific warnings on the 14th of August through the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, and to our knowledge, since that date, they have not done so. But as I said, I cannot guarantee any secret thing.

There are three organisations mentioned in the Chinese note, viz, the Tibetan Freedom League, the Kalimpong-Tibetan Welfare Conference and the Buddhist Association which were alleged to be engaged in collecting intelligence from Tibet. We could not trace any of these three organisations, and so far as we know, they are not in existence. Two other ones which I have mentioned previously were in existence and, so far as we know, engaged in non-political activities.

Shri M.P. Mishra:¹⁴ How did the Chinese get the information?
(Interruptions.)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The third objection in the Chinese note was to the reactionary views of a monthly called the *Tibetan Mirror*,¹⁵ which is edited by an Indian national of Ladakhi origin.¹⁶ As a matter of fact, we issued a warning

14. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Begusarai, Bihar.

15. The *Tibet Mirror*, also known as *Tibetan Mirror*, the Tibetan name being Yul Chog So Soi Sar Gyur Me-long (Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long), was launched in October 1925 in Kalimpong and continued until 1963.

16. Gergan Dorje Tsering Tharchin (1890-1976); born in Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh; taught Tibetan at Kalimpong; visited Yatung and Lhasa several times, mostly to study Tibetan; opened a primary school on the Indian model in Gyantse, 1921; published and edited the *Tibet Mirror*, October 1925-1963; encouraged and popularised Tibetan lay literature; worked for spread of Tibetan language and literature; advocated Tibetan independence. (Courtesy: Ngawang Yeshe, General Secretary, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Gangchen Kyishong, Dharamsala -176215, Himachal Pradesh.)

to the editor, but we pointed out to the Chinese that many newspapers in India were far more anti-Government, i.e., anti-Government of India, and we could not and did not take any legal action against them.

Shri Tyagi:¹⁷ Peking must be inspiring them.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: A statement was further made in the Chinese note that agents and saboteurs were sent into Tibet and arms were smuggled and dispatched to the rebels. But no evidence was given and we are not aware of a single case. It is not an easy matter to cross the border between India and Tibet. Nobody can guarantee an individual perhaps going across, but to take arms, etc., was exceedingly difficult, practically impossible, without our knowledge.

Then the Chinese Government protested against agents of the Kuomintang operating in Kalimpong, particularly one gentleman whose name was given. We enquired into this matter . . .

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy:¹⁸ May I ask whether all these details are necessary?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I thought they were not necessary; I agree with the hon. Member. But this matter has been discussed at such considerable length and warmth. We found that this gentleman who had been named had been in Calcutta two years earlier and had presumably returned, because we could not trace him.

Another note was presented to us by the Chinese Ambassador on the 4th August—that was in July, the previous month—drawing our attention to the setting up of a committee in Kalimpong, for giving support to resistance against violence, by the Tibetan reactionaries and that this committee was forcing people into support of the signature campaign, and also drawing attention to the alleged meeting of 15 aristocrats wanting to make an appeal for support for Tibet.¹⁹ We enquired into this matter and we gave him our reply that so far as the leaders were concerned, we had already warned them.

The House will see that all this took place in August and there has been to our knowledge nothing which we could have called objectionable, except private expression of opinion—that we cannot guarantee—during this period. Therefore, I venture to say that, in spite of the presence of people in Kalimpong to whom

17. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehra Dun, UP (now Uttarakhand).

18. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kendrapara, Orissa.

19. See Appendix 3, pp. 568-569.

the Chinese Government might object, because they were opposed to Chinese Government's policy, and all kinds of other peoples—spies indulging in espionage and counter-espionage—I cannot concede how these minor activities could be made the basis of a statement that Kalimpong was the commanding centre of the Tibetan rebellion.

Shri Khadilkar: I would like to know one thing. We have heard so many notes that we have received regarding Kalimpong from Chinese Government. As he mentioned, in 1956, when Mr. Chou En-lai was here and when, fortunately or unfortunately, the Dalai Lama was here, he was reluctant to leave this country and asked for a sanctuary. Through the intervention of our Prime Minister who called Mr. Chou En-lai and an assurance was given that no repressive measures would be taken by the local Chinese command, and on that specific assurance, he returned. The Prime Minister promised that he would pay a visit soon to Tibet.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What the hon. Member has said is not at all correct, not at all. There is no question of my getting an assurance from Premier Chou En-lai or his giving it or my asking for it. No such question arose at all. There was a question whether the Dalai Lama should visit Kalimpong or not. It was in that connection that that was said. Naturally, we were anxious about the Dalai Lama's security when he went to Kalimpong or anywhere. We discussed this with Premier Chou En-lai and ultimately the Dalai Lama decided to go there. We had informed the people—the Tibetans and people of Tibetan origin in Kalimpong that they will have to behave when the Dalai Lama went there. They did it when he went there.²⁰ So, there is no question of assurance and all that. I do not know from where the hon. Member got all that.

Shri Khadilkar: This information is from "*Thought*."

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would not say anything against that periodical but I can say this particular information is completely basically untrue. I cannot say; one or two sentences might be true; I have not seen it—but most of the rest of it is untrue.

Shri Sadhan Gupta:²¹ It is only a thought.

20. See SWJN/SS/36/pp. 597-603.

21. CPI, Lok Sabha MP from Calcutta-East, West Bengal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Coming to the statement issued by the...

Shri Mohammed Imam:²² I would like a clarification. Is it because there were anti-Chinese activities at Kalimpong by the spies, is it this thing that provoked the Chinese to occupy Tibet?

Mr. Speaker: That does not arise.

Shri Tyagi: It is another thought.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Presumably, the spies came afterwards.

About the article in the *People's Daily* of Peking, first of all, it is not for us to object to any article that appears in a newspaper in Peking. Obviously, if we started objecting—we may disagree with them; there are many articles in the world press with which we are not in agreement; some are even very censorious of India or Indian policy—we can answer them. The only point is whether the circulation of that article here was proper or improper. That is it. Now, I should like to point out that article appeared in Peking well before they could have had any report of my statement here. It took two days for it to come across here. But when it appeared in Peking it had no relation to my statement. It appeared, I cannot say the exact time but probably some time or a few hours before. They could not have had it. But even if they had it, they have every right to do what they like as they can.

Now, about the Embassy circulating papers, a question was raised here of, shall I say, breach of diplomatic privilege. There is no such thing. It depends, of course, on how it is done. But reproducing a newspaper article in their own country can certainly not be thought of in that light. It may be an impropriety, it may not be the right thing to do. It is very difficult to draw the line. We have throughout been trying to impress on the various embassies here that we do not approve of the cold war being brought into India. That is, articles being circulated here, attacking apart from India other countries, in that sense. And, on the whole, I would say we have succeeded, not completely; but I must say the foreign embassies here have been good enough to avoid doing many things which I find they are doing in other countries in regard to the cold war attitude. Now, I do not wish to mention countries, but I may mention one country. If the articles that have often appeared in the Pakistan newspapers were circulated here frequently, well, we would not approve it, and in fact, we have not in the past

22. J. Mohammad Imam, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Chitaldurg, Mysore.

approved it, because sometimes we consider these articles very objectionable. We cannot stop them. But surely they should not be circulated by an Embassy here. I have given one instance. I can give many other instances. This is an instance of the very regrettable cold war between Pakistan and India. But in the bigger sphere of the cold war in the world many articles appear which use the strongest language in attacking the other country. We try not to have them circulated here. Well, the foreign embassies have been good enough to cooperate with us in this matter. In this particular matter, as I said, it is anybody's opinion whether this was a very proper thing to do or an improper thing to do, although I would like to draw attention to the actual phrase of it to which objection has perhaps been taken. It is slightly different from the phraseology in the Chinese Government's reference to Kalimpong. Here it says the reactionaries in Tibet, etc., "utilising Kalimpong, which is in a foreign land, as a centre for collusion with imperialism," slightly different from saying that Kalimpong is the commanding centre of collusion. Maybe, that may be explained by saying that somebody met somebody and whispered and, as such, that is collusion certainly.²³

I am merely putting various aspects of this matter. It is an unsavoury matter altogether. But I want the House to deal with this matter with dignity and restraint, because behind all these minor matters lie much bigger matters which we have to face today, tomorrow and the day after, and we should not allow ourselves to be diverted from that major and difficult issue by relatively minor issues.

23. To a question in the Rajya Sabha why the Chinese Government was not told directly, Nehru replied on 20 April 1959: "There is no particular reason. When the time comes, it will be done in the course of other statements. This originally was a fact mentioned in a Chinese statement, which was published in the Chinese press, I think, and an answer was given by me in the Lok Sabha. And later I elaborated upon it and I pointed out then the differences between spies functioning in a place and calling it a centre of the rebellion in Tibet. There is a great deal of difference. I do not deny that there are spies in Kalimpong. In fact, I presume it is the Chinese intelligence agents, who are there that send them these reports."

106. To Rajendra Prasad: Foreign Policy Restraint²⁴

April 2, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st April.

The course you suggest for us to take would mean our breaking diplomatic relations with China almost immediately, with all the consequences that flow from it. I do not think that would be advisable. As a matter of fact, the statements I have made in Parliament have clearly shown where our sympathies lie. The next few days are likely to see some further developments.

I hope to discuss this matter with you on your return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

You Said It

By LAXMAN



That's more like it!

(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2 APRIL 1959)

24. Letter.

107. In the Lok Sabha: Arrival of the Dalai Lama²⁵

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The other day, three days ago, I think, when I was speaking about recent happenings in Tibet, I mentioned that I would keep the House informed of every fresh development. In the last two days, day before yesterday and yesterday, we have been receiving a number of messages. They were often delayed because they had to come through a rather devious route.

Yesterday I was thinking of informing the House of a certain development, but then I hesitated to do so, because I wanted it to be fully confirmed; I was waiting for some details. We received them last evening. We could have issued this news to the Press last evening, but I thought I should inform the House first and then the Press can have it.

The facts are that on the 1st April, i.e. day before yesterday morning, we received a message via Shillong dated 31st March evening that an emissary with a message from the Dalai Lama had arrived at our border check-post at Chutangmu in the North East Frontier Agency. He had arrived there on the 29th March stating that the Dalai Lama requested us for political asylum and that he expected to reach the border on the 30th March, i.e. soon after he himself had come. We received the message on the 1st. The same evening, i.e. 1st April evening, a message was received by us again via Shillong dated 1st April that the Dalai Lama with his small party of 8 had crossed into our territory on the evening of the 31st March.²⁶

Expecting that some such development might occur, we had instructed the various check-posts round about there what to do in case such a development takes place. So, when he crossed over into our territory, he was received by our Assistant Political Officer of the Tawang sub-division, which is a part of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency. A little later, the rest of his party, the entourage, came in. The total number who have come with him or after him is 80. From the 2nd evening, i.e. yesterday, we learn that this party in two groups is moving towards Tawang, which is the headquarters of that sub-division and that he is expected to reach Tawang the day after tomorrow, Sunday, 5th evening.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I want a clarification, which is a very important one.

25. Statement on the Dalai Lama, 3 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII, cols 9559-9561.

26. For other statements on the Dalai Lama's arrival, see items 119, 120, 122 and 128.

Shri Khadilkar: I want a little more information.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is the information that the Prime Minister has got just at present. If he gets more, he has promised us that he will place it before the House.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I want a clarification. There is a news in the Press that the New China Agency had published the very same news yesterday. How is it that the Government of India here did not get this confirmation even till the last evening? The Prime Minister himself said that he knew the information when he was making a statement here yesterday, but he could get the confirmation only last evening. May I know whether we are going to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama?²⁷

Shri Khadilkar: We have given the Dalai Dama asylum here...

Shri Nath Pai: We do not know if we have given him.

An Hon. Member: We have.

Shri Khadilkar: I want a clarification. The Dalai Lama is the temporal and spiritual head of Tibet. Does the asylum confer the same right on him and will he be functioning in the same capacity on the Indian soil? That is a very serious matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as Mr. Khadilkar's question is concerned, about spiritual rights, etc., I cannot answer it. It is a complicated matter which will have to be considered. But there is no doubt that he will receive respectful treatment.

Shri Naushir Bharucha:²⁸ Is it a fact that the Dalai Lama was injured?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; he is quite healthy.

As for the other question, I myself stated that we knew it day before yesterday evening—in fact, if I may say so, I was not here then, but we knew about his having crossed the frontier, but we wanted certain confirmation about details, whether the whole party had crossed over, where they were, etc., before

27. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 584-585.

28. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay State.

I mentioned it to this House. Yesterday morning, I was not in a position to do so, although I knew that he had crossed the border. In the evening I was, but I wanted to wait for the meeting of the Lok Sabha today to say so, instead of giving the news to the press.

108. To Saiyid Fazl Ali: Public Feelings about Tibet²⁹

April 3, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of April 1st. As you must know, we have already agreed to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama, and he and his party are in India now.

I think that we have acted rightly. But, apart from my feelings, the strength of public feeling in India is so tremendous on this subject that no Government can ignore it. That feeling, of course, is not merely about the Dalai Lama, but about events in Tibet. And, to some extent, I share that feeling, though I have to express myself with restraint.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. Letter.

109. To the Dalai Lama: Welcome ³⁰

I received Your Holiness' message dated the 26th March only yesterday on my return to Delhi. My colleagues and I welcome you and send you greetings on your safe arrival in India. We shall be happy to afford the necessary facilities for you, your family and entourage to reside in India. The people of India who hold you in great veneration will no doubt accord their traditional respect to your person. Kind regards.³¹

30. Telegram to the Dalai Lama, sent through K. L. Mehta, Adviser to the Government of Assam, 3 April 1959.

31. After the message to the Dalai Lama, the following instructions were issued by S. Dutt to K. L. Mehta, as part of the same telegram:

"2. In transmitting the message, the officer concerned should also inform the Dalai Lama and his principal advisers that the Government of India are making the necessary arrangements for the Party's travel in India.

3. If the Dalai Lama wishes to halt at Bomdila or Tezpur for rest you should fall in with his wishes. We are sending P.N. Menon, formerly our Consul-General in Lhasa up to Bomdila within the next day or two. He will be in charge of the party during their travel to destination in India. We have not yet decided where the Dalai Lama should reside but obviously Shillong, Kalimpong or Darjeeling is out of the question. We shall send you a further message about this at the earliest possible.

4. We hope you have made the necessary security arrangements. We propose sending a senior IB Officer from here. We shall also send one or two interpreters. Please let us know if you want any other staff, which should be kept to the minimum.

5. No person, whether Indian or foreigner, should be given Inner Line permit to meet the Dalai Lama and his party. When the Dalai Lama reaches Assam, we cannot altogether prevent press correspondents from approaching him. P.N. Menon will be instructed how best to deal with them.

6. We are instructing P.N. Menon to inform the Dalai Lama orally that it would be best for him not to issue any long statements to the press here at this stage. The Dalai Lama will undoubtedly appreciate the inadvisability of saying anything which would cause embarrassment to him and to us. Similar advice will also be given to members of his party. Since no press correspondent can meet the Dalai Lama until he comes out of the NEFA area, it is not necessary to convey this advice immediately, even if it were possible to do so. We should like all our officers who will be with the Dalai Lama and his party to observe the utmost discretion in what they do or say to others.

7. Murti who is now in the party should be with them until they reach their final destination in India. Instruct him accordingly."

110. To Subimal Dutt: Tibetan Refugees, Heinrich Harrer³²

Telegram from Shri Chagla,³³ Washington

2. I do not think that this proposal to start a big fund for the relief of refugees from Tibet is a desirable one. People abroad and specially in America seem to be obsessed with Hungary and what happened then. You must have seen the telegram I received from Norman Thomas.³⁴

3. I do not think there is likely to be any large number of refugees, and to start big funds, at any rate at this stage, has no meaning. It will have a bad political effect. If necessity arises later, the funds can perhaps be started.

4. Norman Thomas imagines that large numbers of Tibetan refugees can be sent to other countries for rehabilitation. Tibetans will hardly fit in in any country.

5. If you agree with this, we shall draft a telegram tomorrow to Shri Chagla.

Telegram from Hicomind, London about Heinrich Harrer³⁵

2. Any interview by Harrer with the Dalai Lama will be world news, and is bound to be embarrassing both to the Dalai Lama and to us. I do not think we should encourage this. We do not know what the immediate future may bring, and whether the Dalai Lama himself would be agreeable or not. At any rate, we are likely to advise him not to give interviews.

32. Note to the FS, 4 April 1959.

33. M.C. Chagla, India's Ambassador to the USA.

34. American socialist leader.

35. Heinrich Harrer (1912-2006); Austrian mountaineer, sportsman, geographer; lived in Tibet, 1946-52; author of *Seven Years in Tibet* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1953).

111. To M.C. Chagla: Fund for Tibetan Refugees³⁶

Your telegram 157 April 3. It seems to me premature to start a fund for relief of refugees from Tibet. Thus far there has been no such movement of refugees except for party accompanying Dalai Lama who will be looked after by the Government of India. It appears that people are being influenced by example of Hungary although conditions in Tibet and India are completely different, and I doubt very much about any large influx of refugees into India. I would not like to encourage this either on a large scale. Tibetans do not easily fit in any foreign country. Even in India only the hill areas are suitable. Other countries would not suit them at all, and I am sure they will not be accepted there. If a situation arises later demanding necessity of fund we can consider it then. For the moment situation is fluid and uncertain. Dalai Lama, will probably take another two weeks or more before he comes out of NEFA. Discussions with him might help us to understand situation a little better.

2. Norman Thomas has also sent me message about helping large number of Tibetan refugees.

3. While therefore we appreciate sentiments which have led to proposal for a fund, we feel that at this moment it is neither needed nor a desirable move. You can explain position privately and suitably to sponsors of proposal. Recent events in Tibet have deeply stirred feelings in India, and I have explained our views and position in some detail at a press conference held this morning.

112. To Harold Macmillan: Explaining Tibet Events³⁷

Thank you for your personal message which has been communicated to me through your High Commissioner in New Delhi.³⁸ As I am leaving Delhi for some days, I am sending you a reply immediately.

We are naturally much concerned at the developments in Tibet. You must have learnt that the Dalai Lama has sought political asylum in India and we have granted it. He has come over with members of his family and a party of about eighty persons. He is still in the remote areas of our North East Frontier

36 . Telegram, 5 April 1959.

37. Message sent through the Indian High Commissioner, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 6 April 1959.

38 . Malcolm Macdonald.

Agency. It will take him about two weeks to reach the railhead. After that we propose to invite him to stay at one of our hill stations in Northern India.

I do not think it is correct to compare Tibet with Hungary. Hungary was in international law an independent state; Tibet has been recognised to be a part of the Chinese State though it was to enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

I also do not think that the Soviet Government have had anything to do with those developments in Tibet. The Chinese Government promised the Tibetan authorities not to interfere in their internal affairs. It is largely true that they did not interfere in the social or religious customs, but they kept a firm military grip and sometimes punished people who, they thought, were against them.

Three years ago, a revolt started in the Kham area which, though Tibetan in origin, has been ostensibly part of China proper for over forty years. The Khampas are a hardy and turbulent people who have hardly ever submitted to any firm governmental control from above. When the Chinese Government tried to introduce their new measures of land reform in the Kham area (which was not considered by them Tibet), there was a revolt there. There was a good deal of killing on both sides to begin with. Since then this revolt has continued in a guerilla form and has spread to East and South East Tibet. The Chinese have found it difficult to deal with it. They have repeatedly asked the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan authorities to suppress it. These authorities had neither the capacity nor the desire to fight against the Khampas. Indeed they must have sympathised with them secretly. Because of this revolt, there has been a continuing ferment in Tibet and the pressure of the Chinese Government on the Dalai Lama had been increasing.

Apparently matters came to a crisis about the 10th of March, when the Dalai Lama was invited by the Chinese Commander at Lhasa to visit him and was asked not to bring his retinue. This alarmed the people of Lhasa as they thought that this was a preliminary to the Dalai Lama being forcibly removed from them and perhaps taken to China. Large crowds collected around his palace begging him not to accept the invitation. For several days afterwards there were people's demonstrations in Lhasa and all kinds of meetings were held of the leading personalities there. There was much talk of declaring independence and if necessary fighting the Chinese. The Chinese authorities did not take any step against this for several days. Either this took them by surprise or they were not prepared for it and were waiting for reinforcements. Events were obviously heading towards conflict. Apparently the Dalai Lama secretly left Lhasa on the night of the 17th. Two or three days later fighting began. It is difficult to say how this started. Inevitably the small ill-equipped Tibetan army could not hold

out against Chinese soldiery. After some shelling of important buildings in Lhasa, the Tibetan army surrendered. We do not quite know what the damage has been, but it must be fairly considerable.

Since then Lhasa has been relatively quiet, but the Khampa people appear to be still in some kind of control of areas in the South and South East of Tibet. Such brief reports as we have had from our representatives at Lhasa and two other posts in Tibet indicate that the Chinese authorities have come down with a heavy hand in various towns and probably elsewhere also.

I rather doubt if the Chinese wanted to take the initiative in bringing about this crisis, but their broad policies and the gradual development of the situation made a conflict inevitable and now the Tibetans must be suffering greatly. Even though the Chinese are strong in a military sense, it is no easy task for them to deal with guerillas in the high mountainous areas.

There has been much talk in foreign countries of the possibility of large numbers of Tibetans migrating to India. I rather doubt if this will happen though individuals may endeavour to come across. I have been informed that some attempts are being made in the United States to collect funds for Tibetan refugees. As expressions of human sympathy they are understandable, but in so far as they might serve to encourage Tibetans to leave their country, I do not think that they would be helpful in the present context.

It is difficult to forecast the future. We are, therefore, closely watching events. Yesterday I gave a long Press Conference on this subject.³⁹ In this I tried to express our views in restrained but clear language.

With kind regards,

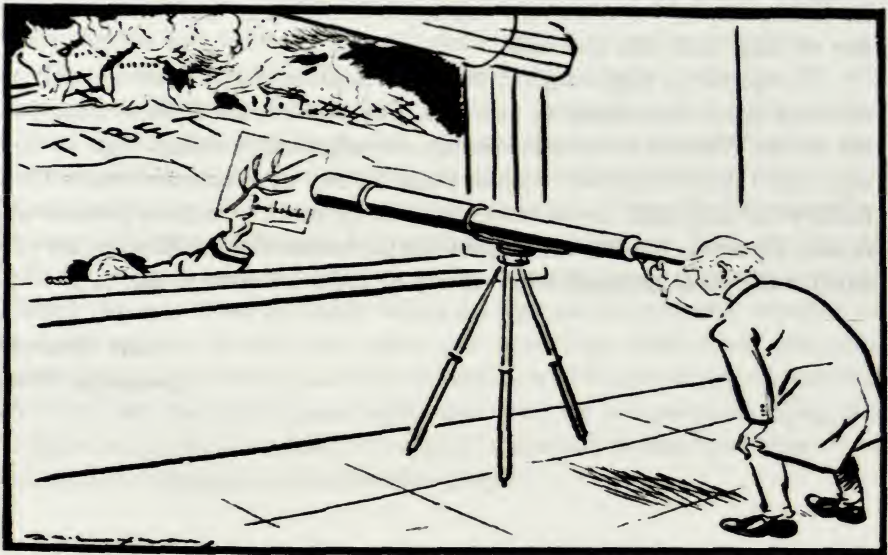
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. See item 16, pp. 206-232.

113. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Chinese Restrictions on Indian Mission⁴⁰

I regret I am unable to accept this Short Notice Question. For the information of Mr. Speaker, I might say that we are not aware that the Chinese Government have disputed the objectivity of our Consul-General at Lhasa.⁴¹ Also, that while there were certain restrictions placed on our Mission at Lhasa, we cannot say how far they were necessary. This would depend on the nature of the disturbances.

VIEW FROM THE WINDOW



(FROM THE TIMES OF INDIA, 3 APRIL 1959)

40. Note on a short notice question, 8 April 1959.

41. S.L. Chibber.

114. To the Maharaja of Sikkim: Tibet a Sensitive Matter⁴²

April 8, 1959

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I received your letter of March 24 some days ago from our Political Officer in Sikkim.⁴³ We can well appreciate your concern and that of the people of Sikkim about the current events in Tibet. I have made a number of statements on the subject in our Parliament during the last two weeks. I also dealt with it in a Press Conference on the 5th April. We are all thankful that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has safely reached our territory. As I have said before, we shall treat him with the respect and regard due to his position as the spiritual leader of a large number of persons not only in his country but in India. We have not yet been able to ascertain what his wishes are, but it is our intention to arrange for him to stay in one of our hill stations in North India. You can rest assured that we shall look after him well.

As regards the happenings in Tibet, our position is a difficult and delicate one. Any direct intervention by us would be resented by the Chinese and would not do the Tibetans any good. Feelings are apparently running high on both sides and I do not therefore wish to make a direct approach to Premier Chou En-lai even informally at this stage. Such an approach would not produce any results. However, you can rest assured that the interests of the Tibetans are very much in my mind, although what we can do is not yet clear to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42 . Letter to Tashi Namgyal, the Maharaja.

43. Apa B. Pant.

115. To C. Rajagopalachari: Khampa Revolt⁴⁴

8th April, 1959

My dear Rajaji,

On return to Delhi from Allahabad this morning I have received your letter of the 6th April. I have read the letter from Marco Pallis⁴⁵ and I am returning it.

The situation in Tibet is, of course, a difficult one and an embarrassing one for us. We want to maintain good relations with China and at the same time we should like Tibet to enjoy real autonomy. It was inevitable that social and economic changes should come to Tibet when its isolation was broken down. We hoped that these changes would come through Tibetan agencies, and perhaps gradually, and not be imposed by the Chinese authorities. I think that the Chinese Government themselves appreciated this position to some extent and therefore postponed all their proposed reforms. But the inherent contradictions in Tibet during the last few years almost made some kind of a conflict inevitable.

This conflict began in the Kham area which, strictly speaking, has not been part of Tibet for the last half century or more, though it is essentially Tibetan in character. This Kham area, being considered a part of China by the Chinese authorities, was not governed by the assurances given by China to the Tibetan authorities. The so-called reforms were imposed upon the Kham people. These people have hardly ever submitted to any government. They are a tough fighting people who have owed only vague allegiance to a suzerain power whether this was Tibet or China. When the Chinese Government imposed its so-called reforms in this area, there was a rebellion. This revolt has been continuing for over three years now and has taken the form of guerilla activity. The mere fact that the Chinese authorities, who are not averse to taking the strongest measures, have failed to suppress this revolt during these three years indicates the toughness of the Khampa people.

44. Letter.

45. (1895-1989); British composer, explorer, translator and scholar of Tibetan Buddhism; fought in the First World War; went on climbing expeditions to Tibet, 1923, 1933, 1936, 1947; embraced Buddhism, 1936; lived in Kalimpong, 1947-52; returned to England, and through his writings, helped raise public awareness about Tibet; author of *Peaks and Lamas* (London: Cassell, 1939), *The Way of the Mountain* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom Inc, 1960), *A Buddhism Spectrum* (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom Inc., 1980).

The continuance of this Khampa revolt was naturally followed with the keenest interest and sympathy by the Tibetans, although the latter kept aloof from it. Lately, the Khampa groups spread out right up to Lhasa. Partly because of this and partly because the Chinese Government did not wish to relax its hold in any way over Tibet, many political measures were taken which bore down heavily on the Tibetans. While actual social and economic reforms were not introduced, politically if any person offended the Chinese, he had to suffer for it immediately.

All this has led to this conflict. There can be little doubt that the vast majority of Tibetans have a strong sense of independence and do not like Chinese or any other control. If they had real autonomy, possibly matters might have adjusted themselves.

You will have followed the various statements made on behalf of Government in regard to this matter. We have tried to adopt a balanced attitude which means that we have expressed our broad sympathy for the Tibetans and at the same time laid stress on our relations with China. Vaguely we have said that we hope Tibet would enjoy autonomy within the Chinese State.

The Indian public opinion has expressed itself much more strongly and the mere fact that we have given asylum to the Dalai Lama, though completely correct, is not going to be liked by the Chinese. I do not quite see what more we can do. The real difficulty is that many people who talk loudly about Tibet today are not really interested in the people of Tibet, but are exploiting it in terms of the cold war. On the other hand, during the last year or so the Chinese Government has become progressively more rigid and there has been even a touch of arrogance in their dealings with other countries.

The only possible way for us to be helpful in this situation is to continue to have some kind of a balanced outlook. The moment we leave that, nothing more can be done by us. I know that even otherwise we cannot do much.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. To CPP: Tibetan Refugees⁴⁶**NO GENERAL ASYLUM TO EMIGRES FROM TIBET: NEHRU**

New Delhi, April 9- Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have said at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party here today that, while firmly upholding the principle of Tibetan autonomy, India would endeavour to maintain friendly relations with China.

He categorically declared that he did not want to leave any heritage of unfriendliness with China or any other neighbouring country lest posterity should think that at a rather critical time some action had been taken to impair the Sino-Indian friendship which had existed for several centuries.

Pandit Nehru said that in deciding upon her attitude towards the Tibetan issue India had to be guided by Gandhiji's principles of universal friendship and refusal to compromise on principles.

The policy of India like most other countries, he said, was guided by the principles of protecting her frontiers and endeavouring to maintain friendship with neighbouring countries. India would be firm and not submit on wrong principles.

Pandit Nehru deplored the use of "cold war language" in certain quarters in relation to the Tibetan developments. Both Communists and anti-Communists were, using strong language. This, he said, would not clear the way for negotiations even if there was a will to negotiate.

In an analysis of the recent developments he was understood to have said that the Tibetan trouble started in the Khampa area (Inner Tibet), an area not covered by the autonomy agreement, when the Chinese introduced certain land reforms and the like. Some of the Khampas who opposed the Chinese methods fled to Tibet and the anti-Chinese feelings created by them in course of time reached Lhasa. This "clash of wills" of "two extremes" had been there for some time and he had "sensed" it while in Bhutan recently.

In this atmosphere when the Dalai Lama was invited by the Chinese Commander people got an impression that the Chinese might take him to Peking, and there was a very big demonstration. The demonstration, he is understood to have said, was in the nature of an expression of the "national feelings and sentiments" of the Tibetans.

Pandit Nehru rejected the suggestion that India should open her doors to all those Tibetans who might like to seek refuge in India.

46. Report of speech, New Delhi, 9 April 1959. From the *National Herald*, 10 April 1959.

The grant of asylum on such a large scale would not be in the interests of the Tibetans who stayed back in Tibet, he is understood to have stated.

In a long speech, Pandit Nehru justified the granting of asylum to the Dalai Lama and a few others on the ground that it was permitted under international law.

Pandit Nehru said that, if everyone coming to India from Tibet was admitted, it might lead to a situation in which the Tibetans remaining in their country would be bereft of leadership. He cited the case of East Pakistan wherefrom the leadership had come back to India to the disadvantage of the non-Muslim population in that country.

So, Pandit Nehru added, those who were asking India to open the doors to Tibetan émigrés were doing a disservice to the Tibetans.

In a passing reference to Pakistan in this context he was reported to have remarked that the relations between India and Pakistan had not been happy. It was so in spite of India's continued efforts to maintain friendly relations with that country.

117. To P.N. Rajabhoj: Meeting the Dalai Lama⁴⁷

April 10, 1959

My dear Rajabhoj,

Your letter of the 7th April. I cannot suggest at this stage how you can contact the Dalai Lama because his programme itself is uncertain. I suppose you will have later opportunities to meet him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

47. Letter to Rajabhoj, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay. J. N. Supplementary Papers, NMML.

118. To the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs: Tibet and Algeria⁴⁸

TIBET: NEHRU URGES NEED FOR AVOIDING COLD WAR ATMOSPHERE

New Delhi, April 11—Prime Minister Nehru has stressed the vital need of avoiding the cold war atmosphere coming to India in the wake of happenings in Tibet.

Addressing the parliamentary consultative committee on foreign affairs on Friday, the Prime Minister is understood to have expressed his keen desire to maintain friendly relations with China.

He did not want that any trail of bitterness should be left behind in India on this matter.

The Prime Minister is reported to have expressed his anxiety on this issue and said that Sino-Indian relations should not be allowed to be embittered.

Asked if the Chinese People's Government had sent any "reaction" to the concern expressed by the people here about the situation in Tibet, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that there had been no communication from Peking on this matter even at the diplomatic level. Pandit Nehru reiterated the view that India could not follow an "open door policy" to admit every refugee that came from Tibet.

He is reported to have told the consultative committee that since March 1 last only seven refugees from Tibet had come to India apart from the party of eighty that came with the Dalai Lama. There was no large-scale movement of refugees. Any great influx of refugees would not be in the interest of the Tibetans themselves as it would deprive them of proper leadership.

He is understood to have reiterated the view that the basis of the uprising in Tibet was deeply rooted in a "national feeling."

Asked about the future abode of the Dalai Lama, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that a semi-permanent abode was being selected at some hill station.

In reply to a question, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that among the hill stations being considered for the Dalai Lama's stay were Mussoorie and Simla.

Asked whether a second Bandung Conference was likely to be called to iron out the differences among Afro-Asian nations on various international issues, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that at the present moment it

48 . PTI report of speech, 10 April 1959. From the *National Herald*, 12 April 1959.

would require a very great effort to find a "common ground" for discussion of problems.

When a member suggested that the Chinese Government might consider the Dalai Lama's escape as "good riddance", Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that this was not correct. The Chinese authorities would have liked to prevent the Dalai Lama's escape, but they failed to do so.

Asked whether India would accord recognition to the Algerian provisional government, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that merely according recognition would not help solve the problem.

He added that during the last four years, nearly one tenth of the Algerian population had been killed in the fighting going on there. This was a great tragedy.

Asked whether India would allow medical supplies to be sent to Algeria, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that this proposal would be considered.

119. To M.C. Chagla: Tolstoy Foundation Help for Tibetan Refugees⁴⁹

Prime Minister has received a telegram from Mrs. Alexandra Tolstoy, Count Tolstoy's daughter,⁵⁰ datelined New York. Please communicate a reply to her on the following lines:

Prime Minister thanks her for her telegram and appreciates the offer by the Tolstoy Foundation of help for Tibetan refugees. Thus far however no problem of refugees has arisen. Apart from the Dalai Lama and his party of about 80 very few persons have come over to India. The Government of India have made themselves responsible for the Dalai Lama's party. If any problem of refugee arises, we shall gladly communicate with her again if necessary. The Dalai Lama is still in a remote part of North-East India and it will be another two weeks or so before he reaches the place which has been selected by us for his residence in India. It is then only that we can consult him about his own wishes

49. Note to SG and FS for Dutt to forward to Chagla, 10 April 1959.

50. (1884-1979); literary secretary to her father Leo Tolstoy; keeper of Tolstoy archives and estate; looked after the wounded soldiers in the First World War; arrested five times after the Russian Revolution; migrated to USA, 1929; founded Tolstoy Foundation, 1939 with President Herbert Hoover as Chairman (1939-64); worked for resettlement of refugees.

in the matter. For the present, therefore, we think that it is not necessary for Count Tolstoy's grandson or anyone else to come to India to meet the Dalai Lama.

120. To Amrit Kaur: Tibetan Refugees⁵¹

April 11, 1959

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of April 4 (why it has reached me today I do not know, unless you have given a wrong date to it).

No question of giving relief to refugees from Tibet has yet arisen. The only refugees thus far are 7, apart from the Dalai Lama's party of 80, which is the responsibility of the Government of India.

I rather doubt if many refugees will come over; a few might. People are apt to compare Tibet with Hungary, but the conditions are entirely different. Tibet is a very sparsely populated country and it is not easy to move about from one place to another. No doubt such movements now are not encouraged by the Chinese authorities, and the few passes to India will probably be guarded by them.

Thus I do not think that many people will come here. The few who might try to come will find no great difficulty from our side.

If help is needed, the Red Cross can certainly give it. As a matter of fact, we have had offers from organisations in other countries. I understand that a relief committee is likely to be started in Delhi also consisting of people from various Parties.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

51. Letter to Amrit Kaur, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, and Former Union Minister of Health.

121. To U.N. Dhebar: Tibetan Refugees⁵²

April 11, 1959

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Your letter of the 10th April about the proposal to start a relief committee for Tibet refugees. I discussed this matter with Suchetaji⁵³ today. I told her that I saw no objection to a relief committee being formed. Indeed, I thought it desirable to have such a Committee to which people from different Parties can be invited. I would suggest, however, that it should not be too big a committee, and it should mainly be a Delhi committee, so that the people could meet whenever necessary.

I do not myself think that any problem of a large number of refugees from Tibet is likely to arise. People have got into the habit of thinking of Hungary, but conditions were very different there. Tibet is a sparsely populated country and movements are difficult. The few passes into India are probably guarded by Chinese troops. So, quite apart from what we may or & may not do to incomers, there would not be many who can come.

Nevertheless, I think it is a good gesture to have such a committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

122. To S. Dutt: Dalai Lama's Residence⁵⁴

I have read all these papers.

2. From the list of persons accompanying the Dalai Lama, it appears that the number is 120 and not 80 as we imagined. On a different paper, mention is made of the persons who are expected to accompany the Dalai Lama further, that is, to his ultimate place of residence. This is a much smaller list. It is suggested that the others accompanying him might go to Darjeeling and Kalimpong. Among these others who are supposed to go to Darjeeling or Kalimpong, are the members of his family, the tutors and other officials. I think that it would not be desirable for the members of his family or the Ministers

52 . Letter to Dhebar, former Congress President. U. N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML and JN Collection.

53 . Sucheta Kripalani.

54 . Note to FS, 12 April 1959. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

and other high officials to be separated from him. All the important people accompanying him plus the necessary attendants, should come together to Mussoorie. If we allow the important people to establish themselves in Kalimpong or Darjeeling, difficulties would arise. This need not apply to the unimportant people or to the host of attendants. Some indication of our views might, therefore, be sent to P.N. Menon⁵⁵ and K.L. Mehta.⁵⁶ The Dalai Lama might be informed that we are arranging suitable accommodation for a fairly large party and that it would be desirable for his principal advisers as well as the members of his family to be with him. Possibly he is afraid of the members of his family being brought to the plains in the hot weather. He should be told that this will not be so and that they will be kept at a hill station.

3. The Dalai Lama should be informed that we are making arrangements at Mussoorie which is a hill station and which is fairly easily accessible from Delhi.⁵⁷

4. He should be informed also that I hope to meet him at Mussoorie soon after his arrival there and to discuss various points with him.

5. If they wish to bring some interpreters from Kalimpong, they can do so.

6. The Dalai Lama can be told that any particular persons who are indicated by him, will certainly be allowed entry into India. We may also permit entry to some unarmed Tibetans seeking asylum, but if the numbers are at all large, the matter will have to be given special consideration.

7. I presume that the Dalai Lama has been informed that we shall give every facility to his brother, Gyalo Dhondup,⁵⁸ and anyone else he wishes, to meet him, but this will be much more convenient at Mussoorie than en route.

8. The other points raised by the Ministers will have to be dealt with after the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie and when we have had talks with him.

9. I agree with you that some kind of a statement should be issued by the Dalai Lama when he emerges from the NEFA. The proposed communiqué is not suitable for this purpose. At the same time, the statement he might issue at

55. Consul-General of India in Lhasa, 1954-1956; Director, External Publicity, at this time; met the Dalai Lama at Bomdila on 12 April as the GOI's representative.

56. Adviser to the Governor of Assam for NEFA.

57. Nehru had earlier written to Ila Palchoudhuri on 4 April 1959: "We cannot possibly keep the Dalai Lama near the frontier. Therefore, Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Siliguri, etc., are ruled out."

58. Gyalo Thondup (b. 1928); elder brother of the 14th Dalai Lama.

Tezpur should not be too bald. It should deal with the circumstances of his leaving Lhasa, but something more is needed. Perhaps, you might come to see me tomorrow evening and we can discuss this matter further.

10. There is no mention in these papers of the alleged letters he is supposed to have written to the Chinese Commander in Lhasa, This question is agitating all the foreign as well as Indian correspondents, and some time or other he will have to say something about them. You might indicate to P.N. Menon to find out privately about this matter.

11. The latest message that he has sent me, should be suitably acknowledged.

12. I think that you should accompany me when I go to Mussoorie or, perhaps, you might even go a day before, I intend going to Dehra Dun on the 23rd evening and spending the night there. Early on the 24th morning, I shall go to Mussoorie. I shall be busy with my conference till lunch time and indeed a little after. I can, therefore, see the Dalai Lama on the 24th afternoon. I have some engagements then, but they can be adjusted. I intend returning to Dehra Dun on the 24th evening and coming back to Delhi on the 25th morning.

13. If you accompany me on the 23rd, you can go on straight to Mussoorie that evening and not remain at Dehra Dun, or you could go early in the morning on the 24th from Dehra Dun and see the Dalai Lama and others there on the morning of the 25th.

123. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Violation of Air Space⁵⁹

The following note should be sent to the Lok Sabha Secretariat for submission to Mr. Speaker:-

“I have enquired into this matter. The press report appearing in the *Indian Express* of the 9th April appears to be very largely incorrect. The facts, as we know them, are that many of the planes which were found to have flown over Sikkim, Bhutan or Indian territory were our own aircraft carrying out Survey of India duties or other work assigned to them. Some of these aircraft were Soviet planes on the regular scheduled flights between Moscow and New Delhi. On two occasions they were Soviet planes bringing the King of Nepal and his party.

On two occasions, they were Chinese planes doing survey work on the border between China and Burma, and they might have accidentally partly over-flown our territory. In a number of cases, the planes have not been identified

59. Note, 12 April 1959.

and they might have been Chinese planes. Whether these planes came over accidentally or not it is difficult to say.

There has been no report of violations of our air space in March or April 1959. Therefore, no question has arisen, insofar as we are aware, of any Chinese aircraft pursuing the Dalai Lama over our territory.

Steps for the security of our frontier have been taken. It is not possible to have air bases in the mountainous regions near the border as the terrain is not suitable for aircraft to land or take off. Even supplies have to be sent by air-dropping in these areas.

Because of these facts, it is submitted to Mr. Speaker that a statement on this subject will not be desirable."

124. To the Dalai Lama: Advice on Meeting the Press⁶⁰

I thank Your Holiness for the message which you have sent me through our Political Officer, Shri Harmander Singh. I am myself anxious to meet you at the earliest opportunity. As you must have been informed, we are arranging for Your Holiness and the members of your family and your entourage to stay at Mussoorie. Delhi is getting warm now and Your Holiness need not take the trouble of coming here to meet me. In accordance with an earlier engagement, I am due to visit Mussoorie on the 24th and I propose to call on you the same afternoon.

2. I have seen the report of the talk which you had with our Political Officer on the 6th April. There are a number of matters which you and I might discuss personally and I am, therefore, not giving you a detailed reply at this stage.

3. We have certainly no objection to your brother, Gyalo Dhondup, meeting you, and we are arranging facilities for him to do so as early as possible. He can travel back with you to Mussoorie, if you so wish. I understand that some other important Tibetan personalities, who have been residing in India for some time, are also anxious to meet you. We feel these persons should not trouble you en route, but we shall certainly afford them facilities to call on you later in Mussoorie.

4. May I draw Your Holiness's attention to one particular matter. I am informed that a large number of press correspondents: from all over the world are now gathered in Tezpur and its vicinity awaiting Your Holiness's arrival. It would be difficult for you to avoid saying something to them, and I am inclined

60. Telegram to the Dalai Lama, sent through P. N. Menon, 13 April 1959.

to the view that Your Holiness might release a brief statement to these correspondents.⁶¹ Perhaps, you might defer a detailed statement on the political situation in Tibet and your future intentions until you have settled down in Mussoorie and have had time to reflect on the recent developments in your country.

5. We are making arrangements at Tezpur so that you might give darshan and blessings to people gathered there and also to allow pressmen to take photographs before you leave.

6. May I also suggest that in order to prevent embarrassment to you or distorted versions being published, it would be best if members of your party desisted from seeing the press correspondents individually and making statements to them.

7. I am looking forward to meeting Your Holiness,
With kind regard,

Jawaharlal Nehru

125. To Sampurnanand: The Dalai Lama's Accommodation at Mussoorie⁶²

April 13, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging two of your letters dated March 29 and 30.

So far as Tibet is concerned, much has happened since you wrote, and I have also spoken on that subject on several occasions. Naturally, we have a great deal of sympathy for the Tibetans and we should express it and have expressed it. The fact remains that the situation is a very difficult one and a wrong step by us will injure the Tibetans apart from other consequences. So far as the Americans are concerned, I am sure that most of them do not care for Tibet or for the Tibetans at all. They are only interested in using them for cold war purposes.

61. According to a report in *The Hindu* on 13 April, S. Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, had been deputed to assist journalists assembled there to cover the arrival of the Dalai Lama. Over 75 pressmen, mostly from foreign countries, had gathered in Tezpur. The Dalai Lama issued a statement on 18 April 1959 at Tezpur, before leaving for Mussoorie, recounting the circumstances in which he left Tibet.

62. Letter to the Chief Minister of UP.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

We have announced today that the Dalai Lama will be staying at Mussoorie. He will probably reach there on the 21st April. We are sending one of our Foreign Office officers, Jagat Mehta,⁶³ to help the local officials in regard to the arrangements for the stay. At your Government's suggestion, we have agreed to Birla House, etc. being reserved for this purpose.

I shall be going to Dehra Dun on the 23rd evening and shall go to Mussoorie the next morning. I have a conference, etc., to attend to in the morning. In the afternoon, I shall visit the Dalai Lama. That evening I shall return to Dehra Dun where I shall spend the night. The next day, 25th, I shall return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: On Western Press Reports⁶⁴

Madurai, South India,
15th April, 1959

[My dear High Commissioner],

I have received your letter of April 9⁶⁵ here at Madurai in South India, I am replying briefly now.

So far as Tibet is concerned, I have made various statements and I shall no doubt refer to the subject again when the time comes. We have done more for the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet generally than any Western power has done or is likely to do, except, of course, for strong denunciations of China's conduct. We do not propose to be hustled by British or American press comments. I shall probably be meeting the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie in about ten days' time. The article by Kingsley Martin in the *New Statesman*⁶⁶ was on the whole a sensible article.

63. Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1956-1960.

64. Letter.

65. See Appendix 11, pp. 587-589.

66. Of 9 April. *The Hindu* of 11 April published the following excerpt of that article with the heading "Nehru's Cautious Policy. Kingsley Martin's Tribute". Dated London, April 9, it continued: "Mr. Martin, Editor of the British left-wing weekly, *New Statesman*, to-day commended the caution of Mr. Nehru, India's Prime Minister, in the 'new and dangerous chapter in Asian history' opened by the 'Tibetan revolt and its suppression by Peking'."

APRIL 12, 1959

SHANKAR'S WEEKLY

"A DIFFICULT DELICATE AND
EMBARRASSING SITUATION" NEHRU



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 12 APRIL 1959)

People used to cold war do not seem to realise that our approach to questions is different and that it does little good to shout loudly and denounce and condemn. We expressed sympathies with the grieved party which normally indicates our own thinking. To denounce and condemn is to use the methods of the cold war. There has been enough to condemn in Algeria and in Nyasaland, We have exercised restraint there.

Richardson's⁶⁷ article in the *Observer* is a foolish one. He ought to have known better even as regards the facts. It is well known that the Kuomintang Government and Chiang Kai-shek as well as the earlier governments in China never renounced their claim to Tibet. In fact there was some trouble with the Kuomintang Government in 1946 over this matter.⁶⁸ It is true that the Chinese Government was too weak to interfere. When it became strong, it interfered. Even then we wrote to them stressing the autonomy of Tibet. At first they sent a rather rude reply. There was nothing that we or any other Government could possibly do later except to break relations with China and sit tight. The agreement we made with China in 1954 was strictly about our own matters in connection with Tibet. It is manifestly impossible for us to keep bits of our army there.

It should also be remembered that for three years or more, there has been a rebellion in the Kham area which is largely Chinese (not Tibetan); that this rebellion spread to parts of Tibet proper; that the Tibetan authorities practically joined the Khampa people and declared independence. I should very much like to know what, in the circumstances, England or America or any other power would have done.

The Chinese always and, more especially, now are given to arrogance and throwing their weight about, I have no doubt that they have treated the Tibetans very harshly, though I imagine that some of the reports are rather exaggerated. Anyhow, I just do not see what India could have done more than she has except, of course, for condemnation and denunciation.

I wanted to write more but it is just not possible from here.

[Yours sincerely]
Jawaharlal Nehru

67. Hugh E. Richardson (1905-2000); joined ICS, 1930, served in Bengal, in Baluchistan, 1934-36, in Tibet, 1936-40 and 1946-50, in India, Pakistan and China, retired in 1950; wrote books, articles, papers, and delivered lectures in universities on Tibetan history, language and culture; one of the founder-trustees of the Institute of Tibetan Studies, Tring; founded with others the Tibet Society of the UK and remained an advocate for Tibetan independence until his death.

68. In fact, in 1947 in connection with the Asian Relations Conference, see SWJN/SS/2/p. 502 and SWJN/SS/1/p. 525 for Tibetan Government's congratulations to Nehru on the formation of the Interim Government in 1946.

127. In the Rajya Sabha: The Dalai Lama⁶⁹

Dalai Lama's Stay in India

Shri V. K. Dhage:⁷⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state where the Dalai Lama will stay in India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): Arrangements for the stay of Dalai Lama and party are being made in Mussoorie.

Shri V. K. Dhage: May I know what privileges and facilities are afforded to the Dalai Lama and his party, and for the Dalai Lama particularly?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what the hon. Member means by 'privileges'. Facilities are facilities. Arrangements have been made for his comfortable stay having regards to security, etc.

Shri Rohit M. Dave:⁷¹ May I know if the attention of the Government of India is drawn to the fact that in the statement issued on behalf of the Dalai Lama from Tezpur, concern has been shown for ensuring perpetual security of the sacred religion and freedom of his country, and if so, will the Dalai Lama be given reasonable facilities to carry on his legitimate activities in pursuance of this concern?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If the hon. Member means if he will be given freedom to carry on legitimate religious activities, certainly. If he refers to political activities, political activities are not carried on from one country with regard to another.

Dr H. N. Kunzru:⁷² Is it a fact that in England which has freely granted asylum to political refugees, the refugees have been carry on normal political propaganda in favour of their views? Only they have not been allowed to collect arms or to make warlike preparations against the country to which they belong.

69. Reply to questions, 20 April 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 49-51.

70. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.

71. PSP, Rajya Sabha Member from Bombay State.

72. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult to draw a line. Certainly to some extent it is permitted and to some extent it may not be permitted. It is difficult for me to lay down hard and fast rules.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru: Does the Government of India ask these people to refrain from collecting arms for being sent to Tibet or doing any other thing which will amount to a warlike act against China, or even prevent the Tibetan refugees from giving expression to their views with regard to the future of Tibet or stating matters of fact when they feel that it is necessary to do so to clear up the position in Tibet?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member might have noticed that we have given a fairly large measure of freedom of expression of views to the people and Dalai Lama himself has made a statement as he felt like making it. We have not come in the way of his statement. As for what we expect people to do, that depends on many things. It is not a question of the Dalai Lama, but all manner of other folk coming in. The Dalai Lama is a responsible man and no doubt is acting in a responsible way. But there are so many others. We do not quite know how they might function and not function. It is an ordinary right in every country including England to limit the functioning of foreigners who create difficulties with other countries. There is no rule of law about it. The rule of law is that the country—the host country—has the right to limit it. To what extent it does so and in what manner, is always a matter of circumstances and the situation.

Dr. A. N. Bose:⁷³ Is it proposed to extend diplomatic immunities and extra-territorial rights to the Dalai Lama and his party?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand his question. There is no such thing as 'extra-territorial rights'.

Shri Santosh Kumar Basu:⁷⁴ Should not the main consideration in these matters be the external and internal security of our own country?

73. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

74. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

Mr. Chairman:⁷⁵ That is accepted. What he says is, the main consideration in these matters should be our security—external and internal. That is accepted on all hands.

128. In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetan Refugees⁷⁶

Tibetans Permitted to Enter India

Shri J. H. Joshi:⁷⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the total number of Tibetans who have recently been given permission to enter India and stay here?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): Since the 1st March 1959, the Dalai Lama with a party of 86 persons has entered India.⁷⁸ Apart from this party, 7 other Tibetans have also entered India.

श्री पां. ना. राजभोज :⁷⁹ क्या मैं जान सकता हूँ कि सरकार उनको स्पेशल फ्रैसिलिटीज़ इसलिए देती है, क्योंकि तिब्बत की परिस्थिति ठीक नहीं है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : किसको ?

श्री पां. ना. राजभोज : टिबेटन लोग जो यहाँ आये हैं उनके बारे में मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ। क्या सरकार उनको कोई स्पेशल फ्रैसिलिटीज़ दे रही है कि नहीं ?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जो लोग आ गये, वे आ गये। जहाँ तक दलाई लामा जी की पार्टी है, उसके लिए तो पूरी ज़िम्मेदारी हमने ली है। वे इस वक़्त मसूरी का सफ़र कर रहे हैं। बाक़ी जो पाँच-दस आदमी आये हैं, ऐसे लोगों को रीहैबिलिटेड करने का सवाल हमारे सामने नहीं है कि वे रीहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्ट्री के चार्ज में कर दिये जायँ।

75. S. Radhakrishnan.

76. Reply to questions, 20 April 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 46-48.

77. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.

78. For other statements on the Dalai Lama's arrival, see also items 107, 119, 120 and 122.

79. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.

[Translation begins:

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj :⁸⁰ Could I know whether the Government gives them some special facilities because the condition in Tibet is not normal ?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Whom ?

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj : I wish to ask about the Tibetan people who have come here. Is the Government providing them with some special facilities or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Those who have come, have come. As far as Dalai Lamaji's party is concerned, we have taken full responsibility for them. They are travelling to Mussoorie at present. As for the remaining five or ten people who have come, the question of rehabilitating them is not before us that they should be given under the charge of the Rehabilitation Ministry.

Translation ends.]

Shri N. M. Lingam: May I enquire if the Government proposes to fix any limit beyond which refugees will not be allowed to enter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Question of limit, Sir has not arisen. The questions are based on the assumption that large numbers are trying to push in. Very few, as I said—only seven or eight—generally are trying to come in the whole month. The question does not arise yet. We examine each case as it is.

Pandit S.S.N. Tankha:⁸¹ The hon. Deputy Minister stated that permission has been granted for 86 persons who are accompanying the Dalai Lama. Is it not a fact that the Dalai Lama's party now consists of 120 persons and they must all have been given permission?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No Sir, so far as I know, it does not consist of 120 persons. The figure 120 was mentioned at one stage, but on further enquiry and looking at the people, they are fewer.

80. See fn 79 in this section.

81. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

Shri Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya:⁸² I want to know whether, along with the Dalai Lama or independently, any of those who formed the Cabinet of the Dalai Lama—previous to the Panchen Lama Cabinet—have come here?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe that there are two, three or four—I forgot how many—of the previous ministers with him.

Shrimati T. Nallamuthu Ramamurthi:⁸³ Should we not allow friends of India to come into our country? Are we to limit the frontiers in such a way that intellectuals and friends would be barred from entering this country? What international law is there to prevent such people from entering the country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that is naturally expected, Sir.

Shri Jaswant Singh:⁸⁴ But the normal papers had to be carried by parties going from one country to another.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No restrictions. But the normal papers to be had to be carried by parties going from one country to another.

Shri Jaswant Singh: Even now, those who carry the normal papers, would they be allowed entry into our country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no doubt—if the normal papers are carried, they would. The question now arises about people who do not carry any papers at all and even they in certain cases, are admitted.

Shri D. A. Mirza:⁸⁵ May I know whether the Government of India will give protection to those Tibetans who want to take asylum in India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Members referred to what I have said on previous occasions.

82. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from MP.

83. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State.

84. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

85. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State.

129. To B.P. Chaliha: Tibetan Refugees⁸⁶

We have just received a report that a large number of refugees from Tibet, possibly involving many hundreds, are likely to seek refuge in our territory in the Kameng Frontier Division within the next day or two. In the present situation we shall have to admit them but we have issued strict instruction, to the border check post to disarm the refugees. For security and other reasons these refugees cannot be allowed to stay in the NEFA but will have to be moved down to the plains with the minimum delay. The question where they should be sent in future will be considered earliest possible. Meantime we shall be grateful for the Assam Government's cooperation and assistance in making arrangements for the temporary accommodation of the refugees. We are issuing instruction to the NEFA Administration and asking the Adviser to contact your Chief Secretary.⁸⁷ Detailed suggestions are being separately communicated both to the Chief Secretary and to the Adviser by the Foreign Secretary.

130. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Maps⁸⁸

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
Maps Published in China and Russia

Question:⁸⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware of the fact that maps recently published in China and Russia show large chunks of our territory as part of their territories; and
- (b) if so, the action taken by Government of India in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir; Instances of maps, published in China and Russia, depicting certain parts of Indian territory as parts of China, have come to our notice. The attention of these two Governments has already been drawn to the discrepancies.

86. Telegram to the Chief Minister of Assam, 22 April 1959.

87. S.K. Dutta.

88. Reply to questions, 22 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 12715-12721.

89. By PSP MP Rajendra Singh, Jan Sangh MP P.R. Assar, and Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, Iqbal Singh, P. C. Borooah, Nek Ram Negi.

Shri Rajendra Singh: The hon. Minister has said that the attention of the concerned Governments has been drawn to this matter. May I know what results have so far been achieved in this connection?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): So far as the Russian maps are concerned, I think they had merely taken those maps or copied them from the Chinese maps without probably going into the matter, and when we addressed them they said they would enquire into this—look into this.

So far as the Chinese maps are concerned, we are still in correspondence. As I have previously informed the House, their answer has been that “these are old maps and we are not sure of the exact border and we shall look into it and that the status quo should continue.” That is not a very adequate answer, if I may say so, after so many years. We have pointed that out to them. I wrote to them again on the subject about a month or so ago, maybe a little more or a little less.⁹⁰ We have not had any further reply from them.

Shri Assar: May I know whether any other Communist countries of eastern Europe have also published such a map?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not got all the maps. I cannot answer. They have not come to our notice. The Russian map was not published separately. It was part of a big atlas map that came to our notice.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Is the Prime Minister aware that after he gave this House an explanation of the Chinese Government, recently new maps have been printed in about October, 1958, which contain the same encroachments as before?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not exactly know. I have not seen these new maps, but it may very well be so. As I said, I am in correspondence with the Chinese Government on the subject. If the hon. Member is referring to what might be called newspaper maps or magazine maps -

Shri Naushir Bharucha rose -

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What I mean is this. Inside a magazine, a page is given broadly, or, it may be regular cartographical maps.

90. See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 451-454.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: The news which I had got from Kalimpong and Gangtok when I was there was that fresh maps have been published after the explanation of the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know that that has been going on. But what I was saying was that these are types of maps which appear in packs of magazines and others, not the regular atlas maps. But that would not make any difference. I merely wanted to know what type of maps he was referring to.

Shri Dasappa:⁹¹ May I know if during the Kuomintang regime it was found that the Chinese maps drawn up then had included any part of our territory which does not belong to China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose they did. I do not remember from personal knowledge, because the present Chinese Government's answer has always been that "we are reproducing the old maps".

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know if there is any dispute about any border territory or any kind of territory between China and India and, if not, why is it that some parts of India which are obviously in India have been shown as parts of China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult for me to answer that question. We have discussed one or two minor frontier disputes which comprise tiny tracts of territory, maybe a mile this way or a mile that way, in the high mountains where nobody lives and those are pending. We have discussed them and for the present no settlement has been arrived at. So other question has been raised for discussion; except that one sees this map, no other question has been raised that way.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that these cartographical encroachment on our territory persist and these are periodically reproduced in the periodicals—*People's China*, October, 1954 issue, and in *China Pictorial*, July 1958 issue—and every time the explanation that the Chinese Government is giving to us is that this is the handiwork of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, may I know whether Government propose to demand a correction forthwith of these incorrect maps and the same time demand the withdrawal of incorrect maps from circulation?

91. H.C. Dassapa, Congress Lok Sabha MP from Bangalore, Mysore State.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what the Government has done and the reply has been that while these maps may be incorrect largely but exactly what should be correct is the thing we want to go into before we change them. Therefore, let the status quo continue as it is. We cannot correct an incorrect thing by another incorrect thing. I am putting the arguments that they have put forward.

Shri C.D. Pande:⁹² Apart from the maps, because after all, the question of the maps is academic, may I know whether there are certain portions of land between India and Tibet where they are encroaching on the basis of these maps—encroaching into our territory,—particularly in Taklakot which is near the border of Almora? At Taklakot they have come six miles this way, according to their map. It is not a question of map alone. They have actually encroached on our territory; six miles in one pass.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like to give a precise answer to such questions. I would not like to venture to give an imprecise answer. Taklakot and another place—Hoti—have been places under argument⁹³ and sometimes, according to our reports we have received, some Chinese have advanced a mile or two, maybe, in high mountains. It is true. We have been enquiring into it. The difficulty is that in the winter months most of these places are almost inaccessible and more inaccessible from our side than from the other side.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Several Hon. Members rose -

Shri Ranga:⁹⁴ This is a very important question.

Mr. Speaker: Then shall I allow the whole of the Question Hour for this question? I would suggest that hon. Members may have authentic copies of these maps and others—whatever they are able to get—and if it is necessary to have further elucidation, the hon. Prime Minister is willing to have a half-an-hour discussion.

92. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Naini Tal, UP (now Uttarakhand).

93. For Barahoti question, see also SWJN/SS/41/p. 673.

94. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. You will permit us to say, with all respect, that I am not willing.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Several Hon. Members rose.

Mr. Speaker: There are 20 hon. Members getting up.

Shri Ranga: If the hon. Prime Minister is not going to have a half-an-hour discussion, let us have at least two or three minutes more in order to put some more questions on this subject.

Mr. Speaker: Yes.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I know whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news item published in several papers alleging that the Chinese have claimed some 30,000 sq. m. of our territory and they have also disputed the MacMahon line?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; I would suggest to hon. Members not to pay much attention to news items emanating sometimes from Hong Kong and sometimes from other odd places. We have had no such claim directly or indirectly made on us.

Shri Ranga: What is the usual procedure in regard to these matters in order to come to some kind of settlement between the two Governments. It has been stated that the Chinese Government was pleading an excuse that these were all old maps. Have they got the latest maps? If they have got the latest maps at all, may I know whether have our diplomatic representative in China made any representations and also had any discussions in order to see that there would be some understanding between them and us in regard to this particular matter? There must be a periodical revision of their own maps. If they are going to take umbrage behind the Chiang Kai-shek's maps, what is the present position in regard to our understanding with that Government about our boundaries?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just ventured to say something which is more or less a reply to Mr. Ranga's question. I think the attitude taken up by the Chinese Government in this matter is not at all an adequate answer. I cannot reply on

their behalf. I am merely pointing out, it is not a question of our Ambassador raising the matter. I have raised it in personal letters myself continually, apart from the Embassy raising it.

श्री बाजपेयी : अभी प्रधानमंत्री जी ने कहा कि चीन सरकार यह तर्क दे रही है कि यह मैप च्यांगकाई शेक के सम्बन्ध में प्रकाशित किया गया था। क्या हमारी सरकार इस तर्क को स्वीकार करती है और अगर नहीं करती तो क्या इस सम्बन्ध में चीन की सरकार को कोई फॉर्मल प्रोटेस्ट भेजा गया है?

[Translation begins:

Shri Vajpayee : The Prime Minister has said just now that the Chinese Government claims that the map was published in respect of Chiang Kai-shek. Does our Government accept this argument and if it does not, has a formal protest been sent to the Chinese Government?

Translation ends.]

Mr. Speaker : That is what he has answered.

Shri Vajpayee: I want to know whether a formal protest has been launched.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जी हाँ जितने भी फॉर्मल तरीके से यह बात उठायी जा सकती थी यह बात उठायी गयी है और वह सिलसिला उठाने की अभी तक जारी है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Yes, the matter has been raised in as formal a manner as it could be raised and the process still continues.

Translation ends.]

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The Prime Minister told us not to attach much importance to the news items appearing in the papers. May I know whether his attention has been drawn to a reference made by Mr. Chou En-lai in the Chinese National Assembly to the effect that boundaries between China and other countries are to be settled again peacefully? Does it mean and has it been enquired by our Ambassador that they do not accept the Macmahon line as the border line between India and China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did see something, some kind of a report to that effect. What exactly it means, I cannot interpret that. We are actually corresponding on this issue with the Chinese Government. I would like to wait for their answer before I interpret their meanings.

131. In the Lok Sabha: Restrictions on Consul-General in Lhasa⁹⁵

Indian Consul-General in Lhasa

Question:⁹⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that our Consul-General in Lhasa was subjected to restrictions regarding his movements since the current unrest in Tibet;
- (b) if so, nature of these restrictions; and
- (c) whether these restrictions are still in operation?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) to (c). For some days after fighting broke out in Lhasa on the 20th March it was impossible for the Consul-General and his staff to go out of the premises of the Consulate General. The Vice-Director of the Foreign Bureau told the Consul-General that in their own interest, except for very essential work the personnel of the Consulate General should not leave their premises. Chinese troops who were posted just outside the premises did not allow any person to go out of the premises or come in. When the Consul-General wished to go out on the 20th March to see the Indian nationals and send some members of his staff to the market, the Chinese guards informed him that they had to take up the matter with the Foreign Bureau. The Consul-General found it difficult even to send a letter to the Foreign Bureau. Two or three days later, he was told by the guard that persons who were in possession of identity cards with photographs endorsed by the Foreign Bureau would be allowed to leave the premises. On or about the 8th April the Chinese Foreign Bureau returned the identity cards sent to them for endorsement and thereafter difficulties about the movement of the staff disappeared. The Consul-General was informed by the Foreign Bureau on

95. Reply to questions, 22 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 12759-12760.

96. By Congress MP S.A. Mehdi and PSP MP Bapu Nath Pai.

April 11 that only cars with special permits of the Military Control Commission could be used. He would be provided with a car by the Control Commission whenever he required one. On the 17th the Foreign Bureau informed the Consul-General that he could use the Consulate car without any special permit and that the staff of the Consulate-General also could leave the premises without showing their identity cards or passports of the guards. Since then all restrictions appear to have been removed.

Shri S.A. Mehdi: Is it a fact that even wireless connection was cut off for some time after that?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: No, Sir.

Shri Vajpayee: Are we to understand that our Mission in Lhasa was virtually under house arrest in those days?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No, Sir, that would not be correct. The facts indicate that conditions were such in Lhasa, if I may say so, that for some time it was not completely under the control of the Chinese authorities. As soon as they came more or less under their control, they permitted the staff of the Consulate to go out; but, not during the period when presumably the conditions were not wholly under their control.

132. In the Rajya Sabha: Prince Peter of Greece on Tibet⁹⁷

Maulana M. Faruqi:⁹⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state Government's attitude in regard to the allegations made by Prince Peter of Greece to the effect that India rendered assistance to the Chinese Government in over-running Tibet in 1950?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): The statement of Prince Peter of Greece referred to by the hon. Member is entirely false and is a pure invention. It was contradicted officially on the 4th April, 1959 and again by the P.M. in his press conference on 5th April, 1959.

97. Reply to questions, 23 April 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, cols 444-447.

98. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

मौलाना एम. फ़ारूकी : मिस्टर पीटर ने जो बयान दिया है, उसमें उन्होंने यह कहा है कि जब चीन सन 1950 के शुरू में तिब्बत के ऊपर अपना कब्ज़ा जमाना चाहता था तो क्या उस वक़्त यहाँ से ट्रांसपोर्ट वगैरह में ट्रक का इस्तेमाल हुआ था?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : आप प्रिंस पीटर का बयान दोहरा कर पूछते हैं कि क्या यह सही है? वह बिल्कुल ग़लत है जो उन्होंने कहा और महज़ ग़लत ही नहीं है, बल्कि मुमकिनत में दाखिल नहीं है यानी हिन्दुस्तान से, सिक्किम से कोई ट्रक या गाड़ी जा ही नहीं सकती उस पार। वहाँ तो सिर्फ़ खच्चर जाया करते हैं।

श्री नवाब सिंह चौहान : क्या यह सच है कि जिस वक़्त दलाई लामा तेजपुर पहुँचे थे उस वक़्त प्रिंस पीटर को वहाँ जाने की इजाज़त दी गयी थी? अगर यह ठीक है तो ऐसे लोगों को जो ग़लतबयानी करते हैं देश में रहने की कैसे इजाज़त दी जाती है?⁹⁹

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अजीब-अजीब सवाल होते हैं जनाब, जिनका वाक़यात से कोई वास्ता नहीं है। मुझे इल्म नहीं है कि इजाज़त दी गयी। मैंने तो नहीं दी है और न ही देने का इरादा है।

[Translation Begins :

Maulana M. Faruqi : In the statement which Mr. Peter has given, he has said that when China wanted to occupy Tibet in the beginning of 1950 then at that time were trucks used in the transport at that time ?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : You repeat the statement of Prince Peter and then ask whether it is true or not ? It is absolutely incorrect. What he said was totally

99. However on 21 April 1959, *The Hindu* reported: "In pursuance of the object of preventing undesirable activities from the Indian territory, the Government would keep a careful watch and take necessary precautionary measures. It is in pursuit of the same object that the Government of India has now refused to give a visa to Prince Peter of Greece to re-enter India. The Prince who left India two years ago again applied for a visa some time ago and even claimed that as he was permitted by the Government of India several years ago to purchase a bungalow in Kalimpong he must be permitted to return. Instructions have been sent to the appropriate Indian Embassy abroad to refuse the visa to the Prince and also point out to him that the house in Kalimpong was purchased by him as leader of the Danish mountaineering expedition and not in his personal capacity. Mr. Nehru had described Prince Peter's allegations of Indian complicity in the Chinese occupation of Tibet as a fantastic and despicable lie."

wrong and not only wrong but it is not included even in the probabilities, that is, no vehicle can go on the other side through Sikkim. Only mules go there.

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan : Is it true that when the Dalai Lama reached Tezpur, Prince Peter was given permission to go there? If this is true then why are such people allowed to live in the country who make such wrong statements?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Strange questions are asked, Sir, which have no relation to the events. I have no knowledge whether permission was given. I did not give it, nor do I have any willingness to do so.

Translation ends.]

Shri N.M. Lingam: May I know, Sir, if the Greek Government has expressed any view on the reported statement of this prince, and, if so, what it was?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not concern the Greek Government of course, but the Greek Government has indicated that they are in no way responsible for what Prince Peter says.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:¹⁰⁰ May I know, Sir, for how long this Prince lived in Kalimpong and in Darjeeling, and whether during his stay there the Government received any information through the Central Intelligence Bureau and through the Press about his anti-Indian activities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the exact period of his stay there but he lived there for a number of years. He also acquired some house property. Some of his activities were not considered desirable by Government either by the Government of West Bengal or by the Government of India and it was suggested to him that it would be better if he left Kalimpong and indeed, India. Subsequently, I think, because of illness, either his illness or his wife's, the period of his stay was extended a little longer. Later he left.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know exactly when the communication from the Government of West Bengal reached the External Affairs Ministry here and the Prime Minister came to know otherwise of his activities and why there was so much delay in dealing with a case against whom a report had already been sent to the Centre and also spoken about in the Press?

100. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the exact date and say exactly when I can only say that this matter has been a pending matter for some years. But finally, I think, it must be about two years ago or so, and the reason why we have not taken a decision is that we extended the period of his stay there, because we were told that his wife was very ill.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It appears that in a Calcutta Paper, *Jugantar*, Amrita Bazar Group, a statement has appeared of Prof. Delani, who is a French national teaching something in that area. She complains in the letter that she was approached by somebody, some important people, for doing espionage work with regard to certain things, to which the attention of the Government was also drawn.

May I know, Sir, whether Prince Peter was one of those people approaching her and if so, what action the Government has taken in the light of this public statement this lady had made?

Mr. Chairman: This is another question. It does not arise out of that question.

133. In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Traders in Tibet¹⁰¹

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that the Indian Traders Union of Tibet has requested the Government of India to approach the Chinese Government for the removal of their difficulties in Tibet in connection with their trade and daily life?
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative; what are the difficulties experienced by the Indian traders there; and what steps have so far been taken by Government in this respect and with what results; and
- (c) what steps have been taken by Government for the safety of Indian traders during the recent disturbances in Tibet?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The Government of India have received no request recently from the Indian Traders Union in Tibet for the removal of their difficulties. A statement explaining the action taken on the memorandum of the Bharatiya Vyapari Sangh

101. Reply to questions, 23 April 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 493-498.

Yatung presented by their representatives to Prime Minister in October, 1958 is placed on the Table of the House.

(c) During the recent disturbances it was difficult for our Consul General and the Trade Agents to move about freely or to contact the Indian nationals. We spoke to the Chinese authorities and expressed our hope that full protection would be given to Indian nationals generally. We were assured that wherever Chinese troops were posted our nationals would be given protection.

STATEMENT

Action taken on the memorandum presented to the Prime Minister of India by the Bharatiya Vyapari Sangh Yatung

- (i) Landing certificate for grant of rebate on excisable goods.—The Government of India is considering how far the existing procedure can be revised.
- (ii) Delegation of powers to the Indian Trade Agent, Yatung to renew passports held by Indian traders.—The traders are not issued passports but hold traders' certificates prescribed under Article V(I) of the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954. The existing practice under which these certificates are renewed by the Sikkim Checkposts is working satisfactorily and no change is considered desirable.
- (iii) Running of private vehicles and purchase of lands in Tibet.—According to paragraphs (ii) and (13) of the Notes exchanged between the Governments of India and China on 29th April, 1954 Indian traders can hire means of transportation at normal and reasonable rates and also rent buildings and godowns in accordance with the local regulations. The local regulations do not permit the owning of lands and vehicles by foreigners in Tibet.
- (iv) Recognition of Bharatiya Vyapari Sangh.—This question is being taken up with the authorities of China.
- (v) Trade permits for foreign goods.—There are no restrictions on export to Tibet from India of foreign imported goods but under the Indo-China Trade Agreement of 1954 import permits for re-export to Tibet cannot be granted excepting the goods of Chinese origin.
- (vi) Export quota of iron and steel and rice etc.—It has not been possible to meet the request of the Yatung traders that monthly quota of 100 tons of iron and steel should exclusively be given to them as the traders of Kalimpong who have been trading in Tibet since time immemorial have also to be accommodated. For purposes of proper coordination it is also not practicable to authorise Political Officer in Sikkim to issue the quota certificates.

The Government of India is considering how far, in view of the acute shortage of food in the country, a rice quota can be allocated for Tibet.

- (vii) Petrol, Lubricants, diesel oil etc.—The request of the Yatung traders that the quota of the above articles reserved for Tibet should be given to Indian traders of Yatung and Phari, cannot be accepted as the existing practice of giving permits to bona fide traders on the recommendations of the Indian Trade Agents and Consul General, Lhasa has worked well and is considered equitable.

134. To Congress Workers: Be Calm¹⁰²

NEHRU ADVISED RESTRAINT

Mussoorie, April 24—Prime Minister Nehru today said that the question of Tibet was a complicated one and “would cause a lot of worry as different countries are involved in it.”

He was addressing Congress workers here soon after his arrival from Dehra Dun this morning.

Pandit Nehru said: “The Dalai Lama has not come here for mere pleasure, although you may be happy that Mussoorie was chosen for his stay in India. His coming is related to the circumstances that arose in Tibet. These are complicated circumstances and will cause a lot of worry to different countries which have relations with it (Tibet). Now, in this matter, sentiments and emotions are certainly aroused and there is an element of passion also. But we have to ponder over these things with a cool and calm mind. We should not be swept away by any sentiment or passion because international relations are involved.”

The Prime Minister said that other countries were interested in the Tibetan question and India had relations with these countries. “I, therefore, want that all people should exercise wisdom and restraint and feel a sense of responsibility in saying anything on this matter. Whatever the sympathies of people might be over this issue—they have a right to express them - but giving an opinion on these complicated matters when full facts are not known is not a very responsible thing to do.”

Pandit Nehru asked the citizens of Mussoorie to remember that they should not do anything that might disturb the Dalai Lama.

“I do not mean to say that you will do anything conscious to disturb him, but you should not crowd round his house and disturb his thought,” he said.

102. Report of speech, Mussoorie, 24 April 1959. From the *National Herald*, 25 April 1959.

The Dalai Lama, he added, should be allowed to live in peace. "You must remember that during the last month the Dalai Lama had to undertake a very big and difficult journey and the circumstances of the journey were also painful to the Dalai Lama. So it is only proper that the Dalai Lama should get an opportunity in a peaceful atmosphere to consult his colleagues on the ups and downs in Tibet and get over the mental strain."

135. Talk with the Dalai Lama¹⁰³

Record of Prime Minister's Meeting
with the Dalai Lama on 24th April 1959
(1520 hours to 1920 hours)

After the usual greetings, Prime Minister enquired from the Dalai Lama whether he has had some rest after his hard journey. The Dalai Lama replied that he has had two days of rest after arriving in Mussoorie and felt much better.

P.M. conveyed Indira Gandhi's personal greetings to the D.L. and the D.L. thanked him for it.

D.L. then expressed his great pleasure in meeting the P.M. once again after an absence of two years. D.L. said that he has been looking forward to this meeting, especially in view of the troubles that had overtaken Tibet. His Holiness thanked the P.M. for the special officers he had sent to meet him and for all the sympathy he had expressed regarding the Tibetan cause. D.L. mentioned that he was not going to repeat all that he had said to Mr. P.N. Menon since it must have been duly conveyed to the P.M.

P.M. [:] Yes, I know the background.

D.L. [:] I wish to tell Your Excellency something more in this occasion. The story of Tibet up to 1956 is well known. In 1957, during D.L.'s visit to India, he had the benefit of detailed talks with the P.M. and in the light of those talks the D.L. had tried on his return to Tibet, to improve relations with Chinese authorities. On his way back to Lhasa, at Gyantse he had spoken to his Tibetan officers that although spiritually Tibet was advanced,

103. Mussoorie, 24 April 1959. Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML. Besides the official interpreters, only S. Dutt was present at the talks.

This document has been reproduced faithfully. As is evident, there are numerous spelling and other errors which have not been corrected in any way.

they were in the material field very backward and that the Chinese were coming up with modern ideas and, therefore, economic and social reforms were inevitable. D.L. himself welcomed such reforms, but was of the view that they should be in accordance with the wishes of the Tibetan people. Since the Chinese had announced that they were endeavouring to improve the social, economic and cultural standards of the Tibetan people, it should be welcomed so long as it was not carried out against the wishes of the Tibetan people. That was the fundamental criterion by which all reform measures in Tibet were to be judged. When the D. L. had gone back to Lhasa, he told all his Tibetan officers of the Preparatory Committee that when the autonomous Governmental set up is brought into force, the Government of Tibet will have to be carried on by the Tibetan people themselves and that till they have adequate trained personnel carrying out the various activities of the Government, they should accept guidance from the Chinese Government. It was, of course, understood that in the long run the Tibetan people themselves would run their own Government. These declarations of the D.L. created a good feeling and strengthened the nationalist sentiment of the Tibetan people. These suggestions of the D.L., which were first expressed at Gyantse were brought to the notice of Tibetan students studying in the national minority institutions in China proper.

P.M. enquired how these ideas of the D.L. were conveyed to these Tibetan students and the D.L.'s reply was that Tibetans who went to China and met the students, conveyed them.

D.L. continued to say that afterwards Tibetan students in minority schools in Peking, etc., thought that this was good principle to be followed. The students, therefore, suggested to their Chinese teachers that further instructions to them should be on these lines, Viz., to make them capable of standing on their own legs and running their own Government in Tibet.

P.M. [:] Before this, were the Tibetan students satisfied with the instructions given to them?

D.L. [:] They were not satisfied entirely, because they were not being taught about history and culture of Tibet. Since then (1956-57) Tibetan students started asking for more lectures on Tibetan culture, religion, history, etc., just like the study of Chinese history, culture, etc., which they were already undertaking.

D.L. said that "I have mentioned to Mr. Menon about these matters and he can explain them to P.M., if necessary."

D.L. continued: It was his hope as well as that of his government to improve Tibet further. They told the Chinese that whatever programme of reform was envisaged should be first checked and discussed with Tibetan officials, so that there was no defect or flaw in them while implementing them. The rebellion against the Chinese had already started in 1956-57 and by the time D.L. returned to Lhasa, the Tibetan people were alarmed at the drastic action taken by the Chinese against the Khampas. The troubles started in Kham because the Chinese wanted to push the pace of reform considerably. When the Chinese found that the people were not satisfied with them and their policies, they tried to make some slight changes by reducing their own staff (civil cadres)—a minor form of retrenchment. The news from Kham steadily became worse and worse and D.L. felt this minor modification in policy in Tibet was a direct result of this. D.L. and the Tibetan Government tried hard to come to terms with Chinese.

P.M. [:] When did the Kham troubles actually start?

D.L. [:] By the end of 1955.

P.M. [:] So, there was trouble at the time of D.L.'s visit to India?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] Is Kham in the Chinese part or Tibetan part of Tibet?

D.L. [:] The troubles started in the Chinese part and by 1957 had spread to the Tibet part of Kham.

P.M. [:] How did the troubles originally start?

D.L. [:] The Chinese pushed ahead with their 'liberation' policy in the southern area (Sadam) in 1956. The revolt of the population in Sadam sparked the uprising in Kham and spread to Lithang, and Chating as the reforms attempted were clearly intolerable to the people there.

P.M. [:] Was this in Tibet proper?

D.L. [:] No.

P.M. [:] Was the reform agrarian?

D.L. [:] It also included agrarian reforms.

D.L. then said that on account of this violent reaction of the people, the Chinese started saying in Tibet that they would carry out such reforms only in Chinese areas; they would introduce them only later in Tibet.

P.M. [:] When did they say this?

D.L. [:] Before they held a meeting in 1954-55 at Tachienlu, they had said that such a reform will not be carried out in Tibet on the ground that since religion and traditional culture was deep-rooted there, any reform in Tibet will be with reference to the wishes of the people themselves.

P.M. [:] Reforms. What does it mean?

D.L. [:] Agrarian, economic, social and other reforms.

P.M. [:] Rebellion in Kham was the direct result of these reforms and because the people there did not like them?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] What did the Chinese do? Crush the rebellion?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] Was there much fighting?

D.L. [:] There was a very great fight. Many Chinese were killed.

P.M. [:] Many Chinese killed? How many? I mean numbers.

D.L. [:] There was a great fight.

After some thought, D.L. said that in 1958 about 20,000 Chinese were killed in Kham. D.L. again said that sporadic fighting still continues in Chinese

Kham.

P.M. [:] What were the casualties in the Khampa side? — heavy?

D.L. [:] The Chinese loss is greater than that of the Tibetan side.

P.M. [:] How is that ?

D.L. [:] One Khampa can fight with ten Chinese.

P.M. [:] The Chinese have good arms and how is this possible?

D.L. explained that the Khampa's superiority lay in close in fighting. Their tactics were not to exchange many shots until the Chinese got very close and then the Khampas fought very well.

P.M. [:] Where do the Khampas get arms from?

D.L. [:] Since ages they have been an armed people. They have further captured arms from the Chinese.

P.M. [:] The rebellion was in the Kham on the Chinese side and then it spread to Tibet part, although the reforms had not been introduced in the Tibetan part?

D.L. [:] Yes, because the Chinese started using strong words only recently and did not initiate reforms.

P.M. [:] During the Kham troubles, did the Chinese use aerial bombing?

D.L. [:] Yes, many monasteries were damaged.

P.M. [:] In Chinese or Tibetan area?

D.L. [:] Damage was done in the Chinese area of Kham.

P.M. [:] After that?

D.L. [:] Since the great troubles in Lhasa recently, great damage has also been caused there.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

D.L. continued: After the destruction of monasteries in Kham, monks of Kham fled their towns and villages and took to hills and the Chinese started anti-religious propaganda there.

P.M. [:] When did this revolt spread to Tibetan areas?

D.L. [:] By the middle of 1957, viz. by the time D.L. returned.

P.M. [:] What did the D.L. do about that?

D.L. [:] In 1956, Gyawa Karmapa (head of the Red-Head Sect)¹⁰⁴ and Ngapho Shape were sent to Kham to tell the people there to be peaceful. By 1958 the situation became much more tense in Kham and there was more Chinese aerial bombing and a stepping up of blasphemous anti-religious propaganda in these areas.

P.M. [:] What kind of blasphemous anti-religious propaganda? Was it done through papers or by speeches of leaders, etc.?

D.L. [:] In papers and in talks. The talks were started in the Committee, which considered the question of introducing communes in Kham and Kokonor areas. They said religion was very bad and introduced by a very bad man. So, Lamas should be eradicated in order to achieve real progress.

P.M. [:] During this time, did the Chinese discuss the situation about the rebellion with D.L.?

D.L. [:] Yes. The topic of talk was that only a small number of people were involved and it was, therefore, easily suppressed.

P.M. [:] To begin with, but when the troubles dragged on, what did they say?

D.L. [:] Whenever there was any contact with the Chinese, they played down the rebellion and D.L. got his information about the extent of the troubles from other sources.

¹⁰⁴. Should be Red Hat.

P.M. [:] Did they ever ask for D.L.'s support to suppress the rebellion?

D.L. [:] Never.

P.M. [:] Even on the Tibetan side did they not ask for support?

D.L. [:] Only after the troubles took place in Lhoka and Tsangareas, they asked.

D.L. enquired at this stage, how much more time the P.M. could spare him.

P.M. replied about one and a half hours.

D.L. [:] So shortly religious activities in Kham and Amdo areas were completely stopped. Khampas on the Chinese side of Kham are suffering very much in consequence.

P.M. [:] Have they suppressed the revolt completely?

D.L. [:] Very heavily suppressed. But guerilla fighting is going on although all inhabited areas have now been occupied by Chinese.

D.L. continued: By 1958 the Chinese started anti-religious propaganda in Lhasa itself. Usually, the Tibetan papers published in Kantze and Kokonor were never received in Lhasa. These papers were intentionally brought to Lhasa in 1958, so that people would study them. Although the Chinese tried to censor Kham news, the bad news from there spread to the rest of Tibet and the Chinese intention to harm the religion made the Tibetan people most unhappy. Although autonomy is said to have been given to Tibet, it is a sham autonomy. All suggestions come from the Chinese themselves and the Tibetans have to sign on the dotted line. By the end of last year, the people in Tibet changed their attitude towards the Chinese. It became worse by early this year. An invitation to D.L. to attend a theatrical function and the sudden fixing up of a certain date, viz, 10th March for it, alarmed the people. The people thought that the Chinese would take the D.L. forcibly away to China. Crowds gathered and what happened afterwards has already been conveyed through Mr. Menon. The people openly voiced their sentiments in demanding overthrow of Chinese rule and set up committees to rule themselves. The old local Government of Tibet tried their best to come to terms with the Chinese and pacify the people. It was a very critical time for the local Government and they were faced with a dilemma whether

they were to go over to the Chinese or side with the People. They followed a policy of peace. At that time three letters from Gen. Tan Kwan San¹⁰⁵ were received and D.L. and the Kashag¹⁰⁶ also wrote letters. In their letters to the D.L., the Chinese mentioned (1) that the restoration of law and order in Lhasa was the responsibility of the local Tibetan Government; (2) dispersal of crowds to be carried out, otherwise there would be serious consequences; and (3) D.L. will either come over to the Chinese or show where he was actually staying in the Norbulingka¹⁰⁷ compound by sending a plan of the actual palace in which he lived. This letter asking for the plan of the palace was accompanied by an explanation to the Dalai Lama by Ngapho Shape.

P.M. [:] What is the reason for this request?

D.L. [:] The reason is not known but from the trend of the letter the Chinese probably had the intention of destroying everything else in Norbulingka except that palace. But on the dawn of 20th March they shelled the entire Norbulingka Palace with heavy artillery.

D.L. emphasised that these letters of the Chinese did not contain any suggestion for coming to terms with the Tibetans.

In response to P.M.'s direct query, D.L. confirmed that he received 3 letters from the Chinese General and that he had sent the replies. Referring to the first letter, which D.L. wrote to Gen. Tan, he said at that moment Norbulingka was surrounded by the people and it was impossible for him to come out of the palace.

P.M. [:] Has the D.L. seen his letters to the Chinese General?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. drew D.L.'s attention to his first letter. D.L. confirmed it. The second letter written by D.L. also was confirmed by D.L.

105. General Tan Kuan-san, Acting Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military area Command.

106. The governing council of Tibet.

107. Traditional summer palace of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa.

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P.M. [:] D.L. puts the blame in part of his first letter to Gen. Tan entirely on the Tibetans?

D.L. [:] The reference could be to the Chinese as well.

P.M. [:] No. The reference is clearly to the Tibetans.

D.L. [:] It was under Chinese provocation that Tibetan elements referred to in that letter acted as they did.

P.M. [:] The second letter of Gen. Tan to the D.L. refers to military preparations of the Tibetan people of Lhasa and of Military provocation. D.L. confirmed this.

P.M. [:] Your second letter casts all the blame on the Tibetan people for the troubles and was this not supporting the Chinese thesis regarding these troubles?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] Was this what the D.L. felt at the time or was it what he just wanted to tell the Chinese?

D.L. [:] Such feelings as expressed in the letter can never be held by the D.L. against his people. But he has to give out such an explanation to the Chinese. He was trying to find a peaceful solution all the time. Till 1600 hours on 17th March he had hopes of finding a peaceful solution. However, from 10th to 17th March he had another idea and because of that he wrote like this. From 10th March onwards he was thinking of going away from Lhasa, but he did not want to create any suspicion in the minds of the Chinese.

P.M. [:] Was D.L. preparing for it (leaving) if he was thinking of it for a week?

D.L. [:] No preparation. I only got hours' preparation, viz., from 1600 hours on 17th March.

P.M. referred to Gen Tan's last letter which said about the possible abduction of the D.L. by rebels.

P.M. [:] Did D.L. get this letter?

D.L. [:] Yes,

P.M. took D.L.'s letter of the 16th replying to the General and read out the second paragraph. D.L. confirmed having written this.

P.M. queried regarding the expression of intention of joining the Chinese secretly in that letter and asked D.L. if this was correct.

D.L. [:] The intention was to delude the Chinese.

P.M. [:] Although the hope was not given up for a peaceful settlement?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] What kind of settlement was envisaged?

D.L. [:] It was hoped that the passions of the people in Norbulingka (consisting of Khampas, Tibetan people, etc.) would cool down.

P.M. [:] Who were demonstrating in Lhasa?

D.L. [:] The people of Lhasa.

P.M. [:] You mentioned Khampas?

D.L. [:] In Norbulingka there were about 2,000 Khampas volunteers who were guarding the palace.

P.M. [:] How did they come? Secretly?

D.L. [:] No. The Khampas had collected in Lhasa.

P.M. [:] Not invited?

D.L. [:] They were trying to send them away but they insisted on coming in.

P.M. [:] Why did the Chinese not take any action till the 20th while all this was taking place?

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D.L. [:] They were not fully prepared.

P.M. [:] But they got reinforcements?

D.L. [:] Yes. They were stationed in 3 places in Lhasa.

P.M. [:] Were they reinforced in the next few days?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] What was the normal Chinese military strength in Lhasa before the disturbances?

D.L. [:] It was a military secret. About 20,000 or so. It may not have been to that extent even. The Tibetans were kept in the dark about the strength of the Chinese troops,

P.M. [:] How did they come? By lorry or by air?

D.L. [:] Soldiers in the outskirts of Lhasa were centralised. After the 20th they may have come upto Dan Shung aerodrome (near Lhasa) by air and then brought up by trucks.

P.M. [:] While all this was happening, was anything happening in other parts of Tibet?

D.L. [:] Not in other parts of Tibet except at Tsethang, where some Chinese troops were surrounded by Khampas.

P.M. [:] So a big change took place with the firing of shells or mortars which fell in the pond in Norbulingka.

D.L. [:] Because there were other reasons also. (1) The Chinese request for the exact place or building where D.L. stayed and (2) the Chinese had already started firing the Tibetans with rifles.

P.M. [:] The Chinese because of D.L.'s letter, are entitled to think that he has been abducted.

D.L. [:] I agree.

P.M. [:] That is, on the basis of this that Premier Chou-en Lai goes on asserting this?

D.L. [:] Yes,

P.M. [:] That is why despite the Tezpur statement¹⁰⁸ they do not believe it.

P.M. continued: Where was Panchen Lama¹⁰⁹ all this time.

D.L. [:] At Shigatse.

D.L. continued: Now that the Prime Minister knows the full facts about these letters, D.L. would like to take guidance from him and in that connection, would like to say something. At 2200 hrs. on 17th March they left Lhasa. On 26th March they set up a new Tibetan Government and after leaving some officials in charge of that Government they came to India for shelter and guidance. D.L. continued: Into-Tibetan bonds have been existing for thousands of years and from the geographical point of view India and Tibet are very close neighbours. The honour shown to D.L. and party during the Buddha Jayanti Celebrations in India had filled the entire Tibetan people with hope. At this time, it was only through India that peace can be restored in Tibet. Tibetans needed the real help of the people of India. D.L. continued: it was because of the backwardness of Tibet that they were in the present situation. The old generation of Tibetans had thought only of religion. The present situation is a result of their past mistakes. At the time of Indian independence they had wanted to establish sound and close relationship with India, but this did not come off. Between 1947 and 1950, Tibetan officials had failed completely in this respect. At the present time, the entire Tibetan people were conscious of the need for reform in their country's political sphere. They felt that they should adopt the best methods in the political field and at the same time not harm their religion. If the Chinese make any interference in such kind of reformation, it would be clearly anti-religious. They think they have to lead their own life and the Chinese should not interfere. D.L. said whether in Tibet or in the Kham areas of China they are all Buddhists. The whole foundation of Tibetan tradition is based on religion, and if they cannot carry on on that basis, they would become like a people without their souls. If any changes are to be brought

108. On 18 April 1959.

109. Lobsang Trinley Lhündrub Chökyi Gyaltzen.

about in Tibet they should be brought about by the Tibetan people themselves and not by foreigners and especially the Chinese, who were non-religious. They must gain complete independence and attain the real peace which can only be had by the practice of religion. D.L. emphasised that the Tibetans were no longer so conservative and wanted reforms to be carried out but according to their own people's wishes. He had received many letters from his people asking for efforts to attain Tibet's independence in the long run. The Tibetan students in China have also been showing strong national feelings.

Interrupting D.L., P.M. said emphatically: Let us be relevant. I agreed with all this conception of a new world, etc. I myself would like to see a new India, but these are only wishes and one does not know whether I would actually live to see it. We have to see the situation as it is and understand realities. We understand about religion. If religion is really strong and dynamic it should be able to face up to a situation like this and if it is not able to do so, then there is something radically wrong with it. There are only two choices: either an armed struggle in which case the party with the bigger arms wins. The example of the students and their nationalist feeling is no doubt a good one and it goes to prove that you cannot convert a whole nation into anything unless they are themselves convinced that it would conform to their interests.

P.M. continued: If one has to fight for anything one should choose one's weapons carefully weapons which are to one's own advantage and not to that of the enemy. Violence is alright if one can be equal or superior to the enemy in arms. One must also know how to use violence in that case. I am not criticising but only analysing the factors of the situation in Tibet. Spiritual efforts and physical force are two different things. In an actual physical conflict the physical force that can be brought to play and its results will have to be taken into account. Something to this effect I had spoken to the D.L. at the time I met him during the Buddha Jayanti Celebrations. Speaking practically and not philosophically, Tibet became an economically and socially backward country. Such a country is physically weak and a poor country which cannot easily resist the force of a powerful country. To say "Now give us a chance to become a strong country" ignores the actual position. We cannot go on, on that basis. In all such cases, the effort of the people themselves is required to improve their position. Take India's own case. We had a background of relative backwardness ourselves and how hard the Indian people had to struggle before they actually achieved independence.

P.M. then asked: Did D.L. at any time speak to Premier Chou-en Lai and Gen. Tan that autonomy given to Tibet was not working or it was not real autonomy.

D.L. [:] Yes, I spoke to Chang Kuo-hua.¹¹⁰ In 1959 about the reforms in Kham being carried out against the wishes of the people there, but not about autonomy.

P.M. [:] When did D.L. and Premier Chou-en Lai last meet?

D.L. [:] In Delhi.

P.M. [:] Why did he not say this not once but a hundred times to Premier Chou-en Lai that there was not real autonomy in Tibet? Now to say that it was not working is not very effective.

P.M. went on: D.L. stated at Tezpur or somewhere that from May 58 onwards the Chinese suspected him—what actually happened then?

D.L. [:] The main point is that when they (Tibetans) tried to resist some of the harmful policies the Chinese opposed them and got angry with them. Since then, they are suspicious and now they are called rebels. D.L. confessed that it was their mistake not to have mentioned to Premier Chou-en Lai about autonomy. The Chinese, although outwardly make a show of welcoming criticism, were extremely angry when any criticism is leveled against them. There was, therefore, no change to tell them about this.

P.M. [:] The choice is between recourse to arms or standing up to the Chinese in frank talks in a direct manner. As regards help from India, undoubtedly there is a good deal of sympathy for Tibet in this country, undoubtedly, we do not want the Tibetan religion to be suppressed or submerged by the Chinese or by Communism. But exactly what do they want us to do? We cannot go to war with China or Tibet and even that would not help Tibet? What else do they expect us to do?

110. (1914-1972); Chinese politician; led Chinese forces into Tibet in 1951; commander of PLA in Tibet; Commander, Tibet Military Region, and First Secretary, Tibet Autonomous Region, 1965-67; suppressed Red Guard movement in Tibet, 1966-67; Director of Communist Party Affairs in South West China, 1967-68; First Political Commissar, Chengtu Military Region, 1967-68; Chairman, Szechwan Province Revolutionary Committee, 1968-72.

D.L. [:] Tibetans expect the achieving of independence in the long run.

P.M. [:] Let us face facts. One cannot bring heaven to the people in India even if I wish it. The whole world cannot bring freedom to Tibet unless the whole fabric of the Chinese State is destroyed. U.S.A., U.K., and others or anybody else cannot do this at present. D.L. should realise that in the present context Tibet's independence would mean the complete break-up of the Chinese State and it is not possible to envisage it as likely to happen. To defeat China is not easy. Only a world war, an atomic war can perhaps be the precursor of such possibility. Can one start a world war? Can India start a world war? Let us talk of the present and not of the future and be more realistic.

D.L. [:] Help is required for the present juncture. Since 20th March, the Chinese have been killing indiscriminately and burning large numbers of people. Can't this be stopped?

P.M. [:] How can I stop it? How can I stop anything from happening inside Tibet?

D.L. [:] There are killings by machine-gunning from the air. If there can be only a solution to this?

P.M. [:] There is a definite contradiction between this talk of a fight and this fear of killing. Ultimately if Tibet's independence is to be achieved, it will be due to its own people's courage and ability to stand up to suffering, whatever it may be, and not due to any help anybody else in the whole wide world can give.

D.L. [:] We do not have a speck of a desire to fight the Chinese violently for our independence. It was the Chinese who said that the Tibetans started the fight but this is completely untrue.

P.M. [:] It does not matter who started the fight and there is no good complaining. Only old women complain! Physically it is not possible to fight on behalf of Tibet. Even such a suggestion will harm them and their cause. Sympathy at present for Tibet cannot be converted into help by any country. D.L. should be under no illusion and, therefore, should fashion his policy with reference to actuality. Gen. Chiang Kai Shekh's name is mud and an association with him would only tend to make the cause much more hopeless and likely to end in complete failure. U.S.A., U.K. can do nothing. Therefore, at the present moment

if the D.L. reads newspapers he will find the anger of the Chinese against India. See for example the Panchen Lama's statement.¹¹¹ We have gone to the limit of our efforts. It is true not much has been done. Today we cannot even privately advise Chinese, because of this suspicion. The so-called help being given to you would close all the doors to such help. D.L. would remember that P.M. had spoken about Hungary. The troubles there aroused tremendous feelings and sympathy for hundreds of Hungarians were shot down but they could still not do anything except to help the refugees.¹¹² Therefore, we have to consider all these things.

P.M. then referred to the requests for interviews with D.L.: The case of Harrer, who is known to D.L. and who wants to see D.L. While there was no objection in principle, the suggestion that he might be invited to Austria or to

The Much Wanted Man



The Prime Minister will meet Dalai Lama this week at Mussorie.

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 APRIL 1959)

111. According to press reports, on 19 April 1959 in Peking, the Panchen Lama claimed that the Dalai Lama had been coerced by India into making his statement at Tezpur on 18 April; on 22 April he accused India of expansionist designs on Tibet and declared that Tibet had been a part of China since the thirteenth century.

112. For India's reaction to the Hungarian uprising, see SWJN/SS/35/pp. 450-485 and SWJN/SS/36/pp. 555-579.

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U.S.A., etc., would make the D.L. look like a piece of merchandise. This is an insulting way of dealing with His Holiness and it is clear that these attempts were merely efforts to try to make as much money out of him as is possible. In America, there is no real sympathy for Tibet. Chiang Kai Sheik has no sympathy. In fact, he has quarreled with P.M. 12 or 13 years ago because P.M. has said Tibet was a separate country. They all want to exploit Tibet in their cold war with the Soviet Union.

P.M. continued: As a practical question, what can we do about it? We are anxious to help but our capacity to help is very limited and the moment we try to extend it, it would stop even that capacity. War was not possible. Cursing the Chinese was no alternative. It would only stop every possibility of a peaceful settlement. P.M. himself intended to kept very quiet except when necessary in speaking in Parliament. His own advice would be to let the present excitement go down so that talks would be possible. The Chinese say India wants to grab Tibet and with this suspicion they suspect everything we say. P.M. was trying in these few moments to explain some basic facts to the D.L. He asked for the D.L.'s reactions to what the P.M. had already said.

D.L. [:] The Prime Minister has been kind enough to express the views of India. D.L. agreed India should be in the middle and try to help Tibet through China. At the present juncture the attempt should be to develop good relations between India and China so as to find a solution to Tibet. They cannot expect any military help from India knowing fully well the experience of Korea in the event of a conflict developing on the basis of a cold war.

P.M. [:] At the moment, our relations with China are bad. We have to recover the lost ground. By threats to China or condemnation of China we do not recover such ground. On the other hand, we do not show any fear of China or surrender to China's strength. We have yet to maintain good relations with China—a middle but difficult course. Does D.L. agree with this?

D.L. [:] Yes.

P.M. [:] The mere fact of D.L. living in India has some consequence to India, to Tibet, to China and to the rest of the world. In China it is immediately one of irritation and suspicion. D.L. being in India, keeps alive the question of Tibet in the minds of the world. Tibet, as it were, cannot close up without news. It becomes a difficult thing to manage. The tendency of the Chinese authorities would be to crush Tibet as soon as possible. Nobody can help. I cannot

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understand how the Khampas can resist overwhelming Chinese force? One should, therefore, not close the doors of settlement; otherwise, it becomes a fight to the death.

P.M. continued: I am glad that the D.L. issued a statement before coming here and not; after reaching Mussoorie. This statement is also suspected by the Chinese. In the main it covers all points. P.M. then advised no more long statements. The only kind of statements, if at all necessary, could relate about peace and ending of fighting in Tibet. An indication that despite all her sufferings Tibet had no quarrel with the Chinese may be helpful. P.M. deprecated the taking up of an attitude like "we must have independence or nothing else." This would not help, nor would the cursing of China help. Stress on peace and stopping of fighting and killing will help in keeping the subject in the right place and level.

P.M. then enquired whether D.L. thought this approach was all right.

D.L. [:] Judging the situation in Tibet, this is correct.

P.M. [:] Both the Tibetan situation and the DL's presence in India also warrant the adoption of such an attitude. For a month or six weeks there need not be any statements.

P.M. then enquired about the report about the setting up of a new Government and the details regarding it were given by the D.L.

P.M. [:] Certain consequences follow from this. We as a country cannot recognise this Government under international law. The moment we do this, we will have to withdraw our C.G. in Lhasa and lose all touch with Tibet.

D.L. enquired whether our C.G. was not responsible to the old Tibetan Government and since it has dissolved, did not the position change?

P.M. [:] It is an act of war against China, a step like that of withdrawing our C.G. and recognising the new Government.

P.M. then referred to D.L. and his party's contacts with this new rebel centre and said that while some contacts for news, etc., may be good, if it is publicly known that they are directing the rebellion from here, then international questions will come up.

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D.L. frankly admitted that they had no time to think about the consequences of setting up of a new Government and its position under international law. The difficulties of communication were there and they had certainly no intention of embarrassing India, since he did not want India's relations with any other country to be at all adversely affected.

P.M. [:] It also comes in the way of a settlement. If D.L. has agents, etc., it should not be openly known and kept secret.

P.M. mentioned that he had been talking for three and a half hours and could perhaps talk more. But this was not possible; particularly speaking, we should watch events and reactions for the next 2 to 3 weeks. D.L. can send messages orally or in writing by bag to Delhi. In the near future, P.M. cannot see him. After a while, when D.L. wants to come to Delhi he can come. If any necessity arises, Foreign Secretary can come and see him. P.M. expressed a hope of meeting D.L. later, of course, but not in the near future.

D.L. thanked the P.M. for his kind suggestions. He will convey it to the Kashag and will give full consideration to them.

P.M. [:] Menon will be here and can send messages from you.

P.M. then raised the question of Tibetan refugees. A large number of Tibetans were coming through our frontiers. If the number goes on increasing it will become a big problem. While not wanting to deny refuge we do not also want to received too vast a number either.

D.L. [:] Indeed, it will be a great problem for India. In the circumstances, Tibetans cannot go anywhere except to India. They rush to save themselves from the Chinese killings and he would appeal to the Government to be kind. As regards economic condition, D.L. wished they should look after themselves so that they are not parasites on the Government of India.

P.M. [:] How many does he expect to come in as refugees?

D.L. [:] It may not be more than 2,000.

P.M. [:] We have already got two thousand. It is not so much the economic aspect. It causes unhappiness to those who cannot fit themselves into the new environment and Tibetans cannot live in plains. He will keep in touch with

D.L. about this.

P.M. then pointedly told D.L. that he was no prisoner here and can go for walks, etc., in Mussoorie. As far as crowded parts were concerned, it is advisable to go by car. The entourage can also go out; but preferably in small groups and there was the language difficulty also. P.M. strongly advised D.L. not to have too many dealings with the press.

D.L. entirely agreed about the press.

P.M. [:] How did D.L. and party come out of Lhasa—in small groups?

D.L. [:] Groups of five. Sometimes one by one and then joined as groups.

P.M. enquired about the journey, whether it was extremely difficult.

D.L. [:] It was fairly difficult.

P.M. enquired about how the mother and members of the family took to the journey and whether it was too much of a strain for them.

D.L. [:] Not so difficult.

D.L. then thanked the Prime Minister and expressed his gratefulness for sparing so much time. He enquired whether as suggested by P.M., he could carry on religious activities in India and outside India?

P.M. [:] Certainly. How he could do this, D.L. will have to consider carefully.

D.L. then expressed a desire to meet the political officer in Sikkim.

P.M. [:] Some time later. Partly because our Communists have been specially accusing Political Officer, Sikkim, of intriguing against the Chinese.

F.S. mentioned that the Political Officer, Sikkim, could be called up to Delhi for consultations and then come to Mussoorie.

P.M. [:] He will come a little later. D.L. will be busy with many things. It may be worthwhile improving his Hindi and English.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

D.L. [:] I know a few sentences in Hindi. Meanwhile I am thinking of learning English.

P.M. [:] If D.L. wants any help, we will provide them.

D.L. mentioned that learning English might help him to understand international law and practice better.

Finally D.L. expressed the desire that continued guidance may be given to him in future as well by the Government of India.

The meeting ended with D.L. expressing once again his gratefulness to the P.M. for coming and spending such a long time with him.



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 26 APRIL 1959)

136. Press Conference¹¹³

ANY CHINESE EMISSARY FREE TO SEE DALAI LAMA
NEHRU REGRETS PANCHEN LAMA'S STATEMENT HOPES
FOR RETURN OF TIBETAN LEADER

MUSSOORIE, April 24.

Prime Minister Nehru said at a press conference here today that "if any emissary comes to see the Dalai Lama, it will be open for the Dalai Lama to see him."

Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that conditions would be created for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

113. Mussoorie, 24 April 1959. From the *National Herald*, 25 April 1959.

As for the Panchen Lama's charge against so called expansionist Indian elements, Pandit Nehru said: "No, I cannot answer this question now. Obviously, I do not agree with that statement. I find from the report from Peking that they are so much influenced by the past history of Tibet. There was no doubt that the then British Government did act in that way in Tibet."

He said what the Panchen Lama had said was "in a state of high excitement".

Pandit Nehru said that what the Panchen Lama had stated about the Dalai Lama two days ago "does not do justice to India or China or Tibet or even to the Panchen Lama himself."

The Prime Minister said that he would welcome the Panchen Lama to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama or anyone else he liked. "We will, of course, treat him with every courtesy, he or anyone else the Chinese Ambassador or any Chinese emissary, could see the Dalai Lama."

Expressing the hope that conditions would be created for the return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet, Pandit Nehru said that this as well as other matters should not be subjects of heated exchanges and debate and had to be considered quietly with a view to avoiding the situation getting worse.

Asked whether in the face of official and non-official comments from Peking he was optimistic about a peaceful solution of the Tibetan problem, Pandit Nehru said: "Well of course, however long it may take—it may not be quick—one always tries for that".

Asked if he had taken up the matter diplomatically with Peking Pandit Nehru said: "No, except of course, for the first time when the Dalai Lama entered and asked for asylum, we informed them."

A foreign correspondent asked whether the statement of the Dalai Lama that he was not under duress and the fact that he was surrounded by barbed wire, sentries and guards were not irreconcilable, Pandit Nehru said: "you are mixing up the two things. It is patently not so. He has come here on his own. For security and other purposes we have to make certain arrangements. It is quite a different matter."

Pandit Nehru said: "I do not know how the situation will develop, whether the large number of people who are with him will continue to be with him: but, if I may say so, if any emissary comes to see him, it will be open for the Dalai Lama to see him."

Describing the Dalai Lama as a "big traveller", Pandit Nehru said the Dalai Lama's journey had been quite unusual and he needed rest and freedom from constant worry. "The Dalai Lama came here in 1956 and stayed for some months which resulted in some personal contact. To us he is not a vague mystical figure."

Replying to question about the possibility of interviewing members of the

Dalai Lama, entourage, Pandit Nehru said: "We do not wish to muzzle him but we are expected to keep in view the difficulties of the situation. After all the Dalai Lama is more interested in the return of peaceful conditions in Tibet and solution of the crisis there. I hope we will return to Tibet, but cannot say how long it will take."

Pandit Nehru said that "Indian interest in Tibet is historical, sentimental and religious but not essentially political. That interest is warranted by common bonds of religion and culture. This feeling can be noticed all over the country."

A correspondent suggested that the meeting of the Prime Minister and the Dalai Lama was unprecedented in diplomatic history.

Pandit Nehru said: "Naturally. The Dalai Lama came here three years ago and spent several months and some personal contacts arose so that he is not to us a vague and mystical figure. He is a human being whom we know. I would not have rushed up to see him if I had not this engagement." (travel agents meeting).¹¹⁴

The Prime Minister, answering another question said that it was obvious that reports from India about the Dalai Lama's statement had "upset and irritated" the Chinese.¹¹⁵

137. To B.P. Chaliha: Tibetan Refugees¹¹⁶

Thank you for your telegram 23459 of April 24.¹¹⁷ We shall certainly give you every possible assistance, but our idea is that the camp should be purely temporary and arrangements for accommodation and feeding of the refugees need not be made on an elaborate scale. We do not contemplate keeping these refugees for a long period in camp or making financial and other provisions for them as in the case of the Indian refugees from Burma during the war. Nor is it our intention to draw up any long-term plan for the settlement of these refugees in India. We think that after the first rush is over, the frontier itself will be

114. See item 66, pp. 336-338.

115. According to a PTI report: "Prime Minister Nehru said that there was no question of any joint statement or separate statement being issued after his meeting with the Dalai Lama. 'Whatever statement is to be made will be made in the normal course,' he added. The Dalai Lama, Pandit Nehru said at press conference, had come after a tremendous journey and required rest and freedom from the consequent worry. Pandit Nehru said that he had come to Mussoorie in fulfillment of an old engagement, not realising that 'I will have to meet a big traveller'."

116. Telegram, 25 April 1959.

117. See Appendix 14, pp. 594-595.

sealed by the Chinese and not many will be able to come in later. Our intention is that after those who have come in have been accommodated in a temporary camp and their details are sorted out, they will be asked to shift for themselves and if necessary we shall give them some ad hoc financial assistance. I agree that Tezpur is not an ideal location for Tibetan refugees, but no alternative arrangement at a more suitable place is practicable in the short time at our disposal.

2. We shall certainly send you some Tibetan knowing staff. Your proposal for sending two or three responsible persons from the Dalai Lama's entourage to help in the sorting out of the refugees is a good one and we are making immediate enquiries in this respect. There are certain obvious political objections to Government sponsoring a relief fund or making a public appeal. In fact we shall have to take care to prevent individuals and organisations from making political capital of the plight of these unfortunate refugees. A Central Relief Committee has been set up in Delhi and I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to discuss with the organisers how they can assist.

138. To Sampurnanand: The Dalai Lama¹¹⁸

25th April, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am sorry to learn from the press that you are laid up with gout. That is a very troublesome matter. Fortunately I have never had it.

I went day before yesterday to Dehra Dun and yesterday to Mussoorie for various functions. I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama. I returned this morning. I have impressed upon the local officials in Mussoorie to avoid making too much of a fuss of the Dalai Lama's stay there. Uptil now, there has been much too much evidence of this kind of thing. The Dalai Lama can go wherever he likes, so can the people in his entourage. They are not in detention. I have told the Dalai Lama that while it would be desirable to avoid going to crowded localities, he can go for a drive anywhere in Mussoorie and he can go for a walk in the quieter parts of Mussoorie roundabout where he lives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

118. Letter. Sampurnanand Collection, NAI. Also available in JN Collection.

139. To Y.B. Chavan: Defacing of Mao's Picture¹¹⁹

April 26, 1959

My dear Chavan,

The Chinese Ambassador has protested to us in regard to a recent demonstration in Bombay when, it is said, the demonstrators posted a picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese People's Republic on the Chinese Consulate building and threw tomatoes at the picture. It is further said that the police were present on the scene. Later the police cleared the crowd to enable photographers to take pictures.¹²⁰

I am sorry that such a demonstration took place. I do not know who is responsible. Perhaps the P.S.P. or some Party did it. Whatever our views may be about Tibet, it is highly improper to insult the head of a great State in this way. We have already expressed our regret to the Chinese Embassy.¹²¹ I think, however, that you might have some enquiry made into this and find out why the police permitted this kind of thing to be done. In future, care should be taken to prevent such demonstrations.

I am very glad to learn that you have largely recovered in health. I hope you will not rush back to work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

140. To Subimal Dutt: Chinese Forces Advance¹²²

The Chief Minister of the Punjab came to see me this afternoon. He spoke about a place named Kaurik on the border of Lahaul-Spiti and Tibet. The Punjab Government has placed a check-post there which apparently remains at the place throughout the year. Information has reached the Punjab Government that Chinese forces have come right up to the border and have blocked the passage preventing people from going across or coming in. He was a little apprehensive of these forces trying to come right up to Kaurik. He said that he was issuing orders to the check-post not to give way. I agreed with him.

119. Chief Minister of Bombay.

120. The Chinese Government sent a formal protest note on 27 April 1959. See Appendix 15, pp. 595-596 and item 143, pp. 510-511.

121. For GOI's formal reply of 30 April 1959, see Appendix 16, pp. 596-598.

122. Note, 26 April 1959.

141. In the Lok Sabha: Permits for Trade with Tibet¹²³

Shri Hem Barua: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that Indian Traders have to obtain permits for their different commodities of trade with Tibet from the Political Officer at Gangtok in Sikkim;
- (b) If so, whether it is a fact that this procedure involves great difficulties so far as these traders are concerned; and
- (c) If so, what steps, if any, Government propose to take to improve the situation?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

(a) to (c). It has been arranged that permits be issued by the Political Officer, Sikkim, who is on the spot and can therefore assess the need for commodities exported more accurately. There have been no complaints against this system of issuing permits which seems to be working satisfactory and as such no further action in the matter is proposed to be taken.

142. In the Lok Sabha: Statement on Situation in Tibet¹²⁴

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have made several statements in the House in regard to the developments in Tibet. The last statement was made on April 3, in which I informed the House that the Dalai Lama had entered the territory of the Indian Union with a large entourage.¹²⁵ I should like to bring this information up-to-date and to place such additional facts as we have before the House.

A few days ago, the Dalai Lama and his party reached Mussoorie, where Government had made arrangements for their stay. I have had occasion to visit Mussoorie since then and have had a long talk with the Dalai Lama.

In the course of the last few days, reports have reached us that considerable numbers of Tibetans, numbering some thousands, have recently crossed into the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency and some hundreds have also entered the territory of Bhutan. They sought asylum, and

123. Reply to questions, 27 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, col. 13486.

124. 27 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 13493-13503.

125. See item 107, pp. 435-437.

we have agreed to this. Such of them as carried arms were disarmed. We do not know the exact number yet. Temporary arrangements are being made in a Camp for their maintenance until they can be dispersed in accordance with their wishes and the necessities governing such cases. We could not leave these refugees to their own resources. Apart from the humanitarian considerations involved, there was also the law and order problem to be considered. We are grateful to the Government of Assam for their help and cooperation in this matter.

So far as the Dalai Lama and his party are concerned, we had to take adequate measures on grounds of security and also to protect them from large numbers of newspaper correspondents, both Indian and foreign, who, in their anxiety to obtain first-hand information in regard to a matter of world importance, were likely to harass and almost overwhelm the Dalai Lama and his party. While we were anxious to give protection to the Dalai Lama and his party, we were agreeable to giving these newspapermen suitable opportunities to see him. I had received an appeal from nearly 75 representatives of news agencies and newspapers from Tezpur requesting me to give them such opportunities. A senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry¹²⁶ was, therefore, deputed to proceed to Tezpur in advance to deal with the press representatives and photographers who had assembled in that small town of Assam. This officer made the necessary administrative arrangements to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the newspapermen to see the Dalai Lama and to photograph him. Soon after entering India, the Dalai Lama indicated his wish to make a statement. We were later informed that this statement would be released at Tezpur. Our officer made arrangements for the distribution of a translation of the statement to the newspaper correspondents.

In view of certain irresponsible charges made, I should like to make it clear that the Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for this statement as well as for a subsequent briefer statement that was made by him from Mussoorie. Our officers had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of these statements.

I need not tell the House that the Dalai Lama entered India entirely of his own volition. At no time had we suggested that he should come to India. We had naturally given thought to the possibility of his seeking asylum in India and when such a request came, we readily granted it. His entry with a large party in a remote corner of our country created special problems of transport, organisation and security. We deputed an officer to meet the Dalai Lama and his party at Bomdila and to escort them to Mussoorie. The particular officer

126. S. Sen.

was selected because he had served as Consul-General in Lhasa and therefore was to some extent known to the Dalai Lama and his officials.¹²⁷ The selection of Mussoorie for the Dalai Lama's stay was not finalised till his own wishes were ascertained in the matter and he agreed to it. There was no desire on our part to put any undue restrictions on him, but in the special circumstances, certain arrangements had necessarily to be made to prevent any mishap. It should be remembered that the various events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and entry into India had created tremendous interest among the people of India and in the world press. After arrival in Mussoorie, steps were taken to prevent the Dalai Lama from being harassed by crowds of people trying to see him as well as by newspapermen. Apart from this, no restrictions about movement were placed on him. He has been told that he and his party can move about Mussoorie according to their wishes. It should be remembered that the Dalai Lama has recently not only had a long strenuous and dangerous journey, but has also had harrowing experiences which must affect the nerves of even a hardened person. He is only just 24 years of age.

These are some bare facts, but behind these facts lie serious developments which may have far reaching consequences. Tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose, charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with our northern neighbour. I am sure that the House will agree with me that in considering matters of such high import, we should exercise restraint and wisdom and use language which is moderate and precise. In these days of cold war, there has been a tendency to use unrestrained language and often to make wild charges without any justification. We have fortunately kept out of the cold war and I hope that on this, as on any other occasion, we shall not use the language of cold war. The matter is too serious to be dealt with in a trivial or excited way. I would, therefore, appeal to the press and the public to exercise restraint in language. I regret that occasionally there have been lapses from this on our side. In particular, I regret that grave discourtesy was shown some days ago to a picture of the head of the Chinese State, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This was done by a small group of irresponsible people in Bombay. In the excitement of the moment, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept away into wrong courses.

It is not for me to make any similar appeal to the leaders, the press and the people of China. All I can say is that I have been greatly distressed at the tone of the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in

127. P. N. Menon.

China.¹²⁸ They have used the language of cold war regardless of truth and propriety. This is peculiarly distressing in a great nation with thousands of years of culture behind it, noted for its restrained and polite behaviour. The charges made against India are so fantastic that I find it difficult to deal with them. There is the charge of our keeping the Dalai Lama under duress. The Chinese authorities should surely know how we function in this country and what our laws and Constitution are. Even if we were so inclined, we could not keep the Dalai Lama under some kind of detention against his will, and there can be no question of our wishing to do so. We can gain nothing by it except the burden of difficult problems. In any event, this matter can be easily cleared. It is open to the Dalai Lama at any time to go back to Tibet or wherever he wants to. As the Panchen Lama has made himself responsible specially for some strange statements, I have stated that we would welcome him to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama himself. Should he choose to do so, every courtesy will be extended to him.¹²⁹ I have further said that the Chinese Ambassador or any other emissary of the Chinese Government can come to India for this purpose and meet the Dalai Lama. There is no barrier for anyone to come peacefully to India, and whether we agree with him or not, we shall treat him with the courtesy due to a guest.

Another and an even stranger allegation has been made about "Indian expansionists" who, it is alleged, are inheritors of the British tradition of imperialism and expansion. It is perfectly true that British policy was one of expansion into Tibet and that they carried this out by force of arms early in this century. That was, in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to the Tibetans. As a result of that, the then British Government in India established certain extra territorial rights in Tibet. When

128. In a speech to the second session of the National People's Congress in Peking on 18 April 1959, Chou En-lai said: "Although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India, we still hope he will be able to free himself from the duress of the rebels and return to the motherland." A sharp anti-India campaign developed in the Chinese press during this period.

129. According to *The Hindu* of 30 April 1959, the Panchen Lama said at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking on 29 April: "If the Indian Prime Minister meant that he hoped I would go to India to enter into talks on the so-called Tibet question, then I must point out that the Tibet question can be solved only in Tibet." The New China News Agency also quoted him as saying about his trip to India in 1956: "some Indian officials often showed a certain discrimination against me in arranging receptions. My entourage had to sleep on the trains sometimes because they were not provided with housing." He also complained that the stupa at Sarnath and several monasteries "were in a poor state."

India became independent, we inherited some of these rights. Being entirely opposed to any such extra territorial rights in another country, we did not wish to retain them. But in the early days after Independence and Partition, our hands were full, as this House well knows, and we had to face very difficult situations in our own country. We ignored, if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative to continue at Lhasa. Later an Indian took his place. Soon after the Chinese armies entered Tibet, the question of these extra territorial rights was raised and we readily agreed to give them up. We would have given them up anyhow, whatever developments might have taken place in Tibet. We withdrew our army detachments from some places in Tibet and handed over Indian postal and telegraph installations and rest houses. We laid down the Five Principles of the Panchsheel and placed our relationship with the Tibet region on a new footing.

What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade, our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently in regard to Tibet is proof enough of our policy and that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet. Indeed, even from the narrowest practical point of view, any other policy would have been wrong and futile. Ever since then we have endeavoured not only to act up to the agreement we made, but to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese State and people.

It is therefore, a matter of the deepest regret and surprise to us that charges should be made which are both unbecoming and entirely void of substance. We have conveyed this deep feeling of regret to the Chinese Government, more especially at the speeches delivered recently in the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

I stated some time ago that our broad policy was governed by three factors: (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China; and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. That policy we shall continue to follow because we think that a correct policy not only for the present but even more so for the future. It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia, India and China, which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past, should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy, but we hope that China also will do likewise and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The Five Principles have laid down, *inter alia* mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of cold war used.

I have already made it clear previously that the charge that Kalimpong was the centre of the Tibetan rebellion is wholly unjustified. We have a large number of people of Tibetan stock living in India as Indian nationals. We have also some Tibetan émigrés in India. All of these deeply respect the Dalai Lama. Some of these have been exceedingly unhappy at developments in Tibet; some, no doubt, have anti-Chinese sentiments. We have made it clear to them that they will not be permitted to carry on any subversive activities from India, and I should like to say that by and large they have acted in accordance with the directions of the Government of India. I cannot obviously say that someone has not done something secretly, but to imagine or say that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organised a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on imagination and to slur over obvious facts.

The Khampa revolt started in an area of China proper adjoining Tibet more than three years ago. Is Kalimpong supposed to be responsible for that? This revolt gradually spread and, no doubt, created a powerful impression on the minds of large numbers of Tibetans who had kept away from the revolt. Fears and apprehensions about their future gripped their minds and the nationalist upsurge swayed their feelings. Their fears may have been unjustified, but surely they cannot be denied. Such feelings can only be dealt with adequately by gentler methods than warfare.

When Premier Chou En-lai came here two or three years ago, he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. We had a frank and full talk. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of the Chinese State, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper, just as in other autonomous regions of the Chinese State the people were different, even though they formed part of that State. Therefore, they considered Tibet an autonomous region which would enjoy autonomy. He told me further that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet. Communism could not be enforced in this way on a very backward country and they had no wish to do so even though they would like reforms to come in progressively. Even these reforms they proposed to postpone for a considerable time.

About that time, the Dalai Lama was also here and I had long talks with him then, I told him of Premier Chou En-lai's friendly approach and of his assurance that he would respect the autonomy of Tibet. I suggested to him that he should accept these assurances in good faith and cooperate in maintaining that autonomy and bringing about certain reforms in Tibet. The Dalai Lama agreed that his country, though, according to him, advanced spiritually, was very backward socially and economically and reforms were needed.

It is not for us to say how far these friendly intentions and approaches

materialise. The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society; on the other, a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile, change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently, the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed.

To say that a number of 'upper strata reactionaries' in Tibet were solely responsible for this appears to be an extraordinary simplification of a complicated situation. Even according to the accounts received through Chinese sources, the revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it must have been a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only upper class people but others also. No doubt, vested interests joined it and sought to profit by it. The attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather worn-out words, phrases and slogans, is seldom helpful.

When the news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The Government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons. Also on a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact of that reaction of the Indian people was there. If that was the reaction here, one may well imagine the reaction among the Tibetans themselves. Probably this reaction is shared in the other Buddhist countries of Asia. When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods, we have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China, but at the same time, we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly cooperation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

As I have said above, I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama three days ago at Mussoorie. He told me of the difficulties he had to face, of the growing resentment of his people at the conditions existing there and how he sought to

restrain them, of his feelings that the religion of the Buddha, which was more to him than life itself, was being endangered. He said that up to the last moment he did not wish to leave Lhasa. It was only on the afternoon of the 17th March, when, according to him, some shells were fired at his palace and fell in a pond nearby, that the sudden decision was taken to leave Lhasa. Within a few hours the same day he and his party left Lhasa and took the perilous journey to the Indian frontier. The departure was so hurried that even an adequate supply of clothes, etc., could not be brought. When I met the Dalai Lama, no member of his entourage was present. Even the interpreter was our own. The Dalai Lama told me that the two statements which had been issued were entirely his own and there was no question of anybody coercing him to make them. Even though he is young, I could not easily imagine that he could be coerced into doing something he did not wish. All my sympathy goes out to this young man who at an early age has had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face tremendous responsibilities. During the last few weeks, he has suffered great physical and mental strain. I advised him to rest for a while and not to take any hurried decisions. He felt very unhappy at conditions in Tibet and was especially anxious that fighting should stop.

143. To Subimal Dutt: Regret at Defacing of Mao's Picture¹³⁰

In reply to this protest,¹³¹ you might state that we deeply regret this incident and in fact the Prime Minister has already expressed his regret in Parliament. We have enquired into the matter. The facts are not wholly as stated in the Chinese Memorandum. More particularly the suggestion that the police connived at all this is not correct. I think you might give in your reply or separately a brief summary of the police report.

You might add that under our law processions cannot be banned so long as they function peacefully. In fact the Chinese Embassy must be aware of such processions being held even near Parliament House from time to time and indulging in highly objectionable slogans not only against the Prime Minister but even against Mahatma Gandhi. An incident occurred when portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and the Prime Minister were taken out by some irresponsible persons and treated in an insulting way. Under our law, a great deal of latitude is allowed to people so long as they do not indulge in actual violence.

130. Note, 27 April 1959.

131. See Appendix 15, pp. 595-596.

It might be pointed out further that this misbehaviour was on the part of a small party called the Socialist Party which broke away from the major Socialist Party, namely, the Praja Socialist Party, some years ago. It is the definite programme of this party to indulge in highly objectionable behaviour towards Government. It is a small group of no importance.

In any event, we deeply regret that such discourtesy was shown to a picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

You might add that while we can understand and appreciate the resentment of the Chinese Embassy to such an incident, we regret the language used in the Memorandum. It should be clear to the Chinese Embassy that this deplorable incident was the act of a few persons and there was certainly no question of connivance of the police or the Government. Further that under our laws civil liberty is guaranteed and under its cover even misbehaviour can take place to some extent.¹³²

144. For the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Pro- and Anti-Chinese Propaganda¹³³

The Lok Sabha Secretariat might be informed that it will hardly be desirable to answer the question attached. There has, of course, been some distribution of pro-China propaganda by the Communist Party. There has also been much propaganda against China by other parties. To some extent all this is allowed. It is only when it goes beyond normal limits that objection is taken. Such objection is taken only in special cases.

2. If this question is put up for answer, the other aspect is also likely to be put forward.

145. To G. Parthasarathi: China and the Dalai Lama¹³⁴

I have seen your messages and text of resolution of National People's Congress on Tibet. You must have seen my statements in Parliament and our communications to Chinese Government. On 4th May there will be debate on Tibet in Rajya Sabha.¹³⁵ I shall adopt the same line there.

132. For GOI's reply of 30 April, see Appendix 16, pp. 596-598.

133. Note, 27 April 1959.

134. Telegram to Indian Ambassador to China, 29 April 1959.

135. See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 545-555.

2. I am leaving Delhi for three days. Recent developments in Tibet have raised difficult problems not only for India but for China also and of course for Tibet itself. I can appreciate to some extent Chinese attitude, constituted as Chinese are at present. We realise that Tibet is very backward. Nevertheless the regimented and virulent attacks on India in China and their insistence on patent falsehoods have surprised and distressed me. It seems to me that Chinese authorities have developed a habit of trying to bully and imagine that offensive language will produce results they desire. It produces exactly opposite results in any self-respecting country. It is difficult enough to restrain these strong reactions in India, but we shall do so. Our general policy will remain firm though not unfriendly to China. We realise the importance of these friendly relations, but friendship cannot be obtained by threats and coercive attitude. If Chinese friendship is necessary for India, so is Indian friendship for China. The time for any country to display arrogance in dealing with India is long past. We have still some remains of what we learnt from Gandhiji. We shall, therefore, continue to be polite and seek friendship and at the same time to hold firmly to the policy we consider correct.

3. It seems to me that Chinese would very much like to get Dalai Lama back and his remaining in India is a continuing affront and irritation to them. As I have said, Dalai Lama can go back if he so wishes but there is no chance of his going back unless circumstances change radically. This means also that relations of India and China will remain tense even though we might avoid crises,

4. I do not know if you will have any chance of talking informally to people who count. If so, you might explain to them how opposition parties have full freedom to function here and in fact they frequently hold demonstrations against Government and criticise it in strong language. Obviously this is not understood in China where no opposition is allowed. Also that during twelve years of our Independence, no country, big or small, has used such offensive language towards India as Chinese leaders and press recently. In spite of this grave provocation, we have remembered Gandhiji and will continue to keep our tempers.¹³⁶

136. For Parthasarathi's reply of 3 May 1959, see Appendix 18, pp. 601-603.

146. At Birpur: Talk with Correspondents¹³⁷

Nehru: It will be Good if Dalai Lama Can Really Return Home

Kathmandu, May 2—If the Dalai Lama “can really return” to Lhasa that would be good for all concerned, Prime Minister Nehru told a group of Nepalese journalists in a special interview on Thursday on the banks of the Kosi.¹³⁸

The Prime Minister met the correspondents from Kathmandu after his talks with King Mahendra at Birpur on the India-Nepal border.

Asked, if the present relations between India and China would improve if the Dalai Lama came to Nepal, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that he did not know.

He is reported to have said that the Chinese were asking that the Dalai Lama should return to Tibet and they believed that his return would help. He refused to comment when asked whether he personally thought that the Dalai Lama’s return to Tibet would ease the situation there. He is quoted as having stated: “I cannot say anything on this.”

Answering a question about the Dalai Lama’s going to Nepal “which is between India and China” could help the Prime Minister is reported to have said that the Dalai Lama was absolutely free to go and stay anywhere he liked. “He is a free agent and can even go back to Tibet.” He added that this could, of course, be good for all concerned “if he can really return to Tibet.”

Pandit Nehru estimated that about five-thousand Tibetan refugees had crossed into India and Bhutan. He then asked Gen. Subarna Shamsher, Chairman of the Nepalese Council of Ministers, who was also there how many Tibetan refugees had come into Nepal and was told that “there might have been small groups of them who have come to Nepal but it is difficult to distinguish a refugee and other people.”

Pandit Nehru is also reported to have told the Nepalese newsmen that India was prepared to review the Indo-Nepalese trade agreement.

137. 30 April 1959. From the *National Herald*, 3 May 1959.

138. See also item 171, pp. 546-548.

(b) Pakistan

147. To O. Pulla Reddi: US Defence Supplies to Pakistan¹³⁹

I suppose we are bound to have questions in Parliament on this subject, and there will be a good deal of excitement about this supply of jet bombers.¹⁴⁰ When occasion arises, you might point this out to the U.S. Embassy. This question of supply of military equipment and aircraft by the U.S. to Pakistan is one which hurts the Indian public very much.

2. You might convey this information to the Defence Ministry.

148. To Rajeshwar Dayal: Meeting Ayub Khan¹⁴¹

April 5, 1959

My dear Rajeshwar,

I have read your letter of April 2nd¹⁴² with great interest. What exactly does it lead to? What are we supposed to do in the circumstances? It seems to me obvious that it would not be desirable at all for me to meet President Ayub Khan in the near future. Something has to be done about what has happened before any such meeting can be thought of.

I met Dr. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, today and I showed him your letter. There is reference in it, as you will remember, to the West Bengal Chief Minister meeting the Governor of East Pakistan. Dr. Roy told me that he is perfectly prepared to meet the Governor if there is some assurance of any good resulting from such a meeting. There is no point in his going to carry on an argument. At present, as you know, feelings in India and more particularly

139. Note to the Defence Secretary, 3 April 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Historical Division, *Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru—September 1946-May 1964*—Vol. III—*U.S. Military Assistance to Pakistan, January 1959-May 1964* (n.d.), p. 5, col. 2.

140. M. J. Desai had noted on 3 April that Brown, the U.S. Minister, had told him the previous day about the supply of one squadron, that is, twenty B-57 bombers to Pakistan, during the following year. Their range, speed and armament were the same as those of the Canberras which India had purchased from the U.K.

141. Letter to the Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan.

142. See Appendix 6, pp. 573-577.

in Bengal, are rather excited over these border issues and I doubt if it would be advisable for Dr. Roy to take any step in this direction. But, should something happen which improves conditions, Dr. Roy would gladly meet the Governor.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

149. In the Lok Sabha: Trade with Pakistan¹⁴³

Groundnut Seeds for Pakistan

Question:¹⁴⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government received any request from the Pakistan Government for the supply of 10,000 maunds of Madras short erect variety of groundnut seeds in August, 1958; and
- (b) If so, the action taken thereon?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b). Yes, Sir. A request was received from the Government of Pakistan, in August, 1958, to supply them 10,000 maunds of Madras erect variety of groundnut seeds for sowing purposes in East Pakistan. The Government agreed to supply 6,000 maunds.

143. Reply to a question, 8 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXIX, col. 10536.

144. By Congress MP P. C. Borooah.

150. To M.J. Desai: Retaining an American Lawyer¹⁴⁵

I do not at all fancy this arrangement. I am told, however, that I & P Ministry have already engaged Major Bloomfield and all that is necessary is to send him detailed instructions.¹⁴⁶ There is thus not much point now in my being consulted or my expressing a contrary opinion.¹⁴⁷

The present arrangement is apparently for a year—I hope it will not be extended beyond this period.

151. In the Rajya Sabha: Pakistani Firing¹⁴⁸

Firing by Pakistanis on Indian Border
Near Barapunji, Karimganj

Question:¹⁴⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 375 in the Rajya Sabha on the 2nd March, 1959 and state:

- (a) the number of Indian nationals killed or injured as a result of Pakistani firings in the month of March, 1959 near Barapunji, Karimganj; and
- (b) what steps have so far been taken or are proposed to be taken by Government to protect the life and property of Indian nationals there, especially women and children?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) No Indian nationals are reported to have been killed but three were injured

145. Note to CS, 10 April 1959. File No. 32(4)-400/59, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1959. Also available in File No. F-23(1)-CWD/60, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1960.

146. K. Krishna Rao, Deputy Secretary, Legal and Treaties Division, MEA, had noted on 9 April that GOI should participate in recognised international non-governmental law organisations. Their recommendations would be useful to argue India's case on both the Canal Waters Dispute and the Ganga-Brahmaputra problem. Major Bloomfield would be valuable for this purpose.

147. M.J. Desai had noted on 9 April that India could hardly afford any dollar expenditure but as Pakistan's mischief had to be contained to a certain extent, the engagement of Major Louis M. Bloomfield on payment of 4,000 dollars a year plus expenses might be approved.

148. Reply to questions, 20 April 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 3-7.

149. By Congress MPs Amolakh Chand, Jugal Kishore, Savitry Devi Nigam.

as a result of Pakistani firing towards Barapunji, Karimganj, etc., in the month of March, 1959.

(b) Apart from the Government of India and the State Government taking necessary steps for the defence of Indian territory and for protection of the border people, the Government of India have expressed their serious concern to the Government of Pakistan against the continued occurrence of border incidents which are in clear violation of letter and spirit of the Joint communique issued after the Prime Ministers' meeting of September, 1958. They have further requested the Government of Pakistan to issue immediate and effective instructions to the border authorities concerned for the stoppage of aggressive activities on the Pakistan side of the border in the interests of maintaining peaceful conditions on the border.

Shri Amolakh Chand: May I know whether after making a strong protest, some firing incidents did happen in the month of April and, if so, what is the number of personnel affected by the firing and whether it has become a routine matter now-a-days?



(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 19 APRIL 1959)

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I want separate notice for that, the question relates to March.

Shri Amolakh Chand: My question is whether, after making that protest, there has been any effect. Whether the firing has ceased or whether it is continuing even in April—that is a simple question.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The firing stops but later it begins again sometimes.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to reports in the *Assam Tribune* and various other Bengali papers to the effect that in some places the security arrangements are not quite adequately.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. I have not seen that particular paper.

Shri Jaswant Singh: What is the response of the Pakistan Government in regard to our grave concern that we have communicated to them in respect of these border firings?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Their response is manifold. One response is denying and making counter-charges. Another response is, hoping that all this will stop.

Shri S.C. Deb:¹⁵⁰ Is it a fact that during firing people generally took shelter underground and they had to live there for most part of the day and because of that their health was affected and, if so, what steps have Government taken?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know. Does the hon. Member mean whether by some people going to shelter underground their health was affected or not? That I cannot say. We had not examined that question. But so far as we know, it was the Pakistani people who dug trenches and fired from the trenches. I don't know how far their health was affected.

Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam: In view of the frequency of such incidents, may I know if Government is intending to form village safety councils in the border villages and provide some arms to the villagers for self-protection?

150. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Assam.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't think, in this particular case. I am not making any general answer about border areas. But firing normally takes place across a river and in such cases the village people being armed will probably make little difference. I think we have had quite adequate arrangements for the security. Whatever the arrangements might be, one cannot prevent an odd gun or a bullet hitting somebody. The best of arrangements will not be able to get over that. Only a peaceful settlement can.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: As a result of such frequent firings, some people have had to remove themselves from those affected areas. What steps have the Government taken in regard to the resettlement or housing accommodation etc. of those people who have had to come away from those places?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Send them back to where they came from.

Dr. D.H. Variava:¹⁵¹ What instructions have been issued by us to our security forces when such firing is made from Pakistan—whether to retaliate or to follow them—and in any case, when our security forces are there, do they return the fire on the aggressor and try to catch some of these people when they come into our territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, whenever this occurred, firing had taken place in reply. Normally, as I said, it does happen across a river. Normally, it is static firing from both sides. Sometimes, some movement, may be a few yards this way or that way, might take place in some areas which are supposed to be a disputed boundary. People cross the disputed boundary and they are pushed back and this kind of thing constantly happens.

Shri S.C. Deb: May I know whether it is a fact that by the Pakistani bullets many houses and other places were hit and damaged and also at the time of firing it was not possible to remove the injured persons and give immediate relief? May I know whether any relief van was there to give relief to these persons?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I don't know what the hon. Member refers to. I cannot speak with absolute certainty immediately but the persons who are injured have

151. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Gujarat.

been in the region of one or two occasionally. It is not on any large scale that people are being hit and naturally these one or two are helped immediately.

Dr. H.N. Kunzru We know the area in which the firing had been taking place on the eastern border. Have our forces been stationed at central places along this border so that they may be moved quickly to intermediate places when necessary?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. The matter of the whole border is put in the final charge of the military. Even though they might not be there, it is their charge. Even the police have to function under the military directions. The police are there at various parts of the border and at various places. There some military is stationed and it is the responsibility of the military to move their forces or station them where they think it is proper.

152. In the Lok Sabha: Dealing with Pakistan Propaganda¹⁵²

Foreign Publicity

Question:¹⁵³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state what steps Government have taken to intensify foreign publicity to counteract Pakistan's false propaganda against Kashmir during 1958-59?

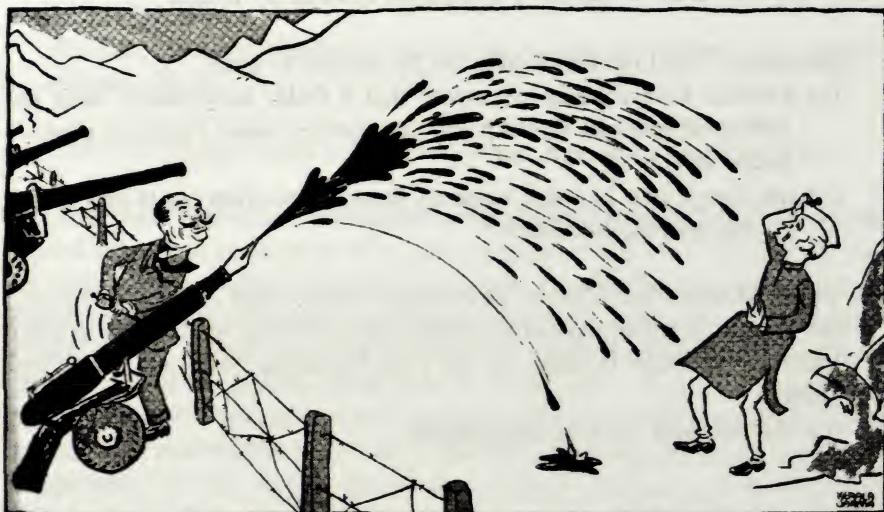
The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Important news items and facts about Kashmir problem were morsecast regularly to our Missions abroad through daily transmissions from the External Publicity Division. These were issued to the press by our Publicity Posts.

Our Missions abroad issued brochure and pamphlets in languages of their respective regions explaining facts about Kashmir and took prompt corrective action in refuting misleading press reports on the subject.

152. Reply to questions, 22 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 12780-12781.

153. By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma and Sardar Iqbal Singh.

The Mightier Weapon



*The Pakistan Government has taken over control of the
"Pakistan Times" group of newspapers.*

(FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 26 APRIL 1959)

A number of pamphlets on Kashmir were also produced by the External Publicity Division and widely distributed abroad through our Missions. A list of such pamphlets is laid on the Table of the Sabha. (See Appendix VII, annexure No. 10)

Two private publications (included in the list which is laid on the Table of the Sabha. (See Appendix VII, annexure No. 10) were purchased by the External Publicity Division for distribution abroad.

Facts about Kashmir were explained to foreign correspondents stationed in India or visiting the country for short period. Press delegations and other foreign journalists were given facilities to visit Kashmir to get first hand information about conditions there.

The progress and development of Kashmir State were projected abroad through photographs, feature articles and documentary films.

The External Services of All India Radio explained facts about Kashmir in their broadcasts in foreign languages.

153. In the Lok Sabha: Pakistani Poets in India¹⁵⁴

Question:¹⁵⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware that a Delhi Industrialist who has industrial interests in Pakistan often invites some Pakistani poets to India; and
- (b) whether it is a fact that some of these poets often recite anti-Indian poems on Pakistan Radio?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

- (a) Certain prominent poets from Pakistan are invited annually for an Indo-Pakistan Mushaira in Delhi by the Lala Murlidhar Shankarlal Memorial Society.
- (b) Government have no information.

154. In the Rajya Sabha: Tokergram¹⁵⁶

Withdrawal of Pakistani Forces From Tokergram

Question:¹⁵⁷ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the Government of India have asked the Government of Pakistan for the withdrawal of Pakistani Forces from Tokergram on the eastern border in accordance with the Nehru-Noon Agreement of September 1958; and if so, what has been the response from Pakistan?

The Deputy Minister of External affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes Sir. No reply has so far been received from the Government of Pakistan.

Shri V.K. Dhage: Is it a fact that Tokergram, according to the Radcliffe Award, was part of India?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Yes, Sir.

154. Reply to questions, 22 April 1959. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XXX, col.12785.

155. By Congress MPs A.M. Tariq, Bhakt Darshan, Ram Krishan Gupta.

156. Reply to questions, 23 April 1959. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXV, cols 484-486.

157. By Congress MPs V.K. Dhage and J.H. Joshi.

Shri V.K. Dhage: And it was in the possession of India till what date?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: It was in the possession of India till, I think, August, 1958.

Shri V.K. Dhage: What is the Nehru-Noon Agreement in this regard?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think it is mentioned in that, as far as I remember. I speak subject to correction—it is not mentioned there. But it certainly was agreed to that this Tukergram should be vacated by the Pakistan troops. At the same time, they added that they attached to it some decision about the Patharia forests, where, according to them, India had committed aggression on their territory. Just as we said they had done on Tukergram, which they agreed they had. So, we said: "Well, if you have any grievance about Patharia forests, let us immediately, even temporarily, before the final demarcation, have a temporary demarcation. Let the forest officers and revenue officers do it, and we will abide by that." Now, some attempt was made to do that, but it failed. Meanwhile, we are reminding them about Tukergram repeatedly.

Shri J.H. Joshi: May I know, Sir, how many square miles of the area have been unlawfully seized by the Pakistanis and have been retained in their possession? What are the steps taken by the Government to regain them?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The whole area is only 420 acres - the Tukergram village—out of which 170 acres are in our possession and 200 acres are in the forcible possession of Pakistan and the rest is river bed.

Dr. A.N. Bose: What is the Indian Government's view about the position of Patharia forests? Is it Indian territory or Pakistan territory?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. Patharia forest is a big forest. Our view is that a certain part of it, a certain large part of it, is our territory. Everybody admits that a large part of it is our territory. The question is what is the dividing line of the forest.

Shri Jaswant Singh:¹⁵⁸ Has it come to the notice of the Government that recently it appeared in the papers of Pakistan that Tukergram was given to Pakistan by the Bagge Award. What is the fact?

158. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, I do not remember, Sir, what has been said and where this has been said. They might very well have said it. They make all kinds of tales. But the fact is that the question of Tukergram has not been raised by Pakistan, so far as I know, at any time in the last ten years it was in our possession.

155. In the Rajya Sabha: Gilgit Road Construction¹⁵⁹

Question:¹⁶⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that an all-weather road linking West Pakistan with Gilgit is being constructed by Pakistan?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): A report to this effect has appeared in the Pakistan Press.

Shri V.K. Dhage: May I know, Sir, whether the Government has taken any steps in this regard to find out the truth about it?

Mr. Chairman: No steps have been taken; from the horizontal nod I understand it.

Shri V.K. Dhage: What is the answer?

Mr. Chairman: No steps have been taken.

Shri V.K. Dhage: Is it not a fact that this portion of Kashmir belongs to India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Gilgit was part of the old Jammu and Kashmir State.

Diwan Chaman Lall:¹⁶¹ Is it a fact that Gilgit was captured by Pakistan after the cease fire?

159. Reply to questions, 23 April 1959, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol.XXV, cols 480-483.

160. By Congress MP V.K. Dhage.

161. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a curious story, because I remember that an English officer there, in the Gilgit Scouts, who organised a little petty revolution in Gilgit, turned out the representative of the Maharajah and handed over Gilgit to Pakistan.¹⁶²

Shri N.M. Lingam: Should not this matter be brought to the notice of the United Nations, as in the case of the Mangla Dam,¹⁶³ since it is a violation of the commitment of Pakistan before the United Nations, if it is true?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No. Broadly all these questions have been brought before them. What my colleague said is that this particular thing by itself has not been mentioned, but the whole question of Gilgit has been mentioned there.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether it is a fact that American assistance is being lavishly given for these and other constructions in the Gilgit area?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Am I asked if this is being lavishly given? Well, American assistance is being given on a fairly considerable scale. The exact way, it is spent in Pakistan, will be difficult for me to say.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, if the Prime Minister has noted that in the American press always great prominence is given to the constructions that are in progress in that particular Gilgit area?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. Some prominence has been given to it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether the Government has cared to find out from the American authorities as to why so much of interest should be taken in a place where once a petty revolution took place, and what is otherwise making it very much interesting to the Americans?

(No reply)

162. During the tribal invasion of Kashmir, the British Commandant of the Gilgit Scouts, a paramilitary force raised in 1889, Major William A. Brown, handed over Gilgit to Pakistan in 1947. See also SWJN/SS/2/p. 278 and SWJN/SS/4/p. 299.

163. For India's protest, see SWJN/SS/39/pp. 634-635. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp. 661-662.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Jaswant Singh: I should like to know whether, in the Pakistan-held part of Jammu and Kashmir when they make some changes, we make protests or we report it to the United Nations, and also in this particular case when they are making roads to Gilgit, etc? If it has not been done, may I know whether it has not been done because of the unimportance of the matter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. It is of high importance because of its military significance. Otherwise, the making of roads inside the territory held by Pakistan is not a thing which we would normally object to. Roads may be made. The objection is to that part being there at all, to their holding that portion. But if they are there, they can make roads. It is true that when the purpose of the road is to increase the military potential of an area, then it is naturally more objectionable.

Shri Jaswant Singh: My question is that if the construction of the road is of strategic importance, then why no action was taken?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know what the hon. Member means by "no action was taken." We have to take action in two ways. One is the broad fact of these areas being occupied by Pakistan. Secondly, whether they have been utilised for any particular purpose like construction of particular types of airfields for military purposes. We have raised objection to special types of bomber bases being built up there. To that the reply has been that they are normal airfields for civil aircraft. Whether that is a fact or not, I would not like to confirm.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The hon. Prime Minister said that big airfields are being built. May I know, Sir, whether the Pakistani authorities have admitted that these fields are being built for big aeroplane, but that these planes will be civil planes, although that does not fall at all on the international route?

(No reply)

Shri V.K. Dhage: Is it a fact that Gilgit is being used as a military base by the Pakistan Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, I imagine so. I think so in fact.

(c) Ceylon

**156. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike: Bandung
Countries Influence¹⁶⁴**

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 17th March in which you have proposed that a preliminary meeting of officials of the Colombo countries may be held on Monday, 18th May, in Colombo to discuss preliminary matters connected with the arrangements for an Economic Conference of Bandung countries.

I regret the delay in replying to your letter due to other pre-occupations.

Your proposal is acceptable to us. We are deciding the composition of the Indian official delegation and will intimate further particulars to your Government through our High Commissioner.¹⁶⁵

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

164. Telegram to the Prime Minister of Ceylon sent through Y.D. Gundevia, 22 April 1959.

165. See also SWJN/SS/47/ pp. 519-520.

(d) Algeria

157. Talks with Ferhat Abbas—I¹⁶⁶

Mr. Abbas¹⁶⁷ said he was a moderate nationalist like his colleagues in the Provisional Government,¹⁶⁸ but had been forced into hostility towards France by the French policy of trying to destroy the separate Algerian personality.¹⁶⁹ The National Liberation Front had no hope of driving the French army out of Algeria but had no option except to fight as long as the French refused to negotiate a peaceful settlement based on the recognition of a separate Algerian nation. The real enemy were the Colons¹⁷⁰ in Algeria, not the French people or even the French Government. Even though in metropolitan France there was a group of die hards allied to the Colons in Algeria who were bent on a military solution, there was another group which wished to negotiate. Mr. Abbas said his definite information was that General de Gaulle privately belonged to this latter group but, unfortunately, even the de Gaulle Government had not developed any new policy acceptable to Algerian nationalists. The French had always claimed negotiations were impossible as there was no one to negotiate with; Mr. Abbas said the Provisional Government had been formed to provide a body with whom the French could negotiate, but all the Paris Government now offered was that the rebels should lay down arms and come to Paris: once the cease fire was agreed to Algeria's position within the French community could be discussed with representatives chosen by fresh elections. The nationalists could not accept this because after laying down arms they would be completely at the mercy of the French Colonial administration whom they could not trust, particularly in regard to freedom of elections. If General de Gaulle publicly acknowledged that Algeria is not France, recognised the nationalists and agreed to negotiate with them, Mr. Abbas's followers would be content with this as the first step towards the settlement of the Algerian problem.

166. Summary record of Nehru's discussions with Ferhat Abbas, New Delhi, 8 April 1959. Signed by K. S. Bajpai of the MEA on 9 April 1959. File No. 2(6)-WANA/59, pp. 11-16/ C, MEA.

167. Prime Minister, Provisional Government-in exile of the Algerian Republic with headquarters in Tunisia, but not recognised by GOI.

168. Proclaimed in Cairo, Egypt, on 19 September 1958 by the FLN.

169. For Algerian struggle for independence, see SWJN/SS/43/pp.558, SWJN/SS/44/pp. 588-589 and SWJN/SS/46/p. 619.

170. French settler population in Algeria; also known as *Pieds Noirs*.

He fully recognised de Gaulle's difficulties: his Government did not insist that acceptance of Algerian independence should be a pre-condition of negotiation but would be willing to negotiate on neutral territory, if De Gaulle did not positively exclude Algerian independence. (This careful clarification was given by Mr. Abbas in response to an enquiry by P.M. At first he had said negotiations could begin if France declared that Algeria would be independent even though independence would follow at some future date. When P.M. asked whether a declaration by De Gaulle should specify that independence would be the basis of negotiation or whether it would be enough if no commitments were made either way, Mr. Abbas agreed negotiations could take place if the French did not insist that Algeria was a part of France but left the future open). Mr. Abbas concluded that Gen. de Gaulle would be encouraged to state openly what he was already saying privately if India were to take two steps—

- (i) to call a conference on Algeria of the type held to discuss the future of Indonesia,¹⁷¹
- (ii) recognise the Provisional Government of Mr. Abbas.

The Prime Minister said India's sympathies were fully with the Algerian people and he largely agreed with Mr. Abbas's analysis of the origin and present state of the Algerian problem. He, however, had some doubts whether the two concrete steps proposed were feasible or likely to help. As regards the holding of a conference, conditions in Afro-Asian countries had greatly changed since the Conference on Indonesia as they had since Bandung. Proposals for holding a new Bandung-type conference had not been considered practicable at present because there were so many tensions among Afro-Asian countries even among Arabs, so many now military type regimes and so marked an intrusion of the cold war in Afro-Asian affairs that instead of displaying Afro-Asian strength and unity, such a conference would only emphasise weakness and disagreement. The same argument applied to an Indonesia type Conference on the future of Algeria. Even to hold a limited Bandung type Conference on purely economic and social matters, the first step considered necessary was to have a preliminary meeting of experts of the Colombo Powers only to examine possibilities. Such a preliminary meeting would be held in Colombo in May; if the larger conference were arranged it would, of course, touch on political matters too. As regards recognition, India's natural inclination was to grant it but after careful consideration we had decided this would be a mere gesture and instead of helping towards the solution, which was India's real desire, would make it impossible

171. The Asian Conference of Nineteen Nations on Indonesia was held in New Delhi under the chairmanship of Nehru from 20 to 23 January 1949. See SWJN/SS/9/pp. 143-190.

for India to influence the French in any way. There could be different opinions whether this judgment that the bad consequences of recognition outweighed the good were correct or not; and changing circumstances might alter India's decision but for the time being we wished to wait for a favourable opportunity to take advantage of the comparatively friendly relations with France which had been maintained as a result of India's decision not to recognise. P.M. added that at present the Algerian problem was all the more difficult to solve because of conditions in the world as a whole. If international tensions and great power rivalry could subside it would be easier to extricate Algeria from the present impasse.

P.M. enquired whether the discovery of oil in the Sahara made the problem more difficult, since the only way the French could exploit the resources would be by reaching the area through Algeria. Mr. Abbas said the Sahara was also part of Algeria, at any rate the oil bearing region. This oil was Algeria's but the Algerians would be glad to enter into an agreement with the French to exploit it to mutual advantage. Its existence, of course, made the French keener to keep control of the area but could also facilitate a settlement because to exploit it peaceful conditions were necessary: at present the expenditure on military operations and even on guarding oil in Algeria was so high that Sahara oil was more expensive in France than Venezuelan.

Asked by the P.M. whether he thought a continuation of the present situation increased the danger of partition as a solution, Mr. Abbas emphatically denied that partition was possible either politically or geographically. The only solution was through negotiation, recognising that the whole of Algeria was a separate entity from France. Ten million Algerians did not wish to deny the French in Algeria their legitimate interests and were prepared to guarantee fair treatment but could not accept the present rule by one million French settlers. The nationalists could not take any peaceful moderating step unless the French showed greater reasonableness. Every country had its own particular problem which affected its attitude to international affairs, and Mr. Abbas agreed that India's actions on Algeria as on Goa (which P.M. had cited as another problem on which India did not take the easy way out because of repercussions on general policy) had to be determined by international considerations as a whole, but he hoped India would consider the steps he had recommended as a means of encouraging by French towards a reasonable solution.

Mr. Kedda, the Minister for Social Affairs added that in addition to the diplomatic aid requested by Mr. Abbas, his people were in need of economic succour. They were poor people with few resources to fight the modern colonial power of France; they relied on their friends, particularly the Arabs, but these too had limited resources, and India's contribution would be greatly appreciated.

Mr. Abbas suggested cloth and medicines. Mr. Kedda said he did not want to specify what should be sent but wished us to consider this question in general way.

P.M. thanked the Algerians for explaining their views and said they would meet again for further talks. The meeting ended after an hour and a half. In addition to Mr. Kedda, Mr. Abbas was accompanied by a Personal Secretary and the two Algerian representatives in Delhi – Mr. Guellal¹⁷² and Mr. Tawfik. F.S., J.S. (S) and the undersigned were also present.

Sd.
(K.S. Bajpai)
9-4-1959

158. To Congressmen: Algeria¹⁷³

Free Algerian Govt.
India Urged to Recognise
Appeal by Ferhat Abbas

New Delhi
April 9

Mr. Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister of the "Free" Algerian Government who is now in India at his own initiative, addressed an informal gathering of members of the Central Congress Parliamentary Party. The meeting was held under the auspices of a Committee of the Congress Party which interests itself in foreign affairs.

Mr. Abbas said that he had brought two requests with him, one was recognition for his Government by India and the second was to obtain financial and other assistance for carrying on the Algerian freedom struggle.

The questions put to Mr. Abbas revealed that Congressmen were not enthusiastic about according recognition to the Free Algerian Government. They felt that such recognition would reduce India's utility as a mediating influence.

172. Cherif Guellal (b. 1932); propagandist for FLN at the outbreak of Algerian Revolution; FLN representative in Tunisia, 1956, in Cairo, 1957; Foreign Affairs Adviser to President Ben Bella, 1961-63; Ambassador to USA, 1963-67, accredited also to Canada and Mexico.

173. Report of speech, 9 April 1959. From *The Hindu*, 10 April 1959.

Reason for No Recognition

Nehru Explains

Later addressing the Congress Party, Mr. Nehru referred to Mr. Abbas's visit and repeated his earlier arguments against according recognition to the Free Algerian Government. Mr. Nehru said that India had full sympathy for the Algerian struggle. On the question of financial assistance no opinion was expressed by Mr. Nehru or the others. Mr. Abbas intends staying in India for some time longer to explore further the possibility of achieving his main object.

Addressing the Standing Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party on External Affairs here, he said that Algerians fully appreciated the "delicate position" of India about the question "but even so the stature that India has built for herself in the comity of nations is such that her recognition will be of immense value and give a new impetus to our liberation struggle."

On the other hand, he said, non-recognition by India was encouraging France to proclaim to the world that she was dealing only with "rebellious elements" in Algeria and that the people were behind France. That was why Algerians wanted that India should recognise the Provisional Government.

He appealed to the people of India to appreciate the difficulties of the Algerians and help them materially and morally. He said that clothes, medicines and rice would be welcome to enable them to continue their struggle.

Mr. Abbas told the M.P.s in reply to questions that President de Gaulle of France wanted that he should meet him as a second class citizen and as leader of the rebellion and not as a representative of the people of Algeria. "I will meet him only in my latter capacity to secure the freedom of the Algerian people and not as the rebel leader," Mr. Abbas was understood to have declared.

Referring to the war of liberation launched by the Algerians, Mr. Abbas recalled India's fight with the British. He pointed out that while the British had not characterised Indians as British citizens nor India as its overseas province, the French had declared Algeria as a metropolitan area which they said was part of the mainland of France. On this assumption the France treated the freedom movement as a rebellion.

In the last five years, he said, thousands of Algerian nationalists have been killed or maimed. They were carrying on their war of liberation against a stuper enemy whose soldiers are equipped with modern weapons.

Mr. Nehru is understood to have told Congress members of Parliament that if India accorded recognition to the Provisional Government of Algeria it might not be able to play any effective role in working for a settlement of the Algerian issue.

Mr. Nehru said that the Algerian people had been carrying on a war of liberation for a long time during which they had suffered a lot. The Provisional Government formed under the leadership of Mr. Ferhat Abbas had been recognised by the Arab countries and the question of its recognition by India had been raised. The sympathy of the people of India for the Algerians was there and the fact that India had not accorded formal recognition to the Provisional Government was to the advantage of the Algerians. Once the recognition was granted India might not be in a position to play an effective role on the question of settlement of the Algerian issue.

159. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Algeria¹⁷⁴

Provisional Government of Algeria
*Notice under Rule 197 by Shri N. Keshava.*¹⁷⁵

I would submit to Mr. Speaker that a statement on the question of our recognising the Provisional Government of Algeria will not be helpful at all even to the Algerian people at this stage. We have expressed our opinion very clearly in Parliament more than once.¹⁷⁶ We have been unable to recognise the Provisional Government as such recognition will not help the Algerian cause at all and will immediately injure our relations with France and our capacity to raise this question with them. The idea that we should give an ultimatum to the French Government, is very extraordinary.

174. Note, 9 April 1959. File No. 25(1)-WANA/59, p.14/corr., MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

175. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Bangalore City, Mysore, had given a notice as follows: "If the Provisional Government of Algeria has applied to our Government why we are not according the same. We are opposed to all colonialism. Algerians have lost already a million or more of their nationals. Recently their president Shri Abbas also came in person and waited on our beloved Prime Minister and pressed for recognition. If we don't do the needful it may be too late later. The whole nation of Algerians may be wiped out as they are faced against odds, i.e. France which is perhaps 7 times stronger than them. The whole world is looking at us. We could even fix a time limit beyond which we could not wait for any move for the French Government to settle and recognise the provisional Government of Algeria. People of India have wholehearted sympathy with the people of Algeria and the reaction of our Government may be stated?"

176. See SWJN/SS/44/pp. 588-589.

160. Talks with Ferhat Abbas—II¹⁷⁷

After dinner at the Prime Minister's residence on April 11, 1959, Mr. Ferhat Abbas briefly discussed certain points which occurred to him after his stay in Delhi:

- (i) He realised that the Government of India would not be giving immediate recognition but wondered whether some sort of communique could be issued about the talks that had been held between him and the Prime Minister. Asked what sort of communique he had in mind, Mr. Abbas thought it might say that the two had exchanged views about the Algerian situation and that India had the fullest sympathies for the Algerian people's struggle for freedom; that the Government of India could not forever withhold recognition and that negotiations should take place between the Algerian Nationalist leaders and the French Government.

P.M. said he had made similar observations in the past and would do so again but would await a suitable opportunity. He might speak in Parliament or raise the matter at a press conference. He might also send a message to de Gaulle. Mr. Abbas agreed that all these steps might be useful.

- (ii) Mr. Abbas said he had discussed with the leaders of the Socialist Party the question of material aid for the Nationalists and that Acharya Kripalani felt that all Indian parties might organise a joint fund-raising campaign and at least send some nominal supplies as a gesture. Abbas hoped as much as possible would be sent.

The Prime Minister thought this method of sending aid might be looked into and said that while it would be difficult for the Government to send anything officially, he would consider what could be done at a party level.

- (iii) If it was not considered possible to organise a general Indonesia-type conference on the future of Algeria, Mr. Abbas hoped it might nevertheless be possible for heads of some of the leading countries of the area to get together and discuss the subject; in particular he mentioned President Soekarno and also Marshal Tito. The Prime Minister explained that it was difficult to get such people together at any given time. Marshal Tito had recently been to India and to Indonesia and President Soekarno was going on another tour. P.M. said that he himself would not be able to leave the

177. Summary record of Nehru's discussions with Ferhat Abbas, New Delhi, 11 April 1959. Signed by K. S. Bajpai of the MEA on 14 April 1959. File No. 2(6)-WANA/59, pp. 17-19, MEA.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

country this year. However, he would bear the possibility of getting together with the leading statesmen in mind and see what could be done when the time came for a meeting.

Mr. Abbas concluded by saying that though he was going back empty handed, he was glad he had come and was grateful for the welcome he had received.

Mr. Kedda, the Minister for Social Affairs, said he wanted to add two points:

- (i) The continuation of the war in Algeria was a menace to international peace. It was the situation in Algeria which was forcing the French Government to adopt all sorts of bellicose attitudes; the Mollet Govt.'s adventure in Suez was the most flagrant example.¹⁷⁸
- (ii) The Colons in Algeria, regardless of international complications, were always trying to provoke fresh military action. Indeed, as the bombing of Sakiet¹⁷⁹ had shown, they did not hesitate to provoke other countries such as Tunisia and Morocco. The people of these two countries would not take such action lying down, and however restrained their Government might be, the general public in Tunisia and Morocco, if provoked, might forcibly come to the aid of the Algerian Nationalists.

Mr. Kedda asked in conclusion whether the Prime Minister had any advice to give, as the Algerian Govt. would be grateful to receive it. The Prime Minister replied he could not presume to advise the Algerian Nationalists how to conduct their struggle and it was very difficult to give advice in such matters. We would, however, always keep the Algerian problem in our mind and if we ever thought we could do something useful we would not hesitate to do so.

Sd.

(K. S. Bajpai)

14.4.

178. See SWJN/SS/35/389-449.

179. For bombing of Sakhiat-Sidi-Youssef, a Tunisian village bordering France, on 8 February 1958, see SWJN/SS/41/p. 554.

161. Talks with Ferhat Abbas—III¹⁸⁰

The Prime Minister received the Algerian leaders for an hour and a quarter on the morning of April 12. Repeating what he had already told F.S., Mr. Abbas said his Government wanted the recognition not only of India but more specially of Nehru, the heir of Gandhi. Such a great man's gesture would encourage others to say that Algeria is not in France. He realised India had many problems and must act within a vast complex of preoccupations, but in the case of Algeria only a spectacular gesture would be effective. The Colons and their military leaders like Gen. Massu¹⁸¹ were totally indifferent to what Arab countries felt but would take note of what Mr. Nehru and India did, as would India's neighbours. At present, unfortunately, apart from the Arab countries and Indonesia, only some communist countries had recognised his Government. He might be going to Moscow and thought it possible to persuade the Russians also to extend recognition, but he did not want circumstances to force him into the hands of the Communist Block. He did not oppose the Communist Block, nor was he anti-Western. He wished to adopt the same attitude on international affairs as India; but American arms were being used against the Algerians and that made his people think better of Moscow. For all these reasons it was important to obtain India's recognition. As it was, he left India a little sadly as he had to go back with empty hands. However, he knew he took back our friendship and he was grateful for this and the welcome he had received.

2. The Prime Minister said he welcomed Mr. Abbas's visit. Although, we are always conscious of the Algerian problem, the visit had helped us to have a more intimate picture and had also, by the meetings with the Parliamentary and Political leaders, given point to the problem which would help the Government in taking action in future. There were so many problems in the world and it was difficult to isolate any one. We were all small men compared to Gandhi, and unfortunately could not act with his freedom, as in conducting affairs of state various practical factors had to be allowed for. Mr. Abbas had referred to the two power blocs and it was undeniable that the cold war complicated these problems. India tried not to get mixed up in the cold war as she had enough problems. In addition to others, she now had Tibet. In dealing with all these, we tried to avoid making empty gestures, preferring to act quietly and soberly. As regards influencing other countries, they also had their problems; sometimes

180. Summary record of Nehru's discussions with Ferhat Abbas, New Delhi, 12 April 1959. Signed by K. S. Bajpai of the MEA. File No. 2(6)-WANA/59, pp. 22-26/C, MEA.

181. General Massu and General Salan had seized power in Algeria on 13 May 1958. See also SWJN/SS/42/p. 671.

we were able to influence them, sometimes they also influenced us. As regards Algeria, we had the fullest sympathy and would keep the problem always in our mind and study it to see what could be done. Apart from the points discussed the night before, the P.M. enquired whether Mr. Abbas had any other suggestions.

3. Mr. Abbas said his mission had only been to emphasize three points:-

- (i) Recognition, which would influence other Asian nations.
- (ii) Holding of a conference which would arouse world opinion and indirectly through USA or Britain influence France.
- (iii) Supply of material aid to help the Algerian people endure the butchery they suffered.

He left it to us to decide, what else could be done especially in the way of our influencing the French Government to be reasonable.

Asked by the Prime Minister what he thought of situation within France itself Mr. Abbas said that Algeria dominated all political life in France. The very fall of the Fourth Republic and the new form of Government were results of developments in Algeria, more especially of the pressure of the Colons. They were determined to fight it out and the French were constantly giving way to their pressure. France was ruining itself economically for the sake of pride while Algeria was losing large proportion of its population; they had lost one tenth and would probably lose another one tenth. Both sides were suffering but in France even the Socialists were reactionaries and would not see the future. French military expenditure had increased to three million pound sterling per day and Mr. Abbas would like us to realise that India's policy was allowing the French to become more and more intransigent. Paradoxically while the French went bankrupt the Colons were more prosperous than ever and had no concept of the horrors of the war.

On F.S.'s suggestion P.M. enquired how close the contact was between Mr. Abbas's Government in Cairo and the nationalist leaders in Algeria itself. Mr. Abbas said there were constant comings and goings—for instance their State Secretary now on a mission to Peking had just come out of Algeria. All the local Chiefs communicated with the Abbas Government by radio and received instructions every day.

Asked where the centre of the nationalist movement in Algeria was, Mr. Abbas explained there was no single centre but six groups are in each of the six Villayas, each headed by a Colonel with a Committee of civilians to give administrative assistance and a military committee to organise operations against the French. For all intents and purposes the centre of Government was in Cairo because that was the place where he and his colleagues resided. In addition there were two Cabinet Ministers resident in Morocco and Tunisia, in which two countries were the main arms depots of the nationalists.

Asked for further details Mr. Abbas said that the activity in each Villaya was autonomous, as each Colonel was his own master. The Defence Minister who frequently moved from place to place on the border lands of Algeria gave overall guidance and indicated where particular types of operations should be increased or decreased but otherwise even clandestine activity was left for each Villaya; if for a particular operation more than one group was involved the local leaders made arrangements among themselves and the provisional Government did not interfere.

P.M. enquired what part of the territory of Algeria was under the control of the nationalists. Pressed for details after claiming that the whole of Algeria was with them Mr. Abbas said the entire countryside was with the nationalists. They realised they could not have a head-on battle with the French army and there was no front; it was, therefore, difficult to divide the territory according to whether the French or the Algerians controlled it. The true fact was that the Algerians with their guerilla tactics had confined the French to the principal urban centres from where they could only make sorties against the nationalists or to relieve rural outposts; the French could rarely risk remaining on these excursions overnight.

Mr. Kedda added that the Algerian nationalists relied on a people's army and that was why the French had not been able to win. Now the French were trying economic warfare to divide the people from the army. The new French tactics were to deny the Algerian people even the economic necessities of life and supplies of medicines etc. The Provisional Government therefore had to attend to the people's wants in this respect also and needed help.

Prime Minister repeated that he was glad to have had discussions with the Algerian leaders. The latter repeated their thanks to them.

Sd.
(K.S. Bajpai)

(e) U.K.

162. To S.R. Das: Lord Parker Wants to Visit¹⁸²

April 2, 1959

My dear Chief Justice,

Our High Commissioner in London has written to me¹⁸³ to say that Lord Chief Justice Parker¹⁸⁴ of England came to dinner at the Embassy a few days ago. On the course of the dinner, both he and Lady Parker repeatedly expressed a desire to visit India and added that they hoped that an invitation would be forthcoming. There were many others present at the dinner too. Later a telephone call came from Lady Parker thanking the High Commissioner for her hospitality and again saying that she hoped that in the not far distant future they would be invited to India.

I am conveying this information to you. I am not anxious to invite them to India. Of course, if they come to India of their own accord, we shall gladly treat them as our guests. I should, however, like to have your advice in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) U.S.S.R

163. To N. S. Khrushchev¹⁸⁵

April 5, 1989

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I was very happy to receive your letter of the 21st February, 1959, which you were good enough to send me with the delegation of the Government of the U.S.S.R. which recently visited India.¹⁸⁶ I hope you will forgive me for the delay in answering it. I waited for the delegation to end their tour in India and

182. Letter to the Chief Justice of India.

183. On 30 March 1959.

184. Hubert Lister Parker (1900-1972); admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 1928; Lord Justice of Appeal, 1954-58; Lord Chief Justice, 1958- 1971.

185. Letter to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Prime Minister.

186. From 24 February to 19 March 1959.

then I thought that perhaps it will be suitable for our Ambassador in Moscow, Shri K.P.S. Menon, to carry my reply and deliver it himself to you. As he is now returning to his charge in Moscow, I am entrusting this reply to his care.

It was a pleasure to us to receive such a high powered delegation from the Soviet Union and to have discussions with such important personalities as Mr. Andreyev,¹⁸⁷ Mr. Mukhitdinov¹⁸⁸ and others. They must have reported to you about their impressions of what they saw in India and the discussions they had with us. You will have also seen the joint press communiqué which was issued on the conclusion of the delegation's visit.

We discussed a wide range of subjects all of which, for obvious reasons, were not mentioned in detail in the communiqué. I was particularly interested to see the full note on talks between you and Mr. Macmillan.¹⁸⁹ Both of you must have expressed your views with sincerity and frankness, and though there were serious divergences of opinion, it is satisfying that there was greater appreciation of each other's point of view and that efforts are being made by both of you to find a peaceful way out of the present difficulties. It is my earnest hope that these efforts will succeed and during this year some important steps will be taken to bring about a measure of stability and peace in the world.

I know very well your earnest desire for peace. All the great plans you have and, more particularly, the new and far-reaching Seven-Year Plan, would be imperilled if the world had to face again the dreadful prospect of war. Both Mr. Andreyev and Mr. Mukhitdinov gave us useful and interesting details about your Seven-Year Plan, and we were much impressed by the great scope and the promised results of this Plan. The Soviet delegation met our Planning Commission also and had a long discussion with them about your Plan. I was happy that this discussion took place as we profited by it.

We are now in the middle of our Second Five Year Plan, which has another two years to run. But, already we have been giving a good deal of thought to our Third Five Year Plan, and we are anxious to learn from the great experience which the Soviet Union has had in planning. For our own sake, as well as that of the world, we earnestly trust that the fear of war will be removed and that the present tensions will lessen and an atmosphere of peace will gradually be established in the world. This will not only bring general relief to people all over the world, but it will lead to greater cooperation between countries in the economic, scientific and cultural fields.

187. Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

188. Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee of the Supreme Soviet.

189. The talks took place during Macmillan's ten-day visit to the Soviet Union beginning 21 February.

We are very glad that the Bhilai Plant has gone into production¹⁹⁰ and we earnestly hope that all the other subsequent stages will be completed satisfactorily and on time. I must thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your very generous offer of long-term credit for our proposed oil refinery at Barauni and for your promised cooperation in the expansion of our pharmaceutical industry. In regard to both these projects our experts have been in touch with the Soviet experts to negotiate the practical details and I am informed that progress in these negotiations has been satisfactory. I trust that they will be completed without delay so that work can start. I share your hope for the further development of cooperation between our two countries for our mutual benefit.

I am most grateful to you for inviting me to visit the Soviet Union once again. I need not tell you how happy I would be to go there and see for myself the great changes that are coming over your country and to profit by them. In particular, the opportunity to meet you would be very welcome. But we have so many pressing problems in India at present that I fear I shall not be able to leave my country for some time. But I can assure you that when I have the chance to do so, I shall welcome it.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

164. To N. R. Pillai: Soviet Aid¹⁹¹

I have had a talk with Shri Manubhai Shah.¹⁹² He gave me a note which I attach. From this note and from my talk with Shri Manubhai, it appears that there is no question left over which is not capable of adjustment and settlement. As for the period of repayment, we shall not, of course, break on this issue. But it does seem odd to me that when Mr. Khrushchev wrote to me twelve years, it is now said that the Soviets would like repayment in seven years. We have got credits in America and elsewhere generally for a 20-year or 30-year period. Therefore, I think that we might suggest twelve years, giving the reasons therefore. But there is no question of our making this a crucial issue which will create ill-will.

190. On 4 February 1959.

191. Note to SG, 21 April 1959. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

192. Union Minister of State for Industry.

2. In Shri Manubhai's note, three courses are suggested which have apparently been proposed to Shri K.P.S. Menon.¹⁹³ I think that would be the right line of approach.

3. We must remember that we have begun approaches to the Soviet Union for very big credits for our Third Five Year Plan. Whether these will succeed or not, I do not know. But we should avoid doing anything now which might create difficulties for the bigger approaches.

Shri Manubhai Shah is quite confident that he will get the agreement in Moscow signed when he goes there. Meanwhile, Shri K.P.S. Menon might proceed on the lines suggested. You might, therefore, write to him accordingly.

(g) U.S.A.

165. To Dwight D. Eisenhower: Dulles's Illness¹⁹⁴

Dear Mr. President,

I have today returned from a lengthy tour in South India. I am deeply grieved to learn about the serious illness of Mr. John Foster Dulles, which has occasioned his resignation from the high office he has held with such distinction for many years.¹⁹⁵ I earnestly trust that he will recover.

Even though some of us could not always agree with his policies, we admired him for his singleness of purpose and spirit of dedication with which he carried on the great work entrusted to him.¹⁹⁶

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

193. India's Ambassador to the USSR.

194. Message to the US President, 19 April 1959. This message was sent through M.C. Chagla, India's Ambassador in Washington.

195. Dulles, who was suffering from cancer, resigned as Secretary of State on 15 April 1959.

196. Nehru asked Chagla to also convey his deep concern to Mrs. Dulles and his earnest hope that Dulles would recover and to send an appropriate message to Dulles on his behalf.

(h) Iraq

166. To Vivian Bose: Don't Visit Iraq¹⁹⁷

April 4, 1959

My dear Justice Bose,

Your letter of April 3rd. I referred it to our Foreign Secretary, Shri S. Dutt. In reply, he has sent me the following note:

"If the object of Justice Bose's visit is to ascertain facts and try to influence judicial procedures in the right direction, he would merely be wasting his time in Iraq. There is little that is not known about the methods and the procedures which the Military Courts are following in Iraq. The presiding officer, Judge Mahdawi who in fact is a military officer, is behaving as crudely as Judges who used to preside over Nazi Courts in Germany. He is indulging in long harangues from his seat in the Tribunal against the accused, their political philosophy and the policies of the UAR Government. I think his vituperation has hardly been exceeded even in Iraq. The court trials are staged late in the evening so that they could be properly televised and the common people could attend the trials after their day's work. The trials were and continue to be a travesty of justice. In the circumstances there would be no point at all in Justice Bose undertaking the proposed mission. On the other hand, the Iraqi authorities would not draw a distinction between his position as a leading Indian and his function as a President of the Jurists' Commission and all that he would succeed in doing by visiting Iraq would be to create the impression of Indian interference in the Iraqi internal affairs. My advice therefore would be against the proposal."

I am inclined to agree with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

167. To S. Dutt: Iraq Politics¹⁹⁸

Mr. Qassim Hassan, member of the Iraqi National Democratic Party and its former Secretary, came to see me this evening. He had apparently come to India to attend a recent Afro-Asian Conference of some kind in Calcutta.

197. Letter to Bose, Ad-hoc Judge, Supreme Court.

198. Note to FS, 19 April 1959.

He spoke to me for some time about conditions in Iraq. His party belongs to the ruling group in Iraq and cooperates with the Communist Party etc. He naturally cast the blame on President Nasser for the present troubled condition of Iraq, though he used mild language, He begged me to advise both parties to put an end to the present tension and mutual recrimination.¹⁹⁹ He gave me the programme of his party which I enclose.

(i) Germany

168. To J.L. Kapur²⁰⁰

April 10, 1959

My dear Kapur,

I have your letter of April 10 in which you inform me of an invitation sent to you by the German Embassy. I do not like this procedure at all. It seems to me a very casual way of doing things for the German Embassy to convey to you an oral invitation on behalf of the West German Government. The invitation should have come through our Foreign Office and should really have been addressed to the Chief Justice who could then consider the matter in consultation with his colleagues and, if he thought fit, suggest the name of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. Apart from this, I find that these "oral" invitations are being spread out by people in the German Embassy here to all kinds of persons. I know at least of three such persons who make a curious mixture. There is an MP, there is a Secretary of the Congress, and there is a journalist, and so on.

Obviously these invitations have a political significance, although they may not be framed in that way. In fact, a proper invitation to any of the Judges of the Supreme Court should come from the Supreme Court, or whatever it is called, of Western Germany.

199. Iraq accused the UAR of supporting the army mutiny in Mosul and expelled some officials of the UAR Embassy in Baghdad; President Nasser of Egypt charged Kassem, the Prime Minister of Iraq, of being "an ally of Britain"; the Iraqi press described Nasser as "a new Pharaoh seeking to build his unity on the skulls of millions" and of being a "catpaw of western imperialism."

200. Letter.

Jeevan Lal Kapur (b.1897); practised at Lahore High Court, Lahore, 1922-47; Vice President, All India Postmen's Union, 1926-47; Member, FPSC, New Delhi, 1947-49; Judge, Punjab High Court, 1949-57; Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1957-62; headed a commission to enquire into the conspiracy leading to Mahatma Gandhi's murder, 1966-69; Chairman, Law Commission, 1961-68.

On the whole, therefore, I do not like this at all. One of the major world issues today is that of Germany, and all these invitations are meant, directly or indirectly, to serve some political purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

169. To Dinesh Singh: Visit to West Germany²⁰¹

April 12, 1959

My dear Dinesh,

I have no objection to your accepting the invitation to go to Western Germany. But I think that we should follow the convention we have laid down for such cases, that is, that the travelling expenses to the country and back should be paid by the person concerned. Within the country, he can be treated as the guest of the host Government.

The West German Government has invited an odd assortment of people, and we should be a little careful not to be used politically by foreign Governments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(j) Nepal

170. To Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev²⁰²

April 4, 1959

My dear friend,

I am very happy to learn from our Ambassador,²⁰³ who is here for a short visit, that you have accepted the invitation of the Chief Minister of Bihar to perform the inauguration ceremony of the Hanumannagar Barrage. For countless centuries the people of Eastern Nepal and of Northern Bihar have suffered

201. Letter to Dinesh Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banda, UP.

202. Letter to Maharaja of Nepal.

203. Bhagwan Sahay.

tremendously from the ravages of the Kosi and I have been closely associated with all the efforts that are being made with the support and cooperation of your Government to control this river and to set up works which would be of benefit both to the people of Nepal and Bihar. I shall make every endeavour to be present at the ceremony.

News from Nepal in recent months is very reassuring and full of hope. You have given a constitution²⁰⁴ which I hope will work. The success of most constitutions, however, depends not merely on the legal provisions they contain but the spirit with which they are worked, and I am happy that a good start is being made, I am particularly happy at the way in which the general elections in Nepal have progressed. It was a difficult decision to hold them but I feel certain that it was the only wise one. The administrative problems in organising general elections in any country on the basis of adult franchise, for the first time, are always difficult. In the circumstances of Nepal it was much more so, but they appear to have been tackled very successfully and your Government deserves sincere congratulations on their success. The people have also responded splendidly, and, whatever the results, I feel that sound foundations are being laid for political stability and progress. Naturally, I am very happy at these recent developments.

I look forward to meeting you in a few weeks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

171. Speech at Bhimnagar²⁰⁵

Indo-Nepali Friendship
“Exemplary and Unparalleled”
King Mahendra’s Praise

Bhimnagar, (Nepal),
April 30.

King Mahendra of Nepal declared to-day that friendly relations between India and Nepal—exemplary and almost unparalleled—were worthy of “urgent attention” by the world of to-day. Laying the foundation-stone of the Rs. 17-

204. Promulgated by the King on 12 February 1959.

205. Speech, Bhimnagar, 30 April 1959. From *The Hindu*, 2 May 1959.

crore Kosi Barrage²⁰⁶ in the presence of Prime Minister Nehru, the King said the success of the Kosi Barrage besides strengthening centuries-old ties between the two countries would make the happiness of the two people "deeper and more enduring" (as briefly reported already).

The King with a silver trowel in his hand laid the foundation-stone amidst chanting of Vedic hymns and blowing of conch shells.

Shouts of "Nepal Naresh" and "Pandit Nehru Zindabad" and "Pandit Nehru Zindabad" and "Long Live Indo-Nepal Friendship" from a gathering of nearly two lakhs of Nepalese and Indians greeted the King as he ascended the raised dais to perform the ceremony.

Mr. Nehru in his speech on the occasion said the Kosi project was a symbol of the centuries-old Indo-Nepalese friendship and good-neighbourliness. It was the first joint venture of recent Indo-Nepal economic co-operation and collaboration, he said.

The Kosi, Mr. Nehru said, which had been bringing in its train annually disaster and destruction to lakhs of people of both the countries, had been engaging the attention of the Government for some time past. The execution of the project would not only provide irrigation but also produce electricity which would be beneficial for the economic development of the two countries.

King Mahendra said: "Though from many standpoints the fortunes of our two countries have been intermingled for a long time, we have been firm and independent in a friendly manner in our respective positions. Also, it is by means of such cooperation and goodwill that our friendly relations can grow from strength to strength.

The King, speaking in Nepali, declared: "Since time immemorial the love of independence and friendly relationship of our two countries have been exemplary and almost unparalleled in the history of the world. This example is worthy of the urgent attention of the world today."

He continued: "This age is not one in which indulgence in oppressive propensities or demonstration of hatred by anybody from any quarter does not deserve serious discouragement. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the best relations should prove to be those that are founded on feelings of mutual respect..."

King Mahendra said: "For years and years, the Kosi region of Nepal had been regarded as holy because of its intimate association with sages. It is known to all that efforts have been made for some years towards the erection of a barrage flanking this river on both sides, intimately tied up as this river has

206. Also known as Bhimnagar Barrage.

been with the lives of people of both our countries. Being mindful of the sacred nature of this work on account of its being motivated by the desire to ameliorate human life and make man's journey through life happy, though only to a limited extent, my Government has also been offering the facilities asked for by India, as well as other help expected from us, with an open heart."

The King expressed his good wishes for the prosperity of India as well as for the progress of her people.

Nehru's Tribute to the King

Mr. Nehru reciprocated the sentiments expressed by King Mahendra for further cementing Indo-Nepal friendship and mutual cooperation and described today's foundation laying-ceremony as an auspicious occasion. Though the site of the barrage was in Nepal it was nearer to India. The completion of the Kosi project would bring peace and plenty to lakhs of people of both the countries, he said.

He referred to the recent general elections in Nepal and said its successful conclusion had earned the admiration of all. He congratulated the King of Nepal for the successful and peaceful conclusion of general elections in that country.²⁰⁷ He hoped a new era of peace, progress and prosperity was going to be ushered in Nepal.

Mr. Nehru praised the Bharat Sewak Samaj for mobilising people's co-operation for the execution of the Kosi project and said this was the first experiment in public participation in a marathon nation-building project. He strongly expressed himself against the execution of development plans through contractors and hoped that other big development projects in India would also be executed through public co-operation.

The Prime Minister advised engineers and other workers engaged in nation-building activities not to think only of their pay and prospects but also to develop a spirit of service and think in terms of future prosperity of the nation.²⁰⁸

207. The first general elections were held in Nepal from 18 February to 3 April 1959, in which the Nepali Congress, led by B. P. Koirala, won 74 of the 109 seats in the lower house.

208. For Nehru's talk with pressmen at Birpur, see item 146, p. 513.

(k) Other Countries

172. To M.J. Desai: Dharama Vara from Cambodia²⁰⁹

I am surprised to read the reference to the Cambodian monk in your note of the 6th April. Presumably Shri Dharama Vara is a Cambodian monk who has often come to see me. He appeared to me to be a confidante of Prince Sihanouk, and on several occasions he brought letters or messages from Prince Sihanouk to me. It is quite possible however that he might have turned out some Thai monks from there.

2. I think it will be worthwhile sending for Vira Dharama Vara and having a frank talk with him, on these subjects. Also find out whether he is an Indian national or not. If he is an Indian national, then he cannot go on a Cambodian passport. He cannot have it both ways.

173. To M.J. Desai: Indians in Uganda²¹⁰

The other day, I met the Health Minister from Uganda who came here for some conference.²¹¹ He complained to me of the general attitude of the Indians in Uganda and how they were throwing their weight against the African freedom movement. I am quite sure that this is a wrong and harmful attitude both from the point of view of our larger policy and even from the point of view of the Indians themselves in Uganda. This should be made clear to our Commissioner, and he should make it clear to the Indians concerned there.

2. It is quite justifiable for Indians abroad to expect us to help in protecting their legitimate interests, but those interests will not be considered legitimate by us if they involve any injury to African interests. To ask for special protection of vested rights is only to ask for trouble in the future. There can be little doubt that within a fairly short time, Uganda will have self-government. What, then, will happen to the Indians there if they range themselves against the progressive section of Uganda people?

3. As for your suggestion about capital investments by Indians in Uganda, I agree with your proposal.

209. Note to CS, 8 April 1959.

210. Note, 8 April 1959.

211. It was actually the Ugandan Minister of Works, A.K. Kironade.

174. To S. Dutt: Israeli Minister's Visit²¹²

You might send the following reply to the attached telegram :-

"Your telegram 77 of April 8.²¹³ You may inform the Israeli Minister²¹⁴ that should he wish to visit India for a few days on his way back to Israel, he would be welcome here and the Minister of Community Development would be glad to arrange visits to Community and other Development Projects. During his stay in Delhi he would be the guest of Government."

175. To A.P. Jain: Politics of Rice Trade with Burma²¹⁵

April 12, 1959

My dear Ajit,

Our Ambassador in Burma, Lalji Mehrotra is here. In the course of a talk with me, he said that the Burmese Government was feeling somewhat irritated with us because of our delay in finalising the purchase of rice for which we have contracted. They think that this is due to political reasons because we do not approve of the present military rule in Burma.

I do not want this impression to persist, and indeed it is not true. Therefore, whatever we have to do about this matter should be done without delay.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

212. Note, 10 April 1959. File No: 2(20)-Pt.I/59, p. 1/Note, MEA.

213. See Appendix 10, pp. 586-587.

214. Mordechai Bentov(1900-1985); founder and Chief Editor, *Al Hamishmar*, 1943-55; signed Declaration of Independence of Israel, 1948; Minister of Labour and Reconstruction, 1948-49, Minister of Development, 1955-61, Minister of Housing, 1966-70.

215. Letter.

176. To Chatur Narain Malviya: Sympathy for Civil War Victims²¹⁶

April 13, 1959

Dear Chatur Narain,

I have your letter of 8th April. It is true that I took a great deal of interest in the Spanish Civil War and was deeply grieved at its outcome. I wish I could do something for the political prisoners. But a Foreign Minister does not issue appeals of this kind in public, and anyhow it will have no effect on General Franco's Government. If an opportunity offers itself, we might say something.²¹⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

177. To Sarisdi Dhanarajta: General Expressions of Warmth²¹⁸

April 13, 1959

My dear Prime Minister,

I was glad to have your letter dated the 18th March 1959 which was handed over to me by His Excellency Mr. Bun Charoenchai on the termination of his mission as Ambassador to India. We were happy to have him in our midst and are glad that he has been appointed to the important post of Minister of Industry in your Government.

I am grateful to Your Excellency for the excellent arrangements made for our President when he passed through Bangkok last month and the honour and facilities accorded to him at the airport. It is kind of you to invite the President and myself to visit your beautiful country. As you know, our President has had several strenuous tours during the last eight months or so. He is scheduled to

216. Letter.

(1909-1985); member, Bhopal Legislature, 1937-40; Deputy Prime Minister, Bhopal, 1948; Prime Minister, Bhopal, December 1948-January 1949; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.

217. This letter was sent to his Vienna address.

218. Letter.

(1908-1963); Thai politician and a member of the Royal Thai Armed Forces; rose to the rank of Field Marshal in the Thai Army, 1954; staged a coup in 1957; Prime Minister 1959-1963.

visit Ceylon in June²¹⁹ and it may not be possible for him to accept Your Excellency's gracious invitation and pay a visit to your beautiful country in the near future.

My own commitments at home are so many that it is not easy for me to leave at present. As you know, we are at present engaged in dealing with various problems in connection with our Second Five Year Plan and in preparations for the Third Plan which will start in 1962. They are engaging our attention and energy to the fullest and need my constant presence at home.

I fully reciprocate your sentiments regarding the promotion of close and cordial relations between our two countries and am confident that the friendly ties which already happily exist between India and Thailand will continue to be strengthened in the years to come.

With kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

178. To S. Dutt: Possible Visit to Tunisia²²⁰

You might reply to Shri Goburdhan²²¹ and tell him to thank President Bourguiba²²² on my behalf for his invitation. It was my intention some time ago to visit some countries in Africa, but owing to heavy work here in India I have decided to forego that pleasure and am staying on in India this year. I hope that some time in the future I might have the good fortune to visit Tunisia.

2. I am a little surprised to learn that Mr. Habib Bourguiba had met me at the Brussels Congress in 1927 and also that he had visited Delhi in 1951.²²³ I have no recollection of either of these meetings.

219. Rajendra Prasad left New Delhi on 12 June for his visit to Ceylon.

220. Note to FS, 20 April 1959.

221. R. Goburdhan, Indian Ambassador to Morocco.

222. Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia.

223. For details of the 1951 visit, see SWJN/SS/16 pt. I/pp. 505-506.

179. To Mohammad Yunus: Temperamental Differences²²⁴

26th April, 1959

My dear Yunus,

Laj²²⁵ gave me your letter of April 9th a few days ago when she came to say goodbye to me. Previously I had received your letter also.

Naturally I do not deal with these matters of frais, allowance, housing, etc., and so I passed on your letter to the Ministry. This does not mean that I had not looked into some of the matters you had raised. I had been trying to follow them for a long time past.

Nevertheless, it is true that basically I do not consider it the normal function of a Minister to deal with such questions except in the broadest way. It is impossible for me to be well-acquainted with the conditions of several hundred persons in the Foreign Service. Some I know fairly well, some vaguely, others hardly at all except that I might recognise them. Any matter of general policy should be considered by me. Also, any special matter affecting an individual. While this door for the individual remains open, in effect it is not an easy matter for it to be used too much because there are certain disciplines in service which cannot be set aside.

I have read your last letter, i.e. of April 9th, carefully and I have taken some trouble to go into the matters you have referred to. I do not wish to express any final opinion at this stage as I am having the matter further examined. Also, I understand that you have been asked to send the Ministry some further information which will help them to make their recommendations. At present, however, I am merely writing to you about your broad approach to this question. I suppose that with your background there are marked temperamental differences between you and others in the service. Partly this is due to what might be called the non-service outlook and the service outlook. But, even apart from that, there is the personal element which comes in. There are other non-servicemen in our service, but they have not had the same type of difficulty which you have had. It is difficult to deal with these temperamental differences which create friction. Inevitably, a service develops a certain discipline. That can be changed gradually. But without discipline the service cannot function and there would be internal chaos. Discipline sometimes comes in the way of quick or effective work. But, nevertheless, this is essential provided it does not become too rigid. A person who does not quite accept that discipline or is not used to it is naturally

224. Letter to Yunus, Secretary, Indian Embassy, Madrid, Spain.

225. Wife of Mohammad Yunus.

at times rather unhappy and begins to feel that he is being discriminated against. Oddly enough, this very feeling and its reiteration creates reactions which may lead to some discrimination. It is, I believe, unfortunately a fact that some of the more senior members of our service have got a slight prejudice against you because they say or imagine that you are frequently complaining (I am not referring to our Secretary General or the Foreign Secretary or Commonwealth Secretary or the Special Secretary, but to those somewhat lower in grade).

Almost every person in the junior and middle ranks of our service complains from time to time about his emoluments or conditions of service. Almost each such person has a feeling that there is some prejudice against him and that others are specially favoured. This might, of course, be the case as human-beings are influenced by many motives. But it does not help to complain constantly about such matters.

You have referred in your last letter, as you have written previously, to your starting salary when you went to Indonesia. I feel that you are right in this matter. The salary was meagre; so also were the allowances. As a matter of fact, you had to assume far heavier and more onerous responsibilities in Indonesia than was at first intended. You should have been paid much more to be able to meet those responsibilities properly.

Those were very early days of our service and we made many mistakes. Later, I tried my best to rectify the previous errors. But I found that it was very difficult to change past history and the financial rules of our Government came in the way. However, after great difficulty something was done that was not adequate. In this matter you were particularly helped by the Secretary General.

This story of the beginnings of your service has been repeatedly dealt with. I do not think it helps at all for you to raise this matter repeatedly. Then you say that ever since then you have been receiving meagre pay and allowance. This is not quite clear to me and I have no data to judge your statement.

I think it was unwise for our Foreign Office Inspector to go to Madrid even before you had got settled there. That is not the proper way to decide about the needs of a mission abroad. The right thing would have been for the Inspector to go there after the mission had been functioning for some time. Some interim arrangements could be made for a few months till more experience was gained. Therefore, I think that his recommendations cannot be realistic and may also be out of date. This matter deserves consideration in regard to some of its aspects.

You refer to the question of a house which you proposed to take on lease. The rent demanded by the landlord was 40,000 pesetas a month. This was equivalent to Rs. 4,540/- at the rate of exchange then prevalent. You mention in your letter that the Peruvian Ambassador paid Rs. 4,000/- as a month.

It seems to me atrocious to have to pay Rs. 4,540/- a month as the rent of a

small house even accepting that conditions in Madrid are difficult. I find that the rents being paid in some of our other places are much less. Even in Vienna it is Rs.1, 287/-, Budapest Rs.1, 941/- Warsaw Rs. 340/- (for portion used as residence only). Prima facie, the sum suggested by you was much too high and could not normally be accepted by us. We do not compete with Peruvian and Brazilian Ambassadors. I know that in some cases we have agreed in the past to heavy rents. When such matters have come to my notice I have been much annoyed. Anyhow, we are living today under grave foreign exchange difficulties and we have to look at every single case very carefully. If the Finance Ministry raises an objection on the ground of foreign exchange, I do not wish to overrule them.

It may be that the ceiling of 20,000 pesetas proposed by the Ministry was not quite adequate. I understand it was raised later to 25,000. I also gather that you have now got a flat within this amount.

As I have said earlier, I propose to go into some of the matters you have referred to fully. I think that prima facie the allowance fixed for you requires reconsideration, even though the peseta has recently been devalued by 22%. I gather that certain information has been asked by our Ministry from you. If you will please send this soon, the matter can be considered without delay. You will realise that the Ministry has to proceed on a factual basis; hence the need for getting some facts.

You refer to the case about a car advance. I have looked into this matter and I do not find any discrimination against you in this matter. You were sanctioned an advance of Rs.6, 000/- in September 1956 for the purchase of a car. The rules require that on the purchase of a car it should be hypothecated to Government, that an insurance policy should be taken out on it and the policy assigned to Government. For nearly eighteen months you did not act according to these rules and many reminders were sent to you. In fact, it took nearly two years before this matter could be finally closed.

I have dealt above with some of the matters and I propose to deal with the others later. But it is difficult for me to write about the basic approach to such things because that really involves a basic approach to life itself. We have to deal with all kinds of people in this world and we have to win them over. The attitude of complaint to life and its problems is not helpful and seldom draws appreciation from others. In your letter you refer to the communal aspect. I have said above that I think there has been some slight prejudice against you by some officers of our Ministry, but I have not been aware of anything that can be considered communal. Indeed, some of the officers who have that type of prejudice are themselves Muslims.

When the question of your being posted abroad came up and Madrid was

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

mentioned, I thought that this was a very good choice. If I was young enough and was to be posted in a foreign mission, I would probably choose Madrid over most other places. It is an ideal place for studying problems without the continual rush of routine work. Otherwise also, it is an attractive and interesting place.

I had intended giving this letter to Laj to take with her, but she is going by sea. So, I shall send this by airmail and give a copy to Laj.

I propose to send for some of your reports from Madrid and read them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V. MISCELLANEOUS

180. To Lok Sabha Secretariat: Netaji is Not Alive¹

Short Notice Question No. 242

I regret I am unable to accept this Short Notice Question. I am sorry to have to say that Shri Suresh Chandra Bose² appears to me to be completely unbalanced in regard to this matter and he makes from time to time statements which have absolutely no foundation in fact. We have discussed this matter previously with Shri Suresh Chandra Bose without getting the slightest help or information from him. There can be no doubt whatever that Shri Subhas Chandra Bose is not alive.

181. To Sri Prakasa: Homi Mody³

April 10, 1959

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of April 7th. I quite appreciate your difficulties. I wish I could be of some more help to you.

We shall be meeting in Nagpur and later in Delhi, and can talk more about these matters then.

Homi Mody⁴ is a good man and I like him. But he does not like our present policies at all. And you may remember that he stood at the last election in opposition to our candidate. He lost. But, apart from that, he has expressed himself strongly in opposition to many of our present policies. It would, therefore, be embarrassing for him and us if he was connected with the carrying out of those policies in any way.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Note, 8 April 1959.
2. An elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose. He was appointed a member of the committee, headed by Shah Nawaz Khan, formed in 1956, to enquire into the death of Subhas Bose.
3. Letter to Governor of Bombay.
4. An industrialist of Bombay and former Governor of UP.
5. Letter.

182. To Ujjal Singh: Beautiful Roses⁵

April 10, 1959

Dear Shri Ujjal Singh,

I have your letter of the 10th April. The roses you brought me on the 30th March were indeed very beautiful and I was delighted to have them.

I think it is a good idea to form the Indian Rose Society. You will have my good wishes for it. But please do not ask me to become a patron of this Society. I am tied up with too many activities and too many organisations, and some time ago I came to the conclusion that I must put a limit to this kind of thing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

183. To M.R. Shervani: Running the Kamala Nehru Hospital⁶

April 11, 1959

My dear Rashid,⁷

Your letter of the 9th April. I am glad you have become a trustee of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital.

I think it is a very good idea for the hospital to keep a register of its patients with their names and addresses. It should indeed show some interest in their future and keep in touch with them. In this way, appeals for donations can also be made as you suggest.

I do not particularly like the idea of a Babies Fair. I do not quite see how it can be worked. You may discuss this with Dr. Vatsala Samant.⁸

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6 Letter.

7. Mustafa Rashid Shervani(1921-1981); industrialist from Allahabad; belonged to a family of freedom fighters; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1960-72 and 1980-81.

8. Medical Superintendent, Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, Allahabad.

184. To Rajiv Gandhi: Want to Meet⁹

April 20, 1959

My dear Rajiv,¹⁰

I am going to Dehra Dun on Thursday, 23rd April, reaching there in the evening at about 5. 30. I shall spend the night there and go to Mussoorie early next morning. I shall return from Mussoorie on the 24th evening and again spend the night at Dehra Dun at the Circuit House. On the 25th morning I shall return to Delhi.

I would very much like to have a glimpse of you and Sanjay. I shall be happy if you can come and see me at the Circuit House in Dehra Dun on the 23rd evening any time between 6 and 7 p.m.¹¹

[Yours,
Nana]

185. To Sampurnanand: Visit to Hill Resorts¹²

April 21, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of April 13th. I am sure that there are beautiful hill resorts in U.P. and I should very much like to visit them. But I hardly go anywhere now for the sake of my health. I may occasionally steal three or four days.

I have long been anxious to visit the Valley of Flowers in Garhwal. If it is at all possible for me to go there at any time, I shall remember what you have written.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Letter.

10. (1944-1991); grandson of Jawaharlal Nehru; pilot with Indian Airlines; joined Congress Party, 1981 and became its General Secretary; Prime Minister of India, 1984-89; Leader of the Opposition, Lok Sabha, 1989-1990; Chairman, Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, 1984-91.

11. Nehru sent a similar letter to Sanjay Gandhi, his younger grandson, also.

12. Letter.

186. To Jayaprakash Narayan: Study Groups to Yugoslavia¹³

April 23, 1959

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have just received your letter of the 22nd April in which you inform me of a Study Group going to Yugoslavia. Only two or three days ago an enquiry came to us from our Ambassador in Yugoslavia about this. He said that he had heard in Yugoslavia about the coming of this Group and could we enlighten him about it. We knew nothing. Now that you have given us some information, we shall certainly ask our Ambassador to help them in every way.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

187. To Manuben Gandhi: Special Arrangements for Special People¹⁴

23rd April 1959

My dear Manuben,¹⁵

Your letter of the 15th April with which you have sent me a letter from the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, New Delhi.

Gandhiji's life was of course exceedingly simple and he disliked any special expenditure to be made for him. But what Indira probably meant was that even simple living when it involves special arrangements is a costly affair. That, of course, is fully true. If one has to make arrangements, that is to say, for special goat's milk, special fruits, etc., then the actual cost mounts up. That was not Bapu's fault but the fault of his hosts.

Generally speaking, people who want special arrangements, even though those arrangements may be simple, cost more because they do not fit in with the general arrangements in a house.

I am returning Shri Dharam Vir's letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru.

13. Letter.

14. Letter.

15. Grandniece of Mahatma Gandhi and his companion during his last days.

188. To Mihir Sen: Promote Spirit of adventure¹⁶

April 27, 1959

My dear Mihir Sen,

I have your letter of the 16th April. As you know, I would welcome every effort to inculcate the spirit of adventure in our young men and women. Anything that you do with this and in view will have my good wishes.

I would suggest to you, however, that it is always better in a relatively small way and not to begin with grand schemes.

You mention some ideas that you have. If you can give effect to them, well and good.

As for the financial aspect, it is difficult for me to arrange to send you any large sum of money. I cannot ask Government for any help in this project, all I could do is to send you some small sum from other sources.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

189. To the Bank of Foreign Trade, Moscow: Royalties in Russia¹⁷

April 29, 1959

Dear Sirs,

I have a deposit with your Bank out of royalties accrued to me from the Russian translation of my books. From this deposit, please transfer 37,500 Roubles (Thirtyseven thousand and five hundred Roubles) by demand draft to the Central Bank of India, Ltd., Janpath, New Delhi, India, for credit to my royalty account with them.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Letter to Sen, a lawyer by profession, and famous for swimming across the English Channel.

17. Letter.

VI. APPENDICES

1. Foreign Office, China to Counsellor, India¹

[Refer to item 105]

Note given by the Foreign Office of China
to the Counsellor of India, 10 July 1958

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Embassy of the Republic of India in China and has the honour to state as follows regarding the exigency of the stepped up subversive and disruptive activities against China's Tibetan region carried out by the U.S. and the Chiang Kai-Shek clique in collusion with fugitive reactionaries from Tibet using India's Kalimpong as a base.

Since the peaceful liberation of the Tibetan region of China, reactionaries who have fled from Tibet to the Kalimpong area have been carrying on subversive and disruptive activities against China's Tibetan region under the instigation and direction of the U.S. and the Chiang Kai-Shek clique and in collusion with local reactionaries in Kalimpong. On visit in India at the end of 1956 Premier Chou En-Lai called the attention of the Government of India and His Excellency the Prime Minister Nehru to this question. His Excellency the Prime Minister Nehru indicated at the time that if the Chinese Government could produce evidence in this regard, the Government of India would take action. Later, on 12th January 1958 Premier Chou En-Lai referred again to this question in an interview with Ambassador R. K. Nehru. On 22nd January 1958 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs delivered to the Indian Embassy in China samples of a reactionary propaganda leaflet sent to Tibet from Kalimpong, which it had collected.

According to reliable material available to the Chinese Government the American Chiang Kai-Shek clique and local special agents and Tibetan reactionaries operating in Kalimpong have recently stepped up their conspiratorial and disruptive activities against the Tibet region of China. Using Kalimpong as a base they are actively inciting and organising a handful of reactionaries hidden in Tibet for an armed revolt there in order to attain the traitorous aim of separating the Tibet region from the People's Republic of

1. Note, 10 July 1958. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n. p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 60-62.

China. The Chinese Government would like hereby to convey to the Government of India certain information concerning the activities of the above said special agents and reactionaries in Kalimpong as follows:

- (1) Chief among Tibetan reactionary elements who have fled China are Gyalodenju, Shakapa, Losangjanzan, Thubten Nobo, Alohrze and Lukaniona. In collusion with American-Chiang Kai-Shek clique and local special agents in Kalimpong they frequently hold meetings in Kalimpong and other Indian cities to plan disruptive activities against Tibet. Gyalodenju has been to the U.S. in 1951. At the instance of the U.S. Thubten Nobo made a special trip from the U.S. to India in the winter of 1956 to take part in the conspiratorial moves of the other Tibetan reactionaries.
- (2) Under the manipulation of Gyalodenju and others, various reactionary organisations have been set up in Kalimpong under such names as "Tibetan Freedom League," "Kalimpong Tibetan Welfare Conference" and "Buddhist Association." These organisations are used for collecting intelligence from Tibet carrying out reactionary propaganda against Tibet and expanding the reactionary forces, etc.
- (3) There is openly published in Kalimpong the "Tibetan Mirror" a reactionary newspaper hostile to the Chinese Government and people. The Tibetan reactionaries and the organisations under their control also printed various reactionary leaflets and other propaganda material and smuggled them into Tibet. Such newspapers and propaganda material spread vicious rumours and slanders against the Chinese Government, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army and fabricated all sorts of lies, moreover attempted to sow discord between the Han and the Tibetan nationalities of China, between the Chinese Central Government and the Tibetan local authorities as well as between Dalai Lama and Panchan Lama. Some of the propaganda material even openly called on the Tibetan people to rise up against the Chinese Government and advocated the separation of Tibet from China. Gyalodenju, Shakapa Losangjanzan and others wrote to the Lamas of the three big monasteries in Tibet to entice them to participate in their subversive activities.
- (4) Taking advantage of the fact Kalimpong is situated near Tibet and that few formalities are required for travel across the India-China's Tibet region border, the Tibetan reactionaries and Americans, Chiang Kai-Shek clique and local special agents in Kalimpong have continuously dispatched agents and saboteurs to Tibet to contact the hidden reactionaries there. They smuggle weapons and ammunition into Tibet in preparation for armed revolt.
- (5) The Chiang Kai-Shek clique has special agents and organisations in

Kalimpong. Among the leading agents is one called Yeh Cheng-Yung. They also use Kalimpong as a base to collect intelligence from Tibet, smuggle arms and despatch agents into Tibet and incite riots in Tibet. They maintain a close contact with the Tibetan reactionaries in Kalimpong and provide Gyalodenju with important maps of Tibet for military use.

The conspiratorial and disruptive activities against the People's Republic of China carried out by the above-said Americans, Chiang Kai-Shek clique and local special agents and Tibetan reactionaries in Kalimpong cannot but enrage the Chinese Government and people and put them on the alert. The Chinese Government regards the criminal activities of the above-said reactionaries and special agents a direct threat to China's territorial integrity and sovereignty and yet another malicious scheme of United States imperialists to create tension in Asia and Africa. It cannot be overlooked that in using Indian territory adjacent to China to perpetrate disruptive activities against the People's Republic of China, the American and Chiang Kai-Shek clique special agents have also the hideous object of damaging China-India friendship. In order to shatter the underhand schemes of United States imperialists, defend China's territorial integrity and sovereignty and safeguard China-India friendship, the Chinese Government hereby requests the Government of India to repress the subversive and disruptive activities against China's Tibetan region carried out in Kalimpong by American and Chiang Kai-Shek clique special agents, Tibetan reactionaries and local special agents. China and India are co-initiators of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, to uphold and propagate which the Government of India has made unremitting efforts. The Chinese Government is confident that the Government of India, pursuing a consistent policy of defending peace and opposing aggression, will accept its request and take effective measures.

2. To the Chinese Embassy²

[Refer to item 105]

Note sent by the Ministry of External Affairs
to the Embassy of China in India, 2 August 1958

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and, with reference to the Note handed over on July 10, 1958, by His Excellency Lo Kwe Po, Vice-Minister of the People's Republic of China, to Shri K. M. Kannampilly, Charge d' Affaires of the Embassy of India at Peking, has the honour to state as follows:

2. As the Government of the People's Republic of China are aware, the Government of India attach the highest importance to friendly relations between India and China. This friendship is traditional and was emphatically reaffirmed in the agreement which was entered upon by the two Governments in 1954. This agreement enunciated the famous five principles which the Government of India faithfully follow in their relationships with China as with all other countries. The Government of India recognise that the Tibetan region is part of the People's Republic of China.

3. The Government of India were therefore greatly surprised by the note which the Government of the People's Republic of China handed over to the Indian Charge d' Affaires at Peking on July 10. They regret to say that the statements contained in this note must have been based on a complete misunderstanding of facts. The Government of India have no evidence that the US Government and the Kuomintang regime are using Kalimpong as a base for disruptive activities against China's Tibetan region. The Government of India will never permit any portion of its territory to be used as a base of activities against any foreign Government, not to speak of the friendly Government of the People's Republic of China.

4. As the Government of the People's Republic of China must be aware, from time immemorial, there has been inter-communication between India and the Tibet region of China through passes on the northern frontier of India. In fact, for centuries the only feasible outlet for that region was through India. Movement of people between India and Tibet was free and easy. Most of the

2. Note by MEA, GOI, 2 August 1958. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n. p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 63-65.

people living in the Tibet region of China (hereafter referred to as Tibetans) who enter India come here either as traders or pilgrims. This fact was recognized in the 1954 agreement between India and the People's Republic of China. Many Tibetans have been settled in north east India for years. The Government of India have made it clear to all Tibetans that they will be permitted to stay in India only if they carry on their vocations peacefully.

5. The Government of the People's Republic of China have mentioned six persons by name in their note as among those who are carrying on anti-Chinese activities on Indian territory. Some of these persons have already been warned that if their activities, political or other, are such as to have adverse effect on the relations between India and China, the Government of India will take the severest action against them. The Government of India have no definite evidence that these persons have been indulging in unfriendly activities. Even so, the Government of India propose to warn them again.

6. In their note, the Government of the People's Republic of China state that various reactionary organisations have been set up in Kalimpong under different names. Enquiries made by the Government of India reveal that no organisations or associations with the names mentioned in the note are functioning in Kalimpong. So far as the Government of India are aware there are two associations in Kalimpong of people who formerly lived in the Tibet Region of China namely, the Tibetan Association and the Indian Tibetan Association. The first named association has been in existence for about 25 years, the second was formed in September 1954. The aims and objects of both these associations are religious, cultural and social, such as promoting study of Buddhism or rendering medical aid to Tibetans, arranging their funeral rites etc. The Government of India are not aware that these two associations have been indulging in any undesirable activities such as those mentioned in the Chinese Government's note.

7. The Government of the People's Republic of China refer to a newspaper named the 'Tibetan Mirror.' There is no daily or weekly newspaper of that name published in Kalimpong. A monthly periodical called the 'Tibetan Mirror' is published there. The editor of this newspaper is not a Chinese but an Indian national. The Government of India have noted with displeasure that some of the articles published in this periodical are objectionable and calculated to affect the friendly relations between India and China. The law in India is, however, such that it is not easy to take executive or legal action against newspapers and periodicals of this character. There are other newspapers in India which severely criticise other friendly Governments. In fact, strong criticisms are voiced by some newspapers against the Government of India themselves. However, the Government of India are most anxious that an

unimportant magazine like the 'Tibetan Mirror' should not adversely affect the relations between our two friendly countries and are directing their local officers to administer a severe warning to this periodical. If it continues to create mischief, the Government of India will take whatever other action is feasible.

8. The Government of the People's Republic of China have stated in their note that taking advantage of the liberal travel regulations across the border of India and the Tibet region of China near Kalimpong, weapons and ammunition have been smuggled into Tibet by Tibetan reactionaries, the Americans and followers of the Kuomintang regime. Both the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of India have got Customs Posts and Check Posts on this border. Officers of the Posts under the Government of India have got strict instructions to be particularly vigilant regarding the possible smuggling of articles like arms and ammunition which are contraband according to Indian law. No case of such smuggling of arms and ammunition has been detected by these Indian Check Posts in the locality.

9. The Government of the People's Republic of China have, in their note, referred to the photostat copy of a leaflet in Tibetan language handed over by them to the Indian Embassy at Peking. Though this leaflet was handed over on the 22nd January, 1958, the date of its publication given at the bottom is 17 December, 1956. This was the time when all manner of people from Tibet came to India in connection with Buddha Jayanti celebrations and the visit of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. At about this time the Prime Minister of India discussed the entire situation in the Tibet region of China and other relevant matters with His Excellency Premier Chou En-Lai. The Government of India did not, therefore, attach any great importance to the circulation of this particular leaflet in December, 1956. It is mentioned at the bottom of this leaflet, that it was issued by the "Tibetan Welfare Association." It has already been stated earlier in this note that, according to Government of India's information, no association with this name is functioning in Kalimpong.

10. The Government of the People's Republic of China have stated that there are special agents of the Kuomintang regime in Kalimpong. Their note, however, mentions only one name, namely, Yeh Cheng-Yung. The Government of India have not been able to trace any such individual in Kalimpong and a preliminary examination of their records shows that no visa to enter India has been issued to any individual of that name. Even so, the Government of India are pursuing their enquiries and will communicate the results later to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China at New Delhi.

11. The Government of India reiterate their friendship for the people and the Government of the People's Republic of China. They have no doubt that the Chinese Government's note is based on misinformation and express the

hope that, in the light of the facts now mentioned, the Government of the People's Republic of China will feel assured that India does not and will not permit any activities on its territory directed against the People's Republic of China and that the Government of India are determined to take action under the law of the country against those who indulge in any such illegal activities.

The Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India takes this opportunity of renewing to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

3. Chinese Ambassador to Foreign Secretary³

[Refer to item 105]

Statement made by the Chinese Ambassador to
the Foreign Secretary, 3 August 1958

Tibetan reactionary elements have recently set up in Kalimpong an organisation named "Committee for giving support to resistance against violence." The organisation is now engaged in a signature movement. At the end of July nearly all the Tibetan aristocrats in Kalimpong, rebels from Szechuan and Sikang provinces, the Lamas and nearly all the members of the Tibetan Association and the Indian Tibetan Association put their signatures on a petition. Some of the signatories were compelled to give their signatures.

On the 29th July, fifteen aristocrats and rebels from Tibet held a meeting. The following are the names of some of the persons who were present:

1. Khan Chung Sagapa.
2. Avang Turn Jun.
3. Sokhang Khen Chung.
4. Chiang Pa Wang Tui.
5. Chiang Pa Tsin Liang.

They passed a resolution at that meeting a favour of sending an appeal to various countries in the world. The meeting decided to send out the appeal on the 18th June according to the Tibetan Calendar, which corresponds to 3rd August, *i.e.*, today. It is stated that after the appeal has been sent, a demonstration will be organised. The main contents of the appeal are a request to the various

3. Statement by the Chinese Ambassador, 3 August 1958. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n. p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 66.

countries to give assistance and support to the independence of Tibet. In the appeals there would be slanders against China and against the People's Liberation Army.

4. Tara Singh to Nehru⁴

[Refer to item 40]

SHIROMANI AKALI DAL

Camp Office:- Gurdwara Rakab Ganj,
N. Delhi

Dated 28th March, 1959

My dear Pandit Ji,

This is in reply of your letter of 19th March, 1959, which I received on 21st. March in Dharamsala Sub-Jail,

I have placed your letter before the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal. In what follows I give the reactions of the Working Committee to the points raised by you.

In the opinion of the Working Committee the principle involved in the controversy is, the scope of religious freedom conferred upon religious denominations by article 26 of our constitution. In plain words the question that arises is, whether the legislature is competent to interfere in the management of the religious affairs of the Sikhs, when the Sikh denomination is managing its religious affairs in such a way as not to interfere with public order, morality or health.

I, however, concede that such a dispute is not a fit subject-matter of reference to arbitration.

In the present case the dispute which is sought to be settled by arbitration is whether the Punjab Government acted mala-fide or bona-fide in the matter of the Gurdwara Amending Act. In my letter dated March 5, 1959 I mentioned undisputed facts regarding the part played by the Punjab Government in paragraph 1 to 7 raised, one issue, namely:-

“Whether the Punjab Government acted bona-fide or mala-fide in the matter of the Sikh Gurdwara Amendment Act, 1959.” For convenience of reference, paras 1 to 7 are reproduced in the annexure “A” to this letter. Full particulars of the dispute raised are given in the annexure to enable the arbitrator or arbitrators, as the case may be, to give their verdict.

4. Letter. Pandit Sunder Lal Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You will also appreciate that when the question of mala-fides or bona-fides of the Government is not a fit subject matter of decision by the courts, the Akali Dal has no alternative but to put the matter before the arbitrators who occupy eminent position in the national life of the country. For this purpose I suggested Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Shri Rajgopal Chari [Rajagopalachari] and Shri Jai Parkash Narain to act as arbitrators either together or any one of them.

In this letter under reply you refer to a major-change in the legislation that was proposed for the first time on the 27th of December, 1958. That change was not made to widen the basis of choice of the Pepsu representatives, but to make Governmental interference more effective.

Some minor points also arise from the letter under reply. As the reference to arbitration is of the bona-fides or mala-fides of the Government, no other point required reply.

It will not be out of place to mention that the Amending Act is not the first instance of Government interference in the religious affairs of the Sikhs. More instances may be supplied if and when required.

In your letter, you suggest that the presence of Acharya Vinoba Bhave may be utilised to remove any doubts or difficulties in the future. In the opinion of the Working Committee the utilisation of his services in the existing dispute is essential.

On behalf of the Shiromani Akali Dal I have suggested three arbitrators. Shri Vinoba Bhave may not be willing to act on my request unless you join me in that request.

In these circumstances the S.A. Dal request you to save the situation that has arisen by reason of the action of the Punjab Government.

Yours faithfully,
(Tara Singh Master)

Encl:- Annexure One.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru Prime Minister.

SHIROMANI AKALI DAL

Amritsar 5-3-1959

ANNEXURE

In regard to (b) *supra*. I venture to give short history of the Gurdwara Amendment Act, for your information. In 1925 the Sikh Gurdwara Act was passed by the Punjab Legislative. That Act has been extended to the erstwhile Pepsu State by the Gurdwara Amendment Act, 1959. The undisputed facts are:

1. On the first of November, 1956, state of Pepsu was merged in the Punjab State. On the 22nd of February, 1957, the Punjab Government appointed an Advisory Committee to report to the Government on the Management of the Gurdwara situated in the erstwhile State of Pepsu.

The Advisory Committee made its report on the 14th of September, 1957. In this period five meetings of the Advisory Committee were held.

2. On the 27th of November, 1957 and the 14th of February, 1958, two meetings of the Advisory Committee were held. The Bill was introduced in the Punjab Vidhan Sabha on the 8th of April, 1958, when it was referred to the Regional Committees. The Regional Committees held their meetings on the 28th of April, 1958 and the bill was referred to the Joint Sub-Committee of both the Regional Committees. Between the 28th of April and the 13th of November, 1958, five meetings of the Joint Sub-Committee were held.

3. Meanwhile the Joint Sub-Committee of the two Regional Committees submitted their report on the 30th October, 1958. In clause 148-B no procedure for election was contained.

4. On the 16th of November, 1958 annual election of office-bearers of the S.G.P.C., was held under the Act. In that election dissidents from the Shiromani Akali Dal and the Committee defeated the nominee of the Shiromani Akali Dal in the Presidential election by three votes, in the contest where 151 votes were polled. In this situation there was strong feeling against the dissidents from the Shiromani Akali Dal and their joining the Communists in the S.G.P.C. election. This being so, proposal was mooted to move no-confidence motion against the new Management of the S.G.P.C. under section 63 of the Act. In fact within one week of the annual no-confidence motion against the new Management of the S.G.P.C. under section 63 of the Act. In fact within one week of the annual election of the Office-bearers in November, 1958, several members of dissidents group, disassociated themselves from that group and joined the parent organisation.

5. On the 27th of November, 1958 the report of Joint Sub-Committee came up before the Regional Committees. In the first report the Regional Committees proposed that 34 members of the S.G.P.C. from the PEPSU area may be elected by 13 members of the Interim Board and 12 members of Pepsu area who were already members of the S.G.P.C.

6. That on the 22nd of December 1958, special session of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha was summoned. That session was adjourned to the 23rd of December 1958. On the 27th of December 1958, the Regional Committees adopted Clause 148-B of the Bill. The Bill was passed the 31st of December, 1958.

7. That on the 3rd of January 1959, the Punjab Legislative Council passed

the Bill and on the 8th of January, 1959, the Governor of Punjab gave his assent. In the act it is provided that elections under section 148-B of the Act will be held within 40 days of the commencement of the Amending Act. As stated above the elections of office-bearers of the S.G.P.C. were held on the 16th of November, 1958 motion of no-confidence could be moved against the new management on or after the 16th of February, 1959. Under the Amending Act, election have been completed under section 148-B of the Act on the 14th of February, 1959.

5. E.M.S. Namboodiripad to Nehru⁵

[Refer to item 31]

Copy of letter No. 361/59/cm dated 30th March 1959 from the Chief Minister of Kerala to the Prime Minister

I write to bring to your notice the difficulties experienced by Kerala at present in regard to food supply and to request your help to overcome the difficult situation.

As you are aware, this State is highly deficit in rice. The population of the State is about 150 lakhs at present and the annual requirements of rice, at the rate of 12 ozs. of rice per adult per day, come to 15 lakh tons. The annual production of rice available for consumption in the State is only 8 lakh tons and thus the deficit is 7 lakh tons of rice. This large deficit was made good by the allotments made by the Centre, the rice purchased by the State Government direct and the rice imported from other States on trade account. In 1958, private trade imported by rail about 3.75 lakh tons of rice from Andhra Pradesh and Madras besides a considerable quantity of rice and paddy brought from Madras State by lorries for which reliable statistics are not available. The Central Government allotted a quantity of 70,000 tons (including 24,000 tons as loan) and the State Government directly purchased from Andhra Pradesh a quantity of 15900 tons of rice. In spite of all these, there has been shortage and abnormal rice in the price of rice in this State during certain periods. The distribution of rice through fair price shops had also to be stopped for about three months in 1958.

The fixation of ceiling prices in Andhra Pradesh and Madras has not had the desired effect since the price of rice in the open market is higher than the ceiling prices. Consequent on the issue of Price Control Orders in Kerala, the merchants of the State have been instructed to purchase rice only at controlled

5. Letter. 30 March 1959.

rates. Unless the Price Control Orders are enforced rigorously by the Andhra Pradesh and Madras Governments, it will not be possible for the merchants of this State to purchase rice from these States and transport the stock to Kerala for sale. This fact has been brought to the notice of those Governments. The Government of India may be pleased to issue instructions to the State Governments of Andhra Pradesh and Madras to see that facilities are afforded to the merchants from Kerala to buy rice at the ceiling prices fixed by the Government of India.

At present the import of rice and paddy by private trade has considerably declined for the reasons explained above. The State Government cannot also enter the markets of Pradesh which is the surplus area in the Southern Zone and make purchases at higher prices. The State is thus facing a grave food situation. To overcome the difficulty, it is requested that the Andhra Government may be directed to purchase 4 lakh tons of rice and the Madras Government 2 lakh tons per annum and supply the same to this State to meet the requirements of the people here.

In spite of the measures that may be taken to enforce controlled prices, I am afraid, it will take some time for the market prices to settle to normal and stabilise at prescribed ceiling rates. Till then, the present stalemate will continue and this State will be facing a critical situation. I therefore request that the Government of India may be pleased to allot a stock of 50,000 tons of rice to this State out of the imports from Burma or from elsewhere in order to meet the immediate requirements of the State and also to serve as a buffer stock for the impending uncertain transition period and lean months.

6. Rajeshwar Dayal to Nehru⁶

[Refer to items 34 and 148]

Copy of letter dated April 2, 1959 from Shri Raieshwar Dayal, Ambassador of India in Pakistan, Karachi, addressed to the Prime Minister.

I had an extremely frank, friendly and informal interview with President Ayub Khan last night. Ayub greeted me warmly and remarked that he had seen that I had just been to New Delhi and Dacca and he hoped that I had not been caught up in the firing! Then in more serious vein he said that something must really be done to stop the senseless firing and incidents in the area. "We seemed to be caught up in a vicious circle and we must do everything possible to get out of

6. Letter, 2 April 1959.

it. Why cannot we push ahead with the border demarcation and put up pillars so that people may know where the frontiers are?" Regarding Bagge awards III & IV, he said that surely some arrangements could be devised to achieve a common understanding. He repeatedly assured me that he was sincerely desirous to do his utmost to improve the situation in the area, and would respond fully to any suggestions to settle the issues once and for all. "You will find us not only fully cooperative, but understanding and generous," he said, adding "what difference does a bit of territory here and there make when the country itself has been partitioned, for better or for worse? "

2. I told Ayub of the deep concern which was felt throughout India at the recurrence of border incidents and the great harm which they were doing to our relations and I mentioned my conversation on the subject with the Foreign Minister, Manzur Qadir, that morning. Ayub immediately remarked that that was a constructive approach and he would be fully prepared to go along with it.

3. Ayub next asked me if I had had talks with the Prime Minister, adding "Please write to him from me and give him my deep respects. I regard him as a very great man indeed. For Mr. Nehru I am prepared to do anything. Please assure him from me and give him my word as a soldier and an honest man, that I am sincerely anxious to build up the best possible relations with India. I hope he will accept my bona fides and give us a chance to settle our differences."

4. I told Ayub that I would not fail to convey his message to the Prime Minister, adding that I had indeed been directed by the Prime Minister to raise the question of those border incidents with him and the difficulty experienced by our fishermen on the rivers constituting the border. I urged that resort to firing over petty transgressions was indefensible and must be stopped.

5. Ayub exclaimed "Let us have a review of the whole situation at whatever level and in whatever manner Mr. Nehru may decide." Observing that officials were unfortunately prone to too much hair-splitting, Ayub suggested talks at ministerial level. The Minorities Ministers used to meet frequently and perhaps a similar procedure could be established. Perhaps we should have a joint commission which could be empowered to deal with all border and similar questions vexing our relationships. Ayub asked why the Governor of East Pakistan and the Chief Minister of West Bengal could not meet to deal with all outstanding questions between their States. He was agreeable to any and all such proposals which would help to remove the present vexations.

6. I replied that we should make every effort to prepare the ground in advance and to work out practical arrangements, which could perhaps be done here with the Foreign Minister. Ayub said that he was quite agreeable to the suggestion, but as the Foreign Minister would be away for some three weeks, perhaps some other Minister could take on the task. Ayub said that it would be

a fine thing if some accords were reached, which could thereafter be finalised at ministerial level.

7. Ayub then said that it was his great desire to help solve our mutual problems so that we could live together "like the brothers that we are. The present state of affairs is making us the laughing stock of the world, and others are taking advantage of our difficulties. It is causing a heavy drain on our slender resources on armaments, and the common man is suffering." He said that he had the necessary authority, and he hoped, the respect and confidence of his people to be able to take the necessary decisions. "Mr. Nehru is of course a very great man, and while we realise his difficulties, as in the case of the Berubari affair, we know that the universal respect and affection which he commands, will enable him to overcome all obstacles."

8. Ayub repeatedly pressed my hand and asked me to assure the Prime Minister that he meant every word that he said. "After all, what are the differences between us compared to the differences between other countries?", he asked. Even in Cyprus, an accord was suddenly reached between the contending parties. "Why cannot a similar miracle happen here?" Problems like the Canal Waters question were by no means insoluble and the prospect now is very hopeful. Even the Kashmir question is not so difficult, and as for the border firings, they are of little practical consequence. I replied that given a little goodwill and patience, and an underlying faith in our common destiny, there was no reason why we could not come to mutually beneficial agreements. At present the atmosphere was vitiated, and every shot that was fired in anger, reverberated throughout the sub-continent.

9. Turning to the Canal Waters question, Ayub said that it seemed that a settlement was in sight and he hoped that the questions of financial liability and the time period would be smoothly worked out. I told him that for our part, we would take a reasonable and constructive view when we saw Black's proposals. We could not postpone the supply of water to the parched areas of Rajasthan, which had no other source of supply and I conveyed to Ayub what the Prime Minister had said that Rajasthan was gasping for water, which could not be denied to them for long. Ayub said that he fully appreciated our needs and he did not see why a time schedule could not be worked out linking our withdrawals progressively with developments on the Pakistan side. If we could not work out the arrangements ourselves, we should allow the World Bank to do it for us. Ayub added that he had "given a good scolding" to his engineers and had directed them to take a broad view and not to haggle over comparatively minor details. He hoped that we had similarly instructed our technical people. As regards the Prime Minister's concern for Rajasthan, Ayub said, much to my surprise, that he hoped that it would be possible for Pakistan to supply water

from the rainy season overflow from the Gidu canal to the Jaisalmer area. I remarked that that was a handsome gesture and I was confident that if it materialised it would be greatly appreciated on our side. Ayub said that he meant it in view of the Prime Minister's concern for Rajasthan's lack of water supplies.

10. Talking in a more general vein, Ayub said that he hoped the time was not too far off when our countries would be close friends. "Look at the danger from the north; did I not tell you about it before?" He exclaimed. He hoped that we could have common defence arrangements one day instead of against each other. He then asked me about the troubles in Tibet and the Dalai Lama's whereabouts. Incidentally, I informed him of the infructuous efforts made by the Tibetans, before India's independence, to get their independence recognised by the Western Powers, who cold-shouldered the Tibetan delegation because they did not wish to hurt Chiang Kai-shek, who, like his predecessors, had claimed suzerainty over Tibet.

11. Ayub then asked why we could not develop our trade relations. I told him of our efforts here in this direction and of my talks with the various ministers concerned. Unfortunately, there have been no results and even the periodical review conference of the existing trade agreement had not yet taken place. I said that we were in a position to meet Pakistani demands for coal, cement and pig iron. Our trade had fallen from over 100 crores in 1948-49 to only 14 crores now. Ayub replied that he had already spoken to Shoaib, the Finance Minister, to get trade going again, and he asked me to see him, adding that he would give a push to get things started. He was keen to set the wheels of trade moving; for even when relations between France and Germany were so strained, trade was not interrupted. I said that that was our approach as well and, that I would again see Shoaib as requested by him.

12. On leaving, Ayub grasped my hand and asked me to write to the Prime Minister conveying his respects and greetings and assuring him of his goodwill and earnest desire to settle our problems by whatever procedures the Prime Minister considered suitable.

13. I found Ayub in a very relaxed and friendly mood, and more confident of himself than at any of my previous meetings with him. He spoke with earnestness and warmth, repeating that he was a simple soldier and an honest man, and he sincerely meant every word of what he had said. He remarked "You know me from before as I know you. I haven't changed, and can you doubt my word?" The talk lasted about an hour.

14. What Ayub seemed anxious to bring about was a meeting at ministerial level and I also felt that he was most keen, if it could be possible, to meet the Prime Minister himself. Although this was of course not explicitly mentioned,

I could sense that this was in Ayub's mind. His references to meetings at higher levels and direct contacts, as well as his desire that the signatures to the accords reached on border questions and the like should be at ministerial level, all pointed in this direction.

15. My approach was to see to that extent Pakistan is prepared to take practical steps to stop the border incidents and other vexations by first discussing concrete proposals with the Foreign Office. We should perhaps also see to what extent progress can be made in developing trade. Without a detailed reconnaissance and a proper evidence of a more cooperative approach, then would be the time to give thought to the matter.

16. The fact that Ayub is anxious not to delay matters is evident from Manzur Qadir's telephone message to me this morning when he said that he had spoken to the President after my meeting with him last night, and the President was anxious that steps to deal with the border and other questions should be discussed now and that the talks should not await Qadir's return. General Sheikh would take up the matter in Qadir's absence, and I was asked to contact him as soon as convenient. The talks are intended to be informal, with a view to exploring ways and means for dealing with the border and linked questions. I have requested the Commonwealth Secretary to send me Government's views and proposals in regard to the matter and have made a few suggestions of my own. As soon as I have detailed instructions, I shall see General Sheikh to ascertain his views.

7. Tara Singh to Nehru⁷

[Refer to item 41]

Copy of letter dated 5th April, 1959 from Master Tara Singh,
Shiromani Akali Dal, Gurdwara Rakab Ganj, New Delhi,
addressed to the Prime Minister, New Delhi

Thanks for your letter of April 4th reading of which was so painful. I deeply regret that even you look at only one side of the picture, accept it as correct and pass on your verdict to me. The fact that you have expressed your opinion on the points raised, shows that the issues are there and that they have shape and form but I fail to understand why you are not prepared to refer them to independent judgement. I am surprised all the more, in view of the fact that you yourself have so often expressed your faith in the settlement of disputes through

7. Letter from Tara Singh, 5 April 1959. U.N. Dhebar Papers (microfilm), NMML.

arbitration, mediation or negotiation. The foremost question now is why you are not prepared to apply these methods to the actions of a Government under you both constitutionally and on the party plane.

Your letter provides painful reading, because the information made available to you has done so much violence to admitted facts and it is on this information that you have based your findings. Least of all did I expect the sting from you that it was the Presidential election that is the basis of my struggle. What I am fighting for is the preservation of people's faith in the honest functioning of our Governments. We lay so much stress on the importance of means adopted towards achievement of ends. We even lecture to the world. But have our Governments or Ministers any scruples about these means? This is what I wanted to be looked into and you cannot say that I did not try my very best, even at the risk of my career to convince you of the necessity, urgency and importance of it.

You are pleased to dismiss the whole matter by dubbing it as minor or vague. I do not know how such a thing as the interference of the Government in our Gurdwara affairs can be called either minor or vague. Our opponents try to confuse the issue by putting in our mouth that we are attacking the validity of the recent legislation in respect of the Gurdwaras. I have tried my best in my last letters to impress upon you that it is not validity of the Act we are attacking, but the intentions that motivated it. When Rowlatt Act was passed by the British did the Congress, yourself and the whole country attack its validity or its motive. The reaction of the Sikh masses in respect of the recent Gurdwara legislation is just the same as was then the reaction of the Indian public to the Rowlatt Act.

The motive of the British in passing that measure into law was to strengthen their hold on the country just as the motive of the Congress Government in hurrying with their recent objectionable legislation is to get a stranglehold on the Gurdwara management, to enable it to interfere effectively in the religious affairs of the Sikhs.

It is beyond my comprehension how such a glaring interference as this can be called either minor or vague. The facts are that in spite of all their efforts, the ministerial party discovered at the time of the last Presidential election of the S.G.P.C. that their majority of three, even after including the 22 Communist votes was rather precarious. So from the very first day after the Presidential election meeting, strategies were being thought out somehow or other to increase this majority. It was then that the matter of the Pepsu Gurdwaras came rather handy to them for this purpose. Then various permutations and combinations were thought out to increase their own votes until ultimately the so-called broadbased electoral college formula was conceived. It is true that I supported the extension of S.G.P.C.'s jurisdiction over Pepsu Gurdwaras. But that does

not mean that I ever supported or objected to provisions of Section 148-B because these at that time were never there. For the first time the said provisions saw the light of day in the Hindi Regional Committee on November 19, 1958 and thereafter I opposed them. Without knowing all these facts it is very wrong of you to impute personal motives to me. For example you mention in your letter "that the joint Sub-Committee of the Regional Committees in their proceedings of 17-10-58 gave their broad approval to the very point which is now objected to by you." I am afraid this statement is not correct as the final report of the Joint Sub-Committee signed by its Chairman on 30-10-58 would show that at that time there was not even a suggestion of representation being given to Pepsu under the objected clause 148-B.

Indeed the so-called facts conveyed to you are no facts at all. You have been told that the Whip was used but only after all the conventions had been observed. In legislation relating to Gurdwara affairs, the only convention observed since the days of the British and Unionist party in the undivided Punjab was that no legislation relating to Gurdwaras was ever taken in hand by the Government unless the condition precedent that of obtaining the opinion of the general body of the S.G.P.C. had been fulfilled. This convention has been totally flouted. To bring this convention home to the Government I requisitioned a meeting of the General Body of the S.G.P.C. but the ministerial party put a stop to it, by obtaining an ex-parte injunction from the Sikh Gurdwaras Judicial Commission, which now-a-days has been made a creature of the Government party by making the tenure of office of its members dependent on the will of the Government. No sooner the legislation had been through, the said Judicial Commission allowed the injunction application to be withdrawn.

The introduction of legislation for the purpose of bolstering the votes of the ministerial party in the S.G. P.C. is no doubt the latest instance, but by no means the first attempt of its kind. Ever since Independence, Government has been making efforts to destroy the autonomy in matters of Gurdwara administration achieved by the Sikhs after tremendous sacrifices. Sikh Gurdwaras Judicial Commission holds a key position in Gurdwara administration. Fair and just administration of the Gurdwaras depends upon the independence and integrity of its members. But as already stated, by one stroke of pen an amendment was made and this independence was destroyed by making the Judges dependent on the sweet will of the Government for their offices. Without assigning any reasons for their removal without calling for any explanation, which is against the letter and spirit of our Constitution, they could be removed. Consequently a President of Judicial Commission was summarily removed no sooner he passed an order disliked by the official party. Another instance how the ministerial party has made a plaything of legislation

pertaining to Gurdwaras is, that previously there was no provision in the Gurdwara Act for bringing a no-confidence motion against the President. But when in 1953 the Nagoke Group was ousted from Presidentship of the S.G.P.C., immediately the Government amended the Gurdwara Act to enable that group to bring a vote of no-confidence against the President who was an opponent of the then ministerial party.

Soon after the merger of Punjab and Pepsu the then existing Gurdwara Interim Board for Pepsu was arbitrarily dissolved without any rhyme or reason by the Chief Minister of Punjab, who instead nominated a Board of his own choice. This was an utterly unjustified step. Examples can be multiplied but it is clear that it is not I who is fighting for power in the S.G.P.C., but it is the ministerial party in the Punjab which is all the time manoeuvring to get a stranglehold.

It is proclaimed from house tops that the basis of Congress Government is secular. The essential concomitant of secularism is non-interference in the religious affairs of others. This principle stands sadly exposed. The Sikh community deeply feels the grievance that its religious affairs are being repeatedly interfered with and that the latest legislative measure, i.e. Section 148-B of the Sikh Gurdwaras Amendment Act of 1959 was passed with the malafide object of increasing and ensuring the Government majority in the S.G.P.C.

The country is passing through crisis of democracy. Real democracy is the democracy of the spirit, mind and heart. There is a good deal of lip service to democracy, but I don't feel the democracy of spirit, mind or heart in practice. Day to day I find the interference of the Government party in the religious affairs of the Sikhs increasing. You are not prepared to prevent it, or even to allow it to be judged independently whether as a matter of fact there is or there is not any such interference. Thus you close on me the door of mediation, enquiry, arbitration and negotiation by which you lay such great store. What other alternative there is left for me except by some extreme step to stir the conscience of the nation and to draw the attention of the country to this state of affairs? I have therefore decided to start a fast unto-death from the 16th of April 1959. I pray to Almighty to bestow strength on me to carry out this resolution to its logical conclusion. May be I will save not only the Sikh Gurdwaras, but even the places of worship of other communities from interference by parties in power to serve their own political ends.

May God grant you wisdom and strength to serve the country.

8. S.M. Abdullah to Nehru⁸

[Refer to item 26]

Copy of letter dated 6th April, 1969, from Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah,
Special Jail, Jammu, to the Prime Minister

I am grateful for your letter of 25th March 1959.

I need hardly remind you that one of the basic principles guiding my relationship with you has always been to place real facts and truth before you. This might have sometimes led even to unhappy consequences but I always considered my duty to you and to the cause far more sacred to admit of any compromise. I can, therefore, have nothing but pity for the person in charge of the case whom circumstances have forced to misstate facts. I enclose herewith a certified copy of the quit notice served upon the defence lawyer, Mr. Mohd. Latif, by the State authorities for vacating the Dak Bungalow. I am also enclosing a statement in which he has affirmed that he was subjected to personal search every time he interviewed me. Similar treatment was meted out to another defence lawyer, Mr. R.V.S. Mani of Delhi, Advocate, Supreme Court.

The explanation furnished to you in regard to Abdul Ahad's arrest is hardly convincing, particularly in view of the necessity for his apprehension having occurred to the Kashmir Government exactly at the juncture when he left his home to join my defence here.

As regards Shri Nageshwer Prasad, you may not personally have been in the know that on the advice of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and Sir Sultan Ahmed I had decided to engage him and even negotiated terms with him. The correspondence having passed through the Jail authorities was fully known to the prosecution who lost no time in engaging him before I could arrange accommodation for him here.

Your information laying responsibility for most of the delays in the case on the accused is similarly against facts. Eleven months have passed since the case was registered and except for the brief period of nearly one month when I asked for and obtained adjournment to select a counsel for my defence, the case has been proceeded with by the prosecution in a most leisurely manner. Seven of the accused in the case are also involved in the Hazratbal murder case with its venue at Srinagar and it is this duplicity of cases against the same set of accused proceeding simultaneously in courts as far away as Jammu and Srinagar and shifting them from one place to another that is made the cause, amongst

8. Letter, 6 April 1959.

others, whenever prosecution desires delay for its own reasons. Incidentally, the committal proceedings in that case ended in October, 1958, and you will be surprised to know that the case has not yet been started before the Sessions Court.

I have been deeply touched by the expression of your feelings towards me in the 2nd para of your letter and yet my sorrow and pain are greater for the unfortunate happenings in Kashmir. Who does not know of your political philosophy, your urge for justice and fair play and your abhorrence for repression. You will perhaps agree with me that ascribing the Kashmir happenings to a chain of unfortunate circumstances is a poor solace to the people who struggle only for a life with peace and honour. Events may, no doubt, at times be more powerful than one's wishes but those who are charged with the sacred duty of shaping the destiny of millions of people cannot rest with that explanation. Occasions are not few when in your own life you changed the course of history at critical moments and arrested fast deteriorating situations.

I hope you are keeping well.

9. Note by Y. D. Gundevia⁹

[Refer to item 33]

A NOTE ON THE NEED FOR AN INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOUTH-EAST COAST AREAS

(Y.D. Gundevia)

Anybody working as High Commissioner for India in Ceylon must soon realise that the story begins in South India and ends in South India. The emigrant labour in Ceylon came from the South. Those that return must go back to the South. The bulk of the 450 to 500 thousand adult 'immigrant' labourers that are still in employment on the estates in Ceylon are from the south-east coast districts, mainly Ramnad and Tirunelvely. The gardeners and domestic servants were mostly Malayalis from what is now Kerala and were in jobs more in the urban areas. When Sir John Kotelawala's scheme for the repatriation of Temporary Resident Permit holders (TRP) was put into operation in the last quarter of 1954, the axe seems to have fallen more on the Malayali community in urban areas. From September 1954 to December 1958, 71,302 Indian nationals have left Ceylon, 35,719 voluntarily and of their own accord and 35,583 have

9. Note by Gundevia, 8 April 1959.

been actually repatriated under orders of the Ceylon Government. Ceylon admits that, for all practical purposes, most of the urban Indians with a capital of less than Rs. 25,000 have now left for India. We have succeeded in stemming the tide on the estates, and the 450 thousand odd adult men and women (plus their children) who are still working on the estates are south-east coast Tamils.

2. Illicit immigration provides another angle to the case. Nine out of ten illicit immigrants caught in Ceylon and repatriated with our consent are from only two districts, Ramnad and Tirunelvely. In an aide memoire we presented to the Ceylon Government in February 1958, I argued that *raison d'être* for illicit immigration is the fact that people who have more interests in Ceylon and much less or no interest in India, persons who had made Ceylon their home, have in recent years been turned out of Ceylon on meaningless, technical, legal grounds—and they must come back and they do. But the basic reason for this continuous and constant stream of illicit immigrants from Ramnad and Tirunelvely to Ceylon is the stark poverty in these areas. They cannot eke out a living in the desert of Ramnad and the unirrigated southern areas of Tirunelvely. The fact that as a rule the Malayali from Kerala does not float back to Ceylon as an illicit immigrant completely proves the truth of this proposition. Motoring through from Madurai to Cape and on to Trivandrum and Periyar, the contrast in the fertility of the countryside in these areas was quite obvious. People in the south-west are better fed and better clothed: those in the south-Eastern villages are obviously worse off. From Tiruchirapalli to Ramnad and Dhanushkodi, you go through an unirrigated desert. One might place on record the figures of illicit immigration to Ceylon in the context of all this:

1950	..	817)
1951	..	3,792)
1952	..	6,884)
1953	..	4,098) Figures given by Ceylon Controller
1954	..	986) of Immigration.
1955	..	1,669)
1956	..	700)
1957	..	1,772)
1958	..	655) Figures from Indian Protector of
1959 (three months)		435) Emigrants, Mandapam.

3. What is the future in Ceylon? My views on the problem in Ceylon are, I am afraid, constantly tempered by my experience in Burma (1945-48). During the war we had wrung out of the Government of Burma (in Simla) the promise

that all evacuees would be allowed to go back to Burma after the war. Within six months of my going to Burma, I had to go to the Prime Minister to get a decision that unskilled labourers, even if they were evacuees, should not be allowed to return to Burma—because there was nothing for them to go back to. I had told Shri R.N. Banerji in 1948 that not even 15 per cent of the Indians in Burma would opt for Burmese nationality, whatever definitions we secured. I believe less than 10 per cent did, eventually.

4. If extreme Buddhist communalism becomes the order of the day in Ceylon, more and more of the stateless Tamil estate labour will eventually want to opt for India. If administrative incompetence of Mr. Bandaranaike and his successors makes an economic mess of Ceylon, then, again, more and more of the stateless persons will opt for India, given complete freedom of choice. We will not be legitimately able to call this 'pressure'. Our reckoning today is that even if given a fair choice and adequate terms by any Ceylon Government, over a lakh and half of the stateless estate labour (out of some 7,00,000 including minors) might opt for India. If conditions worsen in the immediate future, economically or otherwise, this figure might well double itself. Ceylon's prosperity is completely dependent on the international world prices of tea and rubber. If these fall, there could be a most severe recession in Ceylon—and this labour population would just float back, in a reversing stream. This has happened in Burma, and this could happen in Ceylon.

5. Even if nothing happens, why should we in the south, and particularly along the south-east coast, continue to be second best compared to Ceylon. Why should our people have to seek employment outside our country? Why should there be illicit immigration from India to Ceylon? And why should we not do something big in these terrible districts to change the face of this countryside and make it possible and worthwhile for them to stay where they were born and not make it incumbent on them to suffer the most intense physical privations in their attempts to illegally sneak into Ceylon and risk the dreadful humiliation that follows, arrest, quarantine and summary deportation.

6. I have discussed all this frankly with officials and non-officials during the five weeks I recently spent motoring 3,000 miles through Madras and Kerala States. I have spoken to Shri Bhaktavatsalam and officers in the Madras Secretariat also. The Madras Government have at various times formulated different schemes for the development of these areas. I would most earnestly press that time has come for the Government of India to not only support every development scheme that Madras may have on its blue prints, but to get them (Madras) and the Planning Commission to keep these factors in mind and specifically plan the intensive development of the south-east coastal areas. I list below some of the things that might be attempted.

7. Cottage industries and Community Development have probably not been neglected, but in some of these places it is a question of converting a veritable desert economy into healthy agriculture. For this we want water, which can come mainly from Periyar only. Kerala has gradually been releasing more and more water, but if this is to reach the southern and south-eastern Ramnad tracts, a major scheme has to be thought out. I was told of an 'Upper Periyar' scheme, which perhaps fell through. It probably involves tunneling through the water shed. Whatever this is, substantial quantities of water can only come from Kerala, and the special case has to be put to the Kerala Government also.

8. The Madras Conservator of Forests, with whom I discussed this, said that there was a wealth in casuarina cultivation. Planned arboriculture with casuarina plantations might be attempted—on a big scale, if this is to be effective.

9. Then there are various schemes for the development of the Tuticorin port. I was told in Madras that more work on the port has now been taken in hand for completion in the current Second Plan. This being a bird in hand, literally, we should, I feel, go the whole hog immediately and put every part of the scheme fully into operation.

10. The Mandapam-Dhanushkodi-Talaimannar rail-cum-ferry service is in a bad way, I learnt on this recent tour. The Southern Railways are running this line at a dead loss for want of adequate traffic. The boat is running at a quarter capacity and we will soon be reducing the frequency to perhaps three times a week, as against the present six days a week. On the other hand, sea erosion has destroyed four rows of residential houses in Dhanushkodi, leaving hardly any pucca buildings standing. The officers and staff are living in bamboo-tatty hutments in the sand. The Railway Board is faced with an expenditure of nearly 2 ½ crores on an alternative site, nearer Rameshwaram, for the boat pier and the staff colony. I have told the Railway Board, in recent discussions, that it would be a waste of money. We should straightway work on an alternative Tuticorin-Colombo boat route. Add 2½ crores to the Tuticorin Port development project. If Dhanushkodi is doomed, as it is, this is all the more reason for going full tilt for Tuticorin. If this is made into a first class port, it would immediately add to the economic prosperity of the areas.

11. And finally there is the one big scheme for the south—the Sethusamudram Project, the navigation canal across Mandapam. Shri Bhaktavatsalam and others in Madras said that the scheme had been shelved in the Second Plan for lack of finances, but they had a promise that it would be 'considered' for the Third Plan. Madras is said to have under-estimated the cost of the scheme. A team of experts from the Centre, I was told, have re-evaluated the expenditure involved.

12. I am very strongly of the opinion that this is just the point at which the

Ministry of External Affairs must come in. It is we who have to prepare the State Governments for the influx of our people from Ceylon back to India in the next ten years. We have always pressed the view that these people are not 'refugees'. They come back with their 'assets'. True enough. But the 'assets' average Rs. 1,200/- and less, more often than not, to start their children's lives with, in the 'deserts of Ramnad'—if I may risk the constant repetition of the phrase. We have to change the face of the south-east coast with intensive development of agriculture and some other big project of an industrial nature. Everything else is tinkering with the problem. We will go on arguing 'legalities' with the Ceylon Government, we will do everything to stem the tide, we will stand in the way of any flood. But we cannot shut our eyes to the gradual influx of these people, back home—their right to choose where they want to die, not only live, as I have told Mr. Bandaranaike. Because of all this, I feel that it is for the Ministry of External Affairs to lend its full weight and support to every development scheme in this area. If technicians and experts are of the view that the Sethusamudram Project has good possibilities, we should support it from the Centre. The only consideration to me is that this is the one and only big industrial venture that will alter the picture in the south. All else put together, including Tuticorin, looks to me like a flea bite, if one realises the immensity of the economic vacuum in the area.

13. I will only add one point and that is that Madras has not sold these ideas to me; I have, if anything, been selling the idea to the Madras Government. And there also, not this or that scheme; just the fact that they have got to do something big about all this.

Y.D. Gundevia
High Commissioner for India

Colombo
8-4-1959

10. C. S. Jha to S. Dutt¹⁰

[Refer to item 174]

DUTT from JHA,

Israeli Minister of Development Bentov who is presently here and whom I met at a reception rather casually expressed the desire to pay a few days visit to

10. Telegram from New York from India's Permanent Representative in the UN to the FS, 8 April 1959.

India on his return visit to Israel in two or three weeks time (exact dates to be determined). He said he was keen to see development work in India including our community projects in which Israel had for practical reasons connected with their own kibbutz much interest. I told him that if he should wish to stop over in India for a few days en-route, I felt sure he would be welcome to see our development projects and meet the Ministers and authorities concerned.

For understandable reasons, the Minister does not wish to embarrass us by his visit, but at the same time would like to make sure that he would be welcome to our Government. His expectation, I understand, is to be extended an invitation to visit India. I told the Israeli Counsellor who confirmed the Minister's wish that I would let him know later. Could you kindly consider either our Minister of Community Development extending an invitation to the Israeli Minister to visit community and other development projects or authorising me to tell him that should he wish to visit India for a few days en-route to Israel, he would be very welcome and that he would be extended hospitality in Delhi for two or three days as Government guest?

11. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit to Nehru¹¹

[See item 126]

SECRET.

No. 19-HC/59

INDIA HOUSE,
ALDWYCH,
LONDON, W.C.2.
April 9, 1959.

Bhai dear,

I have not reported so far on the reactions to the Tibetan situation personally because the routine reports were being sent to the Ministry and I wanted to contact members of the Government before writing to you.

The first impact of what was happening in Tibet hit the people of this country in a big way. Though most people are only vaguely aware of where Tibet is, there is a widespread sympathy with what they describe as a 'tiny spiritual nation which only wishes to be left alone'. Besides a handful of old India hands few have any knowledge of the political relationship between Tibet and China and Tibet and India.

11. Letter.

Immediately the news of the fighting broke a roar of protest went up and certain sections of the Press were not slow in advising India what she should do. This attitude was further stiffened by news of scenes in our Parliament, and the Beverbrooke Press instantly drew a parallel with Hungary and tried to show up what it described as the widening gulf between you and Parliament. I was inundated with requests for special interviews, articles, radio and Television appearances, and the mail started bringing in scores of protests against the Indian Government's policy, and even small sums of money were received for the Tibetan refugees. The British people were worked up to an emotional pitch which can only be compared to their reaction over events in Hungary.

Taya Zinkin's reports complicated the situation and inflamed public opinion. Some of these articles have done more damage than anything printed by the Beaverbrooke Press.

Prince Peter of Greece's deliberately false statement did not, however, make very much impression. I immediately contacted the Greek Embassy and took the strongest objection to the "lying and wicked propaganda" contained in his statement. The Ambassador was not in London at the time but I saw him later. He assured me that the Greek Government held no brief for Prince Peter—in fact the Government and even the King were frequently embarrassed by his conduct. He had no influence in Greece and was built up by a tiny group of Europeans in London itself.

Hugh Richardson who was our representative in Tibet and who, I believe, was dismissed by you for his activities there, wrote a lengthy article in the Observer. It was highly biased but the point that has made some impression on people was his reference to the Simla Conference of 1914 and the treaty of 1954. You may have seen the article but it is important enough to give the relevant quotation:

"There is an idea, which former Chinese regimes sedulously fostered, that Tibet always recognised Chinese suzerainty in some form. In fact after the complete eviction of the Chinese in 1912 there was a tripartite conference at Simla in 1914. The Tibetans, under British persuasion, agreed to recognise the suzerainty of China *provided* that the Chinese guaranteed Tibetan autonomy. By "suzerainty" the Tibetans meant no more than the formal supremacy which had existed under the Manchus. The conference failed. No bargain was struck with China and no concessions made by Tibet. All that emerged was a direct treaty between the British Government and Tibet.

That treaty was inherited by the new Government of India in 1947. Ever since then Mr. Nehru consistently disregarded the facts by speaking as though there had been an unconditional admission of Chinese suzerainty both by the Tibetans and by the British Government whose responsibilities he had assumed.

This was an unwarranted depreciation of Tibet's actual position and made it plain to China from the outset that India would give little support to Tibet.

Of course, politics is the science of the possible. India's interest in having a friendly neighbour in Tibet is obvious; and in 1950 India was in no position to join issue with China. Nor, I think, would any recent Government of India have considered active intervention in Tibet against powerful and determined aggression by China.

There lies the vital difference. At least since 1720, China has wanted physical domination over Tibet. The British Government in India never sought more than a sphere of diplomatic influence; and so, in the face of Chinese power, India could do nothing but yield, under protest, and save what it could from the wreckage. That was a matter of national self-interest. What is shocking is that it has been treated solely as a matter of self-interest.

Centuries of religious exchanges and some fifty years of a special treaty relationship with Tibet were quickly forgotten. The new situation was not only accepted with alacrity, it was fulsomely justified in a treaty between India and China, in 1954.

Mr. Nehru must surely know that whatever was "the general opinion" about China's suzerainty over Tibet, there was not a trace of actual Chinese authority there after 1912. He must know that in 1950 the Chinese invaded a country inhabited by a non-Chinese people who had, undeniably, managed all their own affairs for thirty-eight years and that they imposed an agreement on them by force. That action is what Mr. Nehru has recently described as 'legal'; and on that basis, rigid and unseeing, he describes the tragic happenings at Lhasa as China's internal affair."

During all this period the attitude of the Government has been one of restraint. I have spoken to Home, RAB, Heathcoat Amory, and some of the junior Ministers. The PM also had a word on the phone with me after I sent him your message. They seem to understand our position and the background from which it stems. What they seem anxious for is a statement, in more specific terms than the ones already made by you, with regard to "aggression" by China. I explained that no statement of this nature could be made until the full facts of the situation were known. There is also much conjecture as to whether we shall be "forced" to review our relationship with China in the light of recent events.

However, the Berlin situation and concern over East and West relationships generally have diverted some of the attention which might otherwise have been concentrated on Tibet.

Yours
Nan.

12. Report by Superintendent of Police, CID¹²

[Refer to item 43]

Continuation report regarding the agitation
by the Akalis against the alleged Government interference
in the Gurdwara affairs for 11/12/13.4.1959.

Following his meeting with the Prime Minister on 12.4.1959, Master Tara Singh announced his decision to abandon the proposed fast.

Shri M.S. Aney, M.P. (Congress) and some other leaders including Sarvshri Saroop Singh, M.L.A., Punjab, Mukhben Singh, Bar-at-Law, Delhi & Parbodh Chander, M.L.A., Punjab, again contacted Master Tara Singh in their efforts to find an amicable solution of the problem.

On 11.4.1959, Master Tara Singh received a letter from the Prime Minister inviting him for personal talks at his residence at 5 P.M. on 12.4.1959. Accordingly on 12.4.1959, Master Tara Singh went to the residence of the Prime Minister at 5 P.M. and remained closeted with him till about 6.20 P.M. Immediately after the meeting, Master Tara Singh drove straight to Gurdwara Rakab Ganj and consulted his colleagues including Sarvshri Mukhben Singh, Bar-at-Law, Gopal Singh Qaumi and Harcharan Singh Hadiara, General Secretaries, S.A. Dal, Amritsar, Master Tara Singh then said "We have reached a decision and I am not resorting to fast on 16.4.1959". Later, the following statement was issued by the Prime Minister's Secretariat in the same connection:-

"It is common ground among all concerned that there should be no governmental interference in religious affairs. Nevertheless, complaints have arisen of such interference in the past in regard to Gurdwara management and amendments made in the Gurdwara Act.

Some machinery should be devised to ensure the implementation of the policy of non-interference in Gurdwara management and to consider any complaints of such interference. It is suggested that a committee should be constituted for this purpose. This Committee will consist of two persons nominated by the Punjab Government and two others nominated by Master Tara Singh, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal. This Committee will consider any allegations of interference and will suggest remedial action wherever

possible. Where there is disagreement among the members of the Committee, the matter may be referred to the Governor of the Punjab.

Any amendments in the Gurdwara Act should only be undertaken after obtaining the approval of the General Committee of the S.G.P.C. A Convention may be established that such approval may be by two-thirds majority of the S.G.P.C.

The general elections for the S.G.P.C should be held as early as is feasible.

If any difficulty arises in the implementation of the above proposals, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru will be glad to help."

2. Master Tara Singh also addressed a 'Diwan' in connection with 'Baisakhi' at Gurdwara Majnu Tilla, Civil Lines, on 13.4.1959, from 1 P.M. to 1.50 P.M. He dwelt upon the sacrifices made by Guru Tegh Bahadur for the protection of Hindu religion and added that 'Khalsa Panth' was created for the protection of religion (Dharam). Master Tara Singh also referred to his meeting with the Prime Minister on 12.4.1959 and paid tributes to the Prime Minister for appointing a Committee to enquire into the allegations of official interference in the management of Gurdwaras. He also thanked all the persons, specially Sardar Baldev Singh, who, he said, inspite of being a bad health had contributed a lot in bringing about a compromise. He, however, added that the struggle to free the Gurdwaras from Government interference was not over. The appointment of the Committee was just a step towards that end. Master Tara Singh also repeated his demand for 'Punjabi Suba' and said that the Government should trust the Sikhs. So long as they mistrusted the Sikhs and declined to accept the demand for 'Punjabi Suba', the Sikh problem would remain unresolved. He added that if the fact that Punjab was a border State should not be an excuse for dismissing the demand for 'Punjabi Suba'. Continuing, Master Tara Singh said that the freedom in religious affairs could not be maintained without political power. He concluded by saying that the Sikhs will have to keep themselves ready for the forthcoming struggle at least so long as a communal Government was there. Shri Gopal Singh Qaumi announced that the 16th of April, 1959 which was to be observed as a 'Protest Day' against the alleged Government interference in the Gurdwara affairs, would now be observed as a 'Thanks Giving Day'. Shri Lachman Singh Gill exhorted the Sikhs of the Punjab to get themselves enrolled as voters for the S.G.P.C. elections. Ex-Justice Harnam Singh eulogised the services of Master Tara Singh to the Sikh community.

3. On 13.4.1959, Maulana Mohd Zubair Qureshi, ex-Municipal Commissioner, Maulana Mohd Sami Ullah Qasmi and Ch. Abdul Sattar, Ahrar leaders, met Master Tara Singh at Gurdwara Rakab Ganj and congratulated him for his success in the dispute with the Government over the Gurdwara

affairs. They further requested Master Tara Singh to represent the minority communities in the country as the Government they alleged, was interfering in the religious affairs of other minority communities.

4. Master Tara Singh intends to leave for the Punjab on 15.4.1959.

Sd/- Bishamber Nath
Suptd. Of Police, CID (SB)
Delhi 14-4-59.

13. Humayun Kabir to Nehru¹³

[Refer to item 101]

April 20, 1959

You will remember that the question of utilisation of protected monuments has been under discussion for some time. The late Maulana Azad held very strong views in the matter and had at one stage, after consulting you, issued an order that none of the protected monuments should be used in any way without reference to him. Since then, permission has from time to time been given for holding various kinds of functions in these monuments.

You had appointed a small committee to look into the question of using the Red Fort, Delhi, for civic receptions from time to time. That committee made certain recommendations, of which the most important are that such receptions should be held in the Dewan-i-Aam rather than in the Dewan-i-Khas, and that the number should be severely restricted. Further, these receptions would be only for Prime Ministers and Heads of States and that some permanent arrangement should be made about lighting, so that the lawns and buildings are not damaged when temporary installations are set up.

We have mainly two types of monuments, viz. religious and secular. Religious monuments like temples, mosques and churches include some which are even now used as places of worship and are regarded as living monuments. There are others which were not used for purposes of worship at the time when they were taken under protection by the Department of Archaeology, and in

13. Letter. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

their case no revival of worship is permitted in terms of the Act. Permission has neither been sought nor given for holding any civic reception in monuments of the religious category.

Tombs and mausoleums are also classified with these religious monuments and in their case, no civic functions are permitted, except where there has been a long tradition of holding fairs or mushairas on the occasion of the birth or death anniversary of the person for whom the tomb was built. I am sure you will agree that no dinners, lunches or parties should be held in such tombs, as they involve an element of gaiety, which is inconsistent with the funerary associations of the monument.

Regarding secular monuments like forts and palaces, I suggested at the last meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology that we should classify them into three types:-

(a) Monuments like the Red Fort or Fatehpur Sikri, where only State functions may be permitted.

(b) Monuments like some of the other forts and palaces, where functions of public bodies like Corporations or Municipalities may be held with prior permission of the Dept. of Archaeology.

and (c) Less Important monuments where non-official organisations may be permitted to hold receptions etc. with the previous permission of the Dept. of Archaeology.

I asked the Director-General of Archaeology during his recent visit to Europe to find out the position in European countries. He has reported that receptions and similar functions are sometimes held in forts and palaces which are no longer inhabited and are now regarded as monuments. Government sponsored receptions are permitted in the monuments in Italy, but no private functions are allowed. In Germany they are more conservative and do not usually permit secular functions in most monuments. Amphi-theatres are however used for classical dramas in both Italy and Germany, presumably because they were built for the purpose and are suitable for holding such functions.

I shall therefore be grateful if you will kindly approve of the following principles:-

(a) no receptions or parties will be held in any religious or semi-religious protected monument, like temples, mosques, churches and tombs, except where such functions have been permitted by long standing tradition and usage,

(b) State receptions for Heads of States and Prime Ministers may be held in the Red Fort or other important national monuments with the previous concurrence of the Department of Archaeology,

(c) public bodies like Municipalities and Corporations may be permitted to hold receptions in certain types of secular monuments with prior permission

of the Department of Archaeology,

and (d) non-official bodies may be permitted to hold receptions and parties in minor monuments at the discretion of the Department of Archaeology.

Yours
(Humayun Kabir)

14. B.P. Chaliha to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 137]

Prime Minister from Chief Minister.

Your telegram 2007 April 22nd. According to information available here 5000 or more refugees and Khampa rebels have already entered Kameng Frontier Division. As the Chinese had moved eastward and before they succeed in sealing the border a much larger number may enter through Subansiri and Siang Frontier Divisions of N.E.F.A. in the coming month. I consider it necessary that we should prepare for all eventualities and plan to handle many thousands of refugees. An adequate organisation has to be established for this purpose which should operate till the refugees are moved and finally settle. We have already authorised in advance construction of a camp near Teyasari to accommodate 5000 refugees and are temporarily deputing some officers and medical staff etc. for running the camp. In view of the scope of the undertaking and the time for which the organisation must function I would request you to immediately appoint a high powered administrator for Tibetan refugees under the Central Government with adequate authority and financial delegation for the purpose of establishing the necessary organisation and taking responsibility for all activities at short notice final movement and settlement of refugees on the lines of the Burma Refugee Organisation established during the war. We shall render all possible help and cooperation but the administrative resources of Assam are wholly inadequate and stretched to the maximum to face our ordinary problems making it impossible for us to provide necessary man power and see the things through. The services of some lower grade officer of Dalai Lama's staff may be obtained for help in the camp and also for the purpose of screening and identification etc. as no one in Assam knows Tibetan or habits of the Tibetan people. The final destination of the refugees should also be decided upon very

14. Telegram, 24 April 1959.

quickly as rains have already set in Assam and Tibetans will not be able to stand the heat and rains of the Assam plains for any length of time. In view of magnitude of the problem you may also consider opening of relief fund and make an appeal for money, clothes, foodstuff, medical supplies etc. all of which will be urgently needed. Further detailed suggestions which have the approval of myself and my colleagues are being telegraphed by Chief Secretary to Foreign Secretary and should be implemented.

15. China Protests at Insult to Mao¹⁵

[Refer to item 139]

Note of the Government of China, 27 April 1959 to the
Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi

The Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India presents its compliments to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India, and hereby lodges the following serious protest with the Ministry regarding the occurrence in Bombay of Indians insulting the head of state of the People's Republic of China:

At about 4 : 40 on the afternoon of the 20th April, 1959, in Bombay there were about 80 Indians claiming themselves to be members of the Socialist Party, came to the Consulate General of the People's Republic of China at Bombay, demonstrated and shouted slogans in front of the Consulate-General and some of them made speeches. They branded China's putting down of the rebellion in her own territory, the Tibet Region, as imperialist action and made all sorts of slanders. What is more serious is that they pasted up a portrait of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People's Republic of China, on the wall of the Chinese Consulate-General and carried out wanton insult by throwing tomatoes and rotten eggs at it. While these ruffians were insulting the portrait, the Indian policemen stood by without interfering with them, and pulled off the encircling spectators for the correspondents to take photographs of it. After the ruffians had left, the police officer once again allowed people to take photographs of the portrait and then tore it down and took it away.

Such an act of pasting up the portrait of the Chairman of the People's

15. Note from the Chinese Government, 27 April 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n. p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], p. 70.

Republic of China on the wall of the Chinese Consulate-General and throwing tomatoes and rotten eggs at it is a huge insult to the head of state of the People's Republic of China and the respected and beloved leader of the Chinese people. And while the ruffians were insulting the portrait of the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the policemen of the Bombay local-authorities not only did not interfere but pulled off the encircling spectators for correspondents to take photographs of it. After the ruffians had left, the police officer once again allowed people to take photographs of the portrait and then tore it down and took it away. It is evidently an act of connivance. For this the Chinese Government cannot but express its indignation and hereby lodges a serious protest. The Chinese Government requests that the Government of India speedily deals with the matter of insult to the head of state of the People's Republic of China and makes a speedy reply. Such a matter of huge insult to the head of state of the People's Republic of China is what the masses of the six hundred and fifty million Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate, and it must be reasonably settled, otherwise the Chinese people cannot come to a stop with regard to the matter. In case the reply from the Indian Government is not satisfactory, the Embassy is instructed to make it clear that the Chinese Government will again raise this matter to the Indian Government, and the Chinese side will never come to a stop if without a satisfactory settlement of the matter, that is to say, never stop even for one hundred years.

16. GOI Regrets Discourtesy to Mao's Portrait¹⁶

[Refer to item 139]

Note of the Government of India, 30 April 1959

The Embassy of India, Peking, present their compliments to the Foreign Office of the Government of the People's Republic of China and with reference to the note No. M/129/59 presented to the Ministry of External Affairs of the Government of India on April 27 by the Chinese Embassy, New Delhi, have the honour to state that investigations have been made into the facts relating to the incident referred to in the note. These facts, which are not wholly as stated in the note of the Embassy, are given below.

16. Note from GOI, 30 April 1959. Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed Between the Governments of India and China, 1954-1959. White Paper* (n. p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 71-72.

2. On the 20th April 1959, a demonstration was organised by the Socialist Party, Bombay Branch. About 75 persons went in procession from the headquarters of the party to the premises of the Chinese Consulate in Bombay. The processionists carried some placards and shouted slogans. A detachment of the Bombay Police accompanied the procession to prevent violence or any untoward incident. As the procession was otherwise peaceful, the police could not prohibit it altogether. Near the gate of the Consulate building, one of the processionists took out a bunch of memoranda and started distributing them. He also gave a number of these memoranda to some others in the procession for pasting them on the wall and the gate of the Consulate building. The police intervened to prevent this, but suddenly they noticed another person in the procession affixing something on the compound wall. They ran to intervene, but before they succeeded in reaching the particular spot, they found that a small picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung had already been affixed and a few tomatoes and two eggs had been hurled at the picture. The police officers present stood in front of the picture to save it from further desecration and ordered one of their men to remove it. The picture was on the wall only for a minute or two and was removed by the police. A number of press photographers accompanied the procession and were taking photographs and it is possible that one of them managed to get a snap shot of the particular picture.

3. As a result of the full investigation made by them, the Government of India are satisfied that the police did not connive at the deplorable behaviour of some of the demonstrators. On the contrary, they intervened immediately the particular incident came to their notice and sought to stop further mischief. It is not a fact that the police cleared the way for photographers to take photographs of the picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As the Chinese Government are probably aware, the Chinese Consulate is situated at one of the busiest traffic corners in Bombay. In fact, since the demonstrators were obstructing the traffic, the police endeavoured to clear the way and many of the demonstrators were pushed to the opposite side of the road.

4. The Chinese Government are, no doubt, aware that under the law in India processions cannot be banned so long as they are peaceful. Indeed in Indian cities processions and demonstrations are not unusual. Not unoften they are held even near the Parliament House and the processionists indulge in all manner of slogans against high personages in India. Incidents have occurred in the past when portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and the Prime Minister were taken out by irresponsible persons and treated in an insulting manner. Under the law and Constitution of India a great deal of latitude is allowed to the people so long as they do not indulge in actual violence.

5. The Government of India would like to point out that the particular

procession in Bombay referred to in the Chinese Embassy's note was organised by a party called the Socialist Party which broke away some years ago from the major Socialist Party in India, namely the Praja Socialist Party. This splinter party consists of a small group of irresponsible persons who have no importance in the country and do not in any way reflect the standard of conduct followed by the major political parties in India. In fact it is the definite programme of this party to indulge in highly objectionable behaviour towards Government.

6. Whatever the circumstances and facts, the Government of India deeply regret that discourtesy was shown to a picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the respected head of a State with which India has ties of friendship. The incident is undoubtedly deplorable, but as stated above, it is the act of a few persons and there was no question of connivance of the police or Government.

7. The Prime Minister has already expressed the deep regret of Government at this incident in his statement in the Lok Sabha on the 27th April.

8. The Government of India would like to add that while they can understand and appreciate the resentment of the Chinese Government at such an incident, they regret the language used in the Chinese Embassy's memorandum.

17. Pamphlet by Tara Singh¹⁷

[Refer to item 40]

TO ALL MEN OF GOOD CONSCIENCE

by

Master Tara Singh

The Prime Minister by his letter of April 4, has closed on me all doors of mediation, inquiry, arbitration and negotiation. Hence there is no other way now open to me, but to undertake a fast unto-death not only to focus the nation's attention on the grievous injuries being inflicted on the Sikhs every now and then by direct and indirect interference in their religious affairs, but also to vindicate my stand on Gurdwara Amendment Act recently passed into law. I would start my fast on April 16 at New Delhi. But before I do so, I owe it to the people to bare before them my heart to remove even the slightest chance of misunderstanding in any quarter.

17. Note, April 1959, File No. 40/2/59-Poll., pp. 39-41, MHA.

The issue now before us is simple and crystal clear, given an honest, impartial approach, India's Constitution is secular. All minorities, whether religious or linguistic, have been guaranteed (in form at least) fullest liberty subject only to morality and public order. My charge is that what is professed from the mouth is broken at heart and that, time after time, inspite of our protests and demonstrations, Governmental interference in our religious affairs has increased, and this, because the Government of the day wants to have a stranglehold over us in order to subjugate us politically.

True, that it was the Sikh community itself which through its historic struggle in the twenties brought about the enactment of the Gurdwara Act of 1925. But it was passed by the Punjab Council without our total consent and amended later in 1946 again through the near unanimous vote of the Sikh legislators (only one out of 33 dissenting) elected on separate franchise. For the first time in 34 years has unheard of procedure adopted to increase Government control over the Gurdwaras and persons holding office of profit under the Government (namely Sarpanches and Nayaya Panches etc.) have been ganged up to form an electoral college to elect 35 PEPSU representatives on the S.G.P.C., besides 12 others already nominated to the PEPSU Interim Board by the Punjab Chief Minister, (and now made members of the SGPC by the present Act) after dissolving the previous Interim Board for Pepsu constituted earlier by Shri Brish Bhan with the advice of the S.G.P.C and the Akali Dal.

No question of my being or not being the President of the Gurdwara Board is involved and it is raised by the Prime Minister and his advisors in order to confuse the issue. My only contention is that with indecent haste, and within only one week (December 22 to December 31, 1951) the Punjab Congress party, by issuing a party whip has rushed through a wholly religious measure in order to increase its political strength in a religious body. If this is not interference, what else it is?

We are told, that elections to the S.G.P.C will be held in another six to nine month's time. The present measure, we are assured, is intended to operate only for the interim period. This question again is raised in order to confound clear thinking. If this is Governments contentions, why could not they wait for another six to nine months (when the matter has been hanging fire since 1956) to try their luck at the general poll rather than pack the house now in order to overawe and wean away the people later. Six months or six day, the basic objection remains. Has a secular Government the right to form a limited electoral college consisting of its nominated and officially paid agents to elect members to the S.G.P.C., a religious body of a particular community ?

And not only this. In 1953 the Government party led by Nagoke, was defeated at the annual Presidential election of the SGPC. Quickly thereafter,

an amendment was passed by the Punjab Legislative Assembly providing for a vote of no-confidence against the President. This Provision was never before a part of the Act.

But when the Akali Party, immediately after the November 58 Presidential election wanted to bring forth a vote of no-confidence against the new President, an injunction was issued by the Gurdwara Tribunal against the convenors and it was vacated only after the Government party had got the Amendment Bill passed into an Act and increased its strength by 48. Is this blatant interference or not?

And this brings me to another equally vital issue, namely the constitution of the three-man Gurdwara Judicial Tribunal. This Tribunal has, under the earlier Act, always consisted of two nominees of the SGPC and one Sikh Sessions or Senior Sub-Judge. And these Judges, like other judges in the Judicial service, were irremovable except on proved charges of corruption. But in 1954, the chairman of the Tribunal who gave a ruling against the Govt. party, was dismissed telegraphically, after rushing through a new amendment to make the tenure of judges dependent on the goodwill of the Government. Any how, without showing cause, they can be dismissed unceremoniously. This is the court to which all our disputes are referred for decision.

GAR HAMIN MAKTAB, HAMIN MULLAH,
KARE TIFLAN TAMAM KHWAHID SHUD

What the Law Commission has said about the Judges in general, applies with redoubled force to the Gurdwara Judicial Commission.

And the Prime Minister, in his wisdom, says that my charges are vague, on the other hand, they could be more precise and specific. And these are—one, Damocle's sword hangs over the Judges of the Gurdwara Court which is thus intended to become an agency of the executive. Two, you have built up a limited electoral college dominated by paid Government officials to pack the S.G.P.C a religious body. Three, you bring about amendments every third day to disrupt the smooth functioning of the S.G.P.C. without any reference to the community concerned. It is not a particular community, and it is that community whose over-whelming opinion must be with you before you hazard an amendment or change the religious law materially.

Before we shed tears over Tibet's loss of religious autonomy, we must sweep before our own doors—at Amritsar. This is my appeal to all men of good conscience.

I am told by the Prime Minister how can a legislative Act be subjected to arbitration. Well, Gandhiji's fast at Rajkot to enforce his interpretation of an

Act and Sir Maurice Gwyer's arbitration thereon is an instance in point. I repeat again, it is not a secular law we are disputing, but only a religious law which concerns us only and not the whole people. If a substantial section of our community takes exception, why not find a way out to resolve the impasse? There is another instance. We as a nation were entitled to draw waters from the rivers that fell to our share after partition. Then why this arbitration and award of the World Bank who have been asked to adjudicate upon an issue for which we owe no legal obligation to Pakistan. Legal quibbling thus cannot cloud a wholly moral issue.

I am as patriotic as Pandit Nehru is. I have suffered about as much for the cause of national freedom, though he is in power and I, by choice, am not. I seek as much to consolidate India's freedom as he, and I would be, as ever, in the forefront of any struggle that the country may have to launch in order to preserve its honour and integrity. Then why heap insults upon us in order to demoralise us and break our little nest. Is this moral?

18. G. Parthasarathi to Nehru¹⁸

[Refer to item 145]

IMMEDIATE

Prime Minister from Parthasarathi.

I am grateful for your telegram No.21062 dated 29th April and for the clear perspective you have given therein.

2. The ferocity and venom of the anti Indian campaign surprised and puzzled even East European diplomats. They expressed fervent hope that Sino-Indian friendship which is essential to peace will be preserved but are unable to divine Chinese motivation unleashing a smear campaign which may well be destructive of such friendship.

3. In last year or so Chinese in national exaltation and fanaticism have bordered on insolence in their treatment of some foreign countries. The campaign against Japan on flag incident is noteworthy contribution of aggressive nationalism detrimental to immediate national interests. National communism superimposed on traditional anti foreigner complex is giving new China not only an unlovely visage but makes one despaired sometimes of being able to live with her in a peaceful way without straining on one's nerves.

4. In my telegram No.68 of 20th April I presented some basic issues. I agree that we should refuse to be bullied or silenced and should continue to

18. Telegram from Peking, 3 May 1959.

state our position in a resolute and dignified manner as you have done keeping always to the facts of the immediate evidence. The present tension in our relations with China and the raging controversies are unpleasant in the extreme but may have served usefully the purpose of showing up our problems with China. They have brought into the open hidden currents and issues which had been obscured hitherto by an emotional friend.

5. The issues raised go beyond Tibet. Most important of these concerns our frontier areas. Premier Chou En-lai himself had implied in his speech on 17th April that we were holding territories gained by British aggression. The People's Daily went further on 26th April when it said "in their attempt to turn Tibet into an imperialist colony imperialists at first used the method of brutal armed aggression. The British imperialists launched two armed aggressions against Tibet. The first in 1886 to 1838 resulting in the seizure of Sikkim: and the second in 1904". This raises the question whether at an appropriate moment China will sponsor a Tibetan irredentist movement which will affect not only Sikkim but wide areas on our frontier.

6. Wild charges have been made in last few days of "Indian expansionists" inheriting the legacy of British imperialism, of collusion between "Indian reactionaries" and British imperialists in the Tibetan rebellion. These may be dismissed as part of the special kind of polemics that communists indulge in but Ta Kung Pao of 1st May went further when it said "Indian interference in Tibet region of China did not begin today. When Chinese People's Liberation Army entered Tibet in 1950 Government of India tried to influence and obstruct Chinese Government from exercising State sovereignty in Tibet and said that this, which is an internal affair of China, would aggravate international disputes in world's deplorable tense situation. It presented on several occasions memorandum and notes on Tibetan question to Chinese Central People's Government and this was done after consultation with the British Government." This charge was repeated in the Kwang Daily yesterday and I am sure by many other papers.

7. Our position is thus by distorted analysis made dependent on imperial support.

8. As far as internal problem in Tibet is concerned Chinese in their present mood will not appreciate even the most genuine and friendly effort to help. As you say the presence of the Dalai Lama in India is an affront to them. If they have not denounced him it is not only because they want to maintain their thesis of his having been abducted but they are afraid also of the consequences which any premature denunciation might have on Tibetan opinion. So instead of denouncing him they will yet denounce us for conspiring with Tibetan reactionaries and muddling in internal affairs of China. Meanwhile they are

proceeding apace with their policy of "democratisation and socialisation" of Tibet with the help of pro Chinese elements.

9. I am afraid there is a little opportunity of my being able to talk informally with important people. In last few days I have met them at receptions in connection with May Day but they have not encouraged any serious discussion. Normally at every party Chou En-lai made it a point of talking to me for at least 10 minutes on a current topic of importance but on the last few occasions he has come to me with a group of officials, said a few pleasantries and moved on. My experience here is that it is not much use of talking to anyone else besides Chou En-lai because they are afraid to say anything outside the official line.

10. I have been feeling for sometime that it may be worthwhile at an appropriate time to seek an interview with Chou En-lai and do a little probing. But I do not consider that the time for such a talk has come yet. For the present we should not give any impression that we are weakening in our stand.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AFP	Agence France-Presse
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
Bombay city	Mumbai
Burma	Myanmar
CAG	Comptroller and Auditor General
Calcutta	Kolkata
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPI	Communist Party of India
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DL	Dalai Lama
Deputy HC	Deputy High Commissioner
EA Ministry	External Affairs Ministry
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
FS	Foreign Secretary
GOI	Government of India
Gram sevak	a person appointed for village welfare work
IB	Intelligence Bureau
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
I & P Ministry	Irrigation and Power Ministry
ICCW	Indian Council of Child Welfare
ICS	Indian Civil Service
IIPA	Indian Institute of Public Administration

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

JS	Joint Secretary
Kashi	Varanasi
LS	Lok Sabha
Madras city	Chennai
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
Ministry of SR & CA	Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs
Ministry of WHS	Ministry of Works Housing and Supply
MJP	Mahagujerat Party
MKP	Mazdoor Kisan Party
MP	Madhya Pradesh/Member of Parliament
NAI	National Archives of India
NDC	National Development Council
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
Ootacamund (Ooty)	Odhagamandalam
PM	Prime Minister
Peking	Beijing
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Pondicherry	Puducherry
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
<i>Rajya Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates in the [as appropriate] Session of the Rajya Sabha, Official Report, various volumes, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.</i>
Ramnad	Ramanathapuram
SA Dal	Shiromani Akali Dal
SG	Secretary General
SGPC	Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Second Series</i>
Tinnevelli	Tirunelveli
TISCO	Tata Iron and Steel Company

Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
Tuticorin	Thoothukudi
UAR	United Arab Republic
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
Usar	alkaline barren wasteland
Yeotmal	Yavatmal

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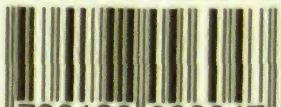
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- When Nehru arrived at Pratappur for a speech, the cameramen clicked, and the women fled, screaming “blood extractors.” Nehru protested, “What is this tamasha? Why are they running away? I have not come here to give them injection.” They were afraid of vaccination.
- Nehru was bemused by that fact that the Izat railway bridge at Daraganj, Allahabad, had no foot track. He ascribed it to the greed of the railway company that had built it: it would be cheaper, and it would force people to take the train.
- Raja Mahendra Pratap, Independent MP, instructed Nehru: “Unless you understand what is the disease, how can you remedy it? I propose to you this. You may kindly form four associations in Punjab: Khatri Sangh, Jat Sangh, Ahluwalia Sangh and Arora Sangh comprising of Sikhs and Hindus. There will be no more trouble in Punjab. I can do it if you allow me to do it.”
- Nehru remarked to Manuben that Gandhi’s simplicity was a “costly affair” with “special goat’s milk, special fruits etc.” but he reassured her that it “was not Bapu’s fault but the fault of his hosts.”
- Ayub told Rajeshwar Dayal, the Indian Ambassador, “You know me from before as I know you. I haven’t changed, and can you doubt my word?”

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